MESSAGES OF THE PRESIDENT

MANUEL ROXAS

1946-1948

BOOK 5 | VOLUME 3
Historical Papers and Documents

ADDRESSESS AND SPEECHES

Address of President-elect Roxas before the National Press Club

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President-elect of the Philippines
Before the National Press Club

[Delivered in Washington, D.C. on May 15, 1946 (American Standard Time)]

"THERE SHOULD BE A STRONGER TIE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES THAN THE MERE MEMORY OF HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND A SENSE OF ECONOMIC GRATITUDE"

I have been looking forward to this occasion. On my several visits to the United States in the past, I have had the privilege of being in the audience here and of listening to some of the distinguished speakers that you have had here through the years. I have always felt that given the occasion, I might improve upon some of the presentations here. But that was before I had the chance. At this particular moment, I would rather be just sitting and listening.

Nevertheless, I have wanted this chance. And now I have it. I will say my nickel's worth, as you call it, and then you will write yours. You will have the last word in any event. I have learned sometimes to my sorrow that it is always so with newspapermen.

In speaking to you today, I do not feel that I need sketch in much background regarding the Philippines. It is not as if I were from a foreign country. Although the Philippines are 10,000 miles distant from here, most of you have as good an understanding of our problems and of our politics as you have of the problems and politics of Oregon or New Jersey. We must thank High Commissioner McNutt and my friend, General Romulo, for their remarkable work in that connection. And speaking of Governor McNutt, I would like to say that he is a brilliant example of the kind of men America has sent us over the years to lead, to advise, and to inspire us toward our common goals. The men who have been sent to the Philippines as governors-general and as high commissioners have added stature and luster to America. They have been great colonial administrators and almost without exception have been men of such outstanding quality that they have returned to grow still further in the American scene, and have contributed to the greatness of America at home as well as abroad. I need only mention such names as Gen. Leonard Wood, William Howard Taft, Henry L. Stimson, Young Teddy Roosevelt, Frank Murphy, and Paul McNutt, to recall just a few. Perhaps it was the richness of their experiences in the Philippines; perhaps it was their own outstanding qualities; in any event, all of these men, after serving in the Philippines, have come back to bigger and better things. All of them, greatly beloved and revered by the Filipino people, have greatly loved the Filipino people in turn. One of them, Governor McNutt, came back to the United States to take over one of the most difficult jobs in the war effort; and when that job was done, he agreed to return to the Philippines for a second term as high commissioner during our critical period between liberation and independence. In that service, which is soon to end, High Commissioner McNutt has shown an energy and a devotion to the interests of my people, and to the interests of his own country— in this case the two are identical— which are in the finest tradition of American leadership and idealism in the Orient.

I have been told of the job which Governor McNutt did here to get the Trade Act and the War Damage Act through Congress. We have every reason to be deeply grateful to him. As far as I know, Governor McNutt, who is soon to leave public life—and only temporarily, I hope—had no personal or political interest to support his efforts on our behalf. Yet he spared neither his energies nor his time to help accomplish what had to be accomplished in our cause. No other man could have done what he has done for us in the last six months.

And now I would like to say—and I haven't discussed this with Governor McNutt at all, nor with anyone, for that matter, and I recognize that under ordinary conditions this would be a most improper statement to make—that if

President Truman were to name Governor McNutt as the first American Ambassador to the Philippines, and if Governor McNutt were willing, the Philippine people would welcome that choice. I personally would be overjoyed.

I have departed from the general theme I had in mind for today's remarks to praise Governor McNutt, not because he is present and was good enough to make immediately possible this trip of mine to the United States, but because his service has been typical of that rendered us by his predecessors, a great line of great men. I do not think America has ever sent us a second-rater. We have battled with some of your governors-general. I remember in particular some of the knock-down-and-drag-out fights we had with that pugnacious old gentleman, Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood. The late President Quezon and General Wood had some of the grandest fights—I can say in retrospect—that have ever taken place on any continent. They fought about appointments, about policies, about personalities and precedence. But General Wood, typical of your finest military genius, was respected as a man and as an American We all respected him and today we revere his memory. Among those who respected him most was Manuel Quezon.

It was this type of man and this type of administration—largely unselfish, of unquestioned integrity, of unassailable people, burdened for three centuries with the tyranny of Spanish rule, to an understanding of and devotion to American democracy.

Not too many in my homeland have enjoyed the economic fruits of the democratic way of life you exemplify. Ownership of productive enterprise has been far too concentrated. The majority of my countrymen have had only a limited horizon, until fairly recent years, for their poverty-bound existence. But the great miracle of the Pacific was that these people learned to love democracy, to love liberty, to love independence, and to love America. They may not have had true economic democracy, but they saw in political democracy the promise of social justice, that promise which the great President Quezon held out to them. It was that promise which shone like a beacon to light up the dark years of Japanese occupation. The Filipino people fought and resisted in the cause of the political democracy they knew and had enjoyed as a heritage from America, and for the promise of full economic democracy which they expected, by the example of America to follow.

The Filipino *tao,* humbled to centuries of bowing in subservience to his master, learned quickly and joyfully the satisfaction of dignity and political equality. His vote, he learned, was equivalent in weight to that of the *hacendero* or the wealthy money lender, the two magnetic poles of his economic existence. He drank deep the heady wine of free political choice and solicitation, of free expression, and of free thought. He listened to the local radical extol the virtues of expropriation or of socialism, and saw that the radical was protected in his right to express himself, even if his views were in violent disagreement with the facts of life. This was good, he thought. This is democracy. My son, too, can be a political leader and make fine speeches and help rule my people, even though he is the son of a poor *tao* or *cochero.*

In some provinces of the Philippines the average farm under cultivation is 3 acres, supporting an average family of 10. In these provinces, well over 50 per cent of the land is tenant-farmed. In some of these areas, before the war, the average annual income of the farm family was 30 gold dollars.

I am not exhibiting the old sores of economic maladjustment in the Philippines as an exercise in self-flagellation. The conditions I have described stem from the feudal regime before 1898. We have tried to alleviate these conditions in recent years.

As chairman of the National Development Company before the war, I proposed and saw to completion a project for the purchase of a few large estates and their resale to the tenants. But the land problem of the Philippines is deep and difficult. It is not to be solved merely by the purchase and division of lands already under cultivation. A broadscale program of dividing up the large estates must be coupled with resettlement of our great undeveloped areas, coincident with electrification and community planning, with modernization of agricultural methods, with education and public health. The attachment of the Filipino farmer to his little 3-acre plot of rice land is deep and elemental. He gathers round him his entire family. Together they till and re-till the land until it is exhausted, until hunger drives them apart. The Filipino must be educated in the spirit of the pioneer, of the mover across seas and across mountains. I have merely mentioned these things in digressing again from my general theme, to indicate monumental problems facing us as we begin our independent existence. I mention them to indicate the great

distance we still have to travel on the road to economic democracy. I mention them to show how deep must have been the appeals of political democracy to cause these people to resist the alien ideologies of Japan, with their bland and superficial plausibility, and to sacrifice life and treasure in the cause which you in America understand more by its fruits than by its definitions.

Of course, loyalty to America on the part of the Filipinos should not have been such a surprise as it seemed to many elsewhere in the world. From the days of William McKinley, we have been given a progressively greater and greater measure of self-government. We resisted the American conqueror in 1898. But after the pacification, the United States sent us not troops but school teachers; not colonists but doctors and road builders. Cholera was stamped out; typhus was eradicated. Roads took the place of trails. School buildings and post offices took the place of forts and barricades.

William Howard Taft and Francis Burton Harrison both preached and practiced the doctrine of "Filipinization," encouraging us to take over more and more of the responsibilities of government and leadership.

Under the Wilson administration we were given a congressional pledge of eventual independence. Under the Roosevelt administration we were given a definite date of independence.

The tidal wave of war washed over our islands, leaving in its wake such a flotsam of destruction as has many times been described but which actually defies description. I was in the Philippines all during the war. I saw with my own eyes the brutal savagery of the enemy. Life was cheap and death was common. Torture was ordinary. But in my recent campaign tour throughout most of the Philippines, I was continuously shocked and horrified to see more and more of the evidence of barbarism practiced by the enemy on persons and on things. It was unbelievable. This alone has scarred the existence of my people beyond all reparations and repayment.

The damage to the national economy was incalculable and cannot be estimated in dollars alone. It must be thought of in three dimensions—in dimensions of dollar-men-years. It will take years, dollars, and the unstinted energies and sacrifices of all Filipinos to restore what has been damaged, destroyed, and stolen. We can import carabaos from Indo-China, rice from Siam, and building materials from the United States. But who can estimate the damage when an entire economy is blasted and disrupted, when an inflation has increased the cost of living 12 times, when communications and public health have been set back .half a century; when the morals and morale of an entire people have been hideously affected by exposure to the evil climate of Japanese casuistry.

I have spoken of Filipino loyalty to America. These are words which you might think are polite compliments to your hospitality. I could recite to you at whatever length you wish incident after incident of my personal experience to illustrate and point up this loyalty. Let me recall one such incident, one of many, and less heroic than most.

It was after the surrender of American forces in Mindanao. The year was 1942. As a brigadier general, although a prisoner, I was in internal command of a prison camp at Malaybalay. A Filipino soldier, 18 years old, was among those huddled in the bare stockade.

He was like a hundred others and I never noticed him, until one day he escaped to join the guerrillas. Somewhere in the jungles the Japanese overtook him and brought him back for punishment by death. He was young and his eyes sparked with fire. I pleaded for his life and asked for the privilege of meting out internal punishment.

The Japanese, as always, weighed coldly the advantages of mercy in terms of prisoner morale against the delights of revenge. My entreaties were heard and he was given to me for punishment. I confined him in a cell. One day he sent for me.

"General," he said, his eyes pleading, "would it make you much trouble if I escaped again?"

"Jose," I said, "perhaps there would be trouble for all of us if you escaped. And as for you, it would be certain death if you were caught. And perhaps torture, too. Your mother and your father, they too might suffer."

His eyes were eloquent with reproach. I was silent in a minute and then went on.

“Anvway it is impossible for you to escape. You are guarded from within and without Why should you want to escape anyway? Where would you go? What could you do? You are so young and inexperienced.”

“General,” he answered, “I can escape if I make up my mind to it. They cannot keep me here if I do not wish to stay. And I do not really care what happens to me if they catch me. What is happening to our people is more important than what might happen to me. But if I could hurry the liberation just one moment, I will have earned my life. The Americans will come back one day soon, and then we will all be free, my mother, my father, you. Maybe, I, too.”

It was an eloquent speech. I could not answer him. I could not deny him.

“Good luck,” I told him. “Let your conscience guide you.”

The next night he was gone from his cell. None knew how he had managed it. He was caught before long, but not until after he had killed some of our enemies. He was brought back to camp and killed before all of us. We were to see the penalty for escape.

The priest with whom he spent his last moments came to me later. He had a letter addressed to me. It told of a tree, and of a package buried under that tree. I would understand what to do with the contents of that package, he said.

I found that tree and the package. The package was carefully tied. I can still see it today. There was only one object in it. A clean, carefully folded, carefully kept American flag.

I had that boy’s body dug up from its shallow grave. At night, and with proper ceremony, we reinterred him. Over his body I placed with tender hand that American flag. The good earth of the land he loved covered him up. The flag went with him. He had died for it. He deserved it.

Oh, this boy was not especially a hero. He was not an exceptional case. His number was legion. There were a thousand, a hundred thousand others. General Wainwright told me, while we were in Corregidor, of a Philippine scout of his, a member of the famed Igorot tribe of the northern Luzon mountains. He had grown old in the service, this Igorot scout, old and tough and irascible. On Bataan he would disappear night after night. None dared to question him. But sooner or later his conduct came to the attention of his commanding officer and Pedro was called to account. General Wainwright happened to be present.

The general, who knew and loved the old veteran, took up the questioning

“What have you been doing, Pedro?” the general asked. “General,” he said, “I do not lie to you. It is said that we Igorots are head-hunters. Many generations ago we were. It was said that our people liked to rob and kill. Perhaps it was so, because I have had that impulse. But I have never done it. Now I am having a chance to justify what is said of my people.”

“I robbed and killed, but only Japanese. It is very entertaining.”

“But Pedro,” the general said, “that is disobedience of orders. Besides, it is very dangerous. We cannot afford to lose a man like you.”

“General,” Pedro said, “it is not dangerous. I merely make small noise and then I attack. The Japanese do not put up much fight. They are afraid of us Americans. They always think that I outnumber them.”

These are the Filipinos who fought for you. These are the Filipinos who struggled through 3 1/2 years of darkness toward the day of liberation. These are the Filipinos to whom you are giving independence and economic assistance. The loyalty of the Filipino is a byword in the Orient. He will not desert you when victory fails you. He will not falter

when the odds are against you. He is the Irishman of the Orient. There are 18,000,000 of us 10,000 miles across the Pacific. They are 18,000,000 allies. They are 18,000,000 men, women, and children who love your way of life. You do well to retain their devotion.

I do not draw this word picture idly. I have weighed these words. As I see the future, it belongs to either one of two ways of life. The one way is the way you have developed, the way of economic and political freedom through free choice and free enterprise, guided and governed by such controls as are necessary to protect the public interest, responsive to the will of the majority, but with the fundamental right of opposition, the rights of the minority eternally and zealously protected. The minority may become the majority through the instrument of the ballot box.

Then there is a second way of life, the way which presupposes that one group, economic or political, is ordained by the prerogative of power, however seized to govern, and all other groups must blindly accept and follow for the sake of the state or of the classless society. This way allows for no discussion, for no freedom to differ and oppose. Perhaps in some circumstances this way may be accepted by some. Some peoples may choose it as their way. Our people reject it. We have learned to love democracy, with all its halting, stumbling, and confusion, with all its weakness and inefficiency; we, like you, prefer it and will fight by your side to protect it.

But democracy presupposes one thing. It presupposes that the direction of movement is progress, and that the purpose of progress is to assure not power or glory but well-being and contentment for an ever-growing number of individuals who make up that democracy. It presupposes that the goal of Government is to assure not only freedom but also economic prosperity and security to its citizens. It is the job of Government to find the means to move in that direction. We in the Philippines have many miles to travel. We have many more than you, especially today that we have been prostrated by war and laid waste by devastation.

We look to the United States, as we are about to enter the era of independence, for the assistance and guidance we require. We are not seeking to collect on an obligation. We ask only such assistance as is indicated by our vital needs, and by the undeniable relationship which has existed, which exists, and which I hope will always exist between our peoples. We are not of the Orient, except by geography. We are part of the Western World by reason of culture, religion, ideology, and economics. Although the color of our skin is brown, the temper of our mind and heart is almost identical with yours.

We expect to remain part of the West, possibly as the ideological bridge between the Occident and the Orient.

Economically, our immediate future depends upon the United States. We know no substantial market for the goods we can most easily produce except the American market. You, on your side, need our products. The whole world needs our products today but cannot pay for any substantial share of them.

We do not intend to retain primarily and indefinitely an agricultural economy. Before the war, 85 per cent of our national production was agricultural. Much of that agriculture was based on low wages, producing for export—higher, yes, than the general level in the Orient, but still much lower than your wages here.

Since our liberation, we have had a vast inflation. Wages in many areas in the Philippines today are equivalent with yours. It is an artificial condition. We must endure some deflation. But our goal is to industrialize, to diversify, and to broaden out our economy. We hope for financial and technical assistance from the United States to accomplish this. I believe it is to our common interest for you to provide us with that assistance. Your country has now in the Philippines much more than a mere market for your exports. You have in us a protagonist of your political and economic system—a broadcasting station for Americanism.

The more you help us to achieve prosperity, the more you advance the cause of democracy. The Philippine people are not without pride. They have, perhaps, too much of it. They would not be content to play for pay the role of Charlie McCarthy to your Edgar Bergen. They believe in your words and will therefore repeat them. But neither for the sake of subsidy nor economic favor will they play an international role which is not worthy of the dignity of freemen

In a few weeks we begin our career as an independent nation. We owe our independence, our national existence to you. We are not ungrateful, as I have tried to indicate. But there should be a stronger tie between our two countries than the mere memory of historical association and a sense of economic gratitude. There can be a community of interest to bind the Philippines and America past all power to divide. That community of interest can consist, first, of common economic principles, free, guided enterprise and, second, of a common political system. A mutually advantageous commercial relationship and constant cultural exchanges will furnish the cement for this union. But today it is up to you to determine whether that community of interest is to continue to exist. It will take some trouble and some effort on both our parts. You can decide for yourself whether it is worth while.

Our political independence is a recognition of a geographic fact and also of the circumstances that your Constitution does not provide for coequal political association other than statehood. But our independence does not necessarily mean that we will go our separate ways. I imagine that there are gravitational attractions which would gladly draw the Philippines from her occidental orbit. We intend to resist them. I hope that in the future the natural forces of mutual interest will keep us together in a closer, certainly more conscious, relationship than ever before. We will do our part. Will you do yours?

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 1). Manila : Bureau of Public Libraries.

Congratulatory Message of U.S. President Truman sent to President Roxas

Congratulatory Message
of
His Excellency Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
Sent to President Roxas

[Released on May 26, 1946]

WASHINGTON, D. C.
May 26, 1946

His Excellency MANUEL ROXAS
President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines
Manila

On the occasion of your inauguration as President of the Philippine Commonwealth I extend to Your Excellency and to the people of the Philippines my most cordial felicitations and best wishes.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Congratulatory Message of U.S. President Truman sent to President Roxas. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 43(5)*, 980.

Address of President-elect Roxas before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President-elect of the Philippines
Before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco

[Delivered in California, May 18, 1946 (American Standard Time)]

ADDRESS BEFORE THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB
OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

I feel . . . I have always felt . . . that in San Francisco, I was not far from home. San Francisco has always seemed to me much closer to the Philippines than is indicated by geographic measure. San Francisco is the metropolis of the Pacific, the true cross-roads of the world west of the Mississippi River. I do not mean to outdo your Chamber of Commerce, nor am I quoting from any of its pamphlets. I am merely reporting the impression I have always gotten when I have come through here . . . and I have been through this city a great number of times in past years.

Here, America extends her best countenance to the Pacific, and here I always feel that I am in a neighboring and not so much in a distant land. Here I see the currents of the Orient as they flow into the great American stream of commerce and culture. San Francisco is the epitome of western, pioneer America, exhibiting in this city the expanse, the hospitality and the beauty of all of your great land.

In San Francisco, we Filipinos have always felt, even when no other ear was receptive to our problems, that we could get an interested and sympathetic hearing.

Elsewhere in the United States today the interest in the Philippines has been largely born of war. But even late-born, that interest is a thriving one today. I found it everywhere among your humblest citizens as well as among your greatest leaders. Our plight and our welfare as a people are now of deep concern to you. For that I am humbly and fervently grateful. In that concern we see our salvation.

Despite the destructive waste of war in the Philippines, we are not without resources, basic resources. The war has not stolen our gold, chrome, manganese and iron deposits, nor our coconut and hemp lands, nor our deep-timbered forests, nor the essential richness of our soil. Our people, in their millions, are still available to till the land, to cut the timbers, to dig the mines, to engage in trade and commerce. That much we have.

What we lack today, as the result of war, is not substance but form, not work but the tools with *which* to work. We have potential produce, but no markets; potential manufactures, but no machines; some crops, but no trucks or ships in which to move them; many potential enterprises, but no capital with which to finance them, and no coherent plan on which to organize them.

As we in the Philippines gaze upon the ruins and devastation of our land, as we look upon the shattered hulks of our buildings, and upon the gathered rubble of what were once our cities, we are naturally seized with some dismay. “How many years will it take us,” some of my countrymen ask, “to rebuild what it took the centuries to erect? Does it not look hopeless? Will we ever succeed? How can we undertake political independence possessing as we do only the battered remains of an economy, homeless as we are, and hungry?”

There are not many of faint heart in the Philippines. Courage is one of the proudest virtues of the Filipino. There are not many . . . I doubt if there are any today . . . who doubt that we will succeed in maintaining our independent existence and in restoring economic life and health to our country.

But for the feeling of assurance which we have, thanks must go to the United States. Were it not for the benevolent policy and attitude of America and Americans, we would be lost indeed. But, of course, that is like saying that were it not for San Francisco Bay, this city would be sadly handicapped, whereas the fact is that if it were not for the Bay, there would probably be no San Francisco. Thus if it were not for the benevolent policy of the United States, there would probably be no Philippine Republic in the first place.

The Philippine nation is a nation and is a democracy *because* of the United States. Why do you suppose that the Filipinos were loyal to the United States throughout three years of the greatest trial that any people in any age have ever been called upon to face? The Japanese offered us independence, too, although we knew that the very offer was a travesty on the word. Our loyalty was not a result of calculation. It was not a product of logic. It was a faith and a conviction that the great nation which had taught us political democracy, which had taught us patriotism and idealism, which had guided us long and far on the road to freedom and national dignity, was a nation to whom we owed a basic allegiance in her great hour of crisis. It was as axiomatic to us as faith itself, that we could not betray America without betraying the *Philippine* patriotism whose ideals are identical with the ideals of American patriotism. It was senseless—and the Japanese should have realized it—to ask Filipinos to forget their loyalty and faith in America and shift that loyalty and faith to Japan. The Filipino, guided by 47 years of happy association with America, holds an unshakeable conviction that the democratic way of life is a fundamental good in itself, and that any denial of democracy is a denial of virtue, a denial of God. To the Filipino, condemnation of America, as such, is condemnation of democracy; condemnation of democracy is blasphemy.

It is hard for me to picture, without seeming to fawn, how deep in the Philippines runs the current of faith in your institutions, in your way of life and in your country. Too many of my countrymen, because of lack of education, lack a profound understanding of all the implications of democracy and democratic institutions. But what they lack in factual knowledge, they compensate for in strength of conviction. Fire and sword could not change that conviction. Nor did it.

I will not keep you today, nor delay my own swift return to the urgent matters that are waiting for me in Manila, by dwelling at any greater length on this matter of the faith my countrymen have in what is today our common system of government. I will tell you only one incident, an incident of my personal experience in the early part of this war.

It was after the surrender of American forces in Mindanao. The year was 1942. As a brigadier general, although a prisoner I was in internal command of a prison camp at Malaybalay. A Filipino soldier 18 years old, was among those huddled in the bare stockade.

He was like a hundred others and I never noticed him, until one day when he escaped to join the guerrillas. Somewhere in the jungles the Japanese overtook him and brought him back for punishment by death. He was young and his eyes sparked with fire. I pleaded for his life and asked for the privilege of meting out internal punishment.

The Japanese, as always, weighed coldly the advantages of mercy in terms of prisoner morale against the delights of revenge. My entreaties were heard and he was given to me for punishment. I confined him in a cell. One day he sent for me.

“General”, he said, his eyes pleading, “would it make you much trouble if I escaped again?”

“Jose”, I said, “perhaps there would be trouble for all of us if you escaped. And as for you, it would be certain death if you were caught. And perhaps torture too.”

His eyes were eloquent with reproach. I was silent a minute and then went on.

“Anyway it is impossible for you to escape. You are guarded from within and without. Why should you want to escape anyway. Where would you go? What could you do? You are so young and inexperienced.”

"General," he answered, "I can escape if I make up my mind to it. They cannot keep me here if I do not wish to stay. And I do not really care what happens to me if they catch me. What is happening to our people is more important than what might happen to me. But if I could hurry the liberation just one moment, I will have earned my life. The Americans will come back one day soon, and then we will all be free."

It was an eloquent speech. I could not answer him. I could not deny him.

"Good luck," I told him. "Let your conscience guide you."

The next night he was gone from his cell. None knew how he had managed it. He was caught before long, but not until after he had killed some of our enemies. He was brought back to camp and killed before all of us. We were to see the penalty of escape.

The priest with whom he spent his last moments came to me later. He had a letter addressed to me. It told of a tree, and of a package buried under that tree. I would understand what to do with the contents of that package, he said.

I found that tree and the package. The package was carefully tied. I can still see it today. There was only one object in it. A clean, carefully folded, carefully kept American flag.

I had that boy's body dug up from its shallow grave. At night, and with proper ceremony, we reinterred him. Over his body I placed with tender hand that American flag. The good earth of the land he loved covered him up. The flag went with him. He had died for it. He deserved it.

I don't know how many Americans would keep the American flag as their last treasured possession on earth. But to that youngster, whose name swells the endless rolls of our war heroes, the American flag was a precious symbol of all that he lived for, and of what he was ready to die for, of what he did die for. In the Philippines, symbols are very important. You in the United States are less in need of symbols. You see the ideas of democracy exemplified in all manner of ways about you. Your skyscrapers, your great industries, your national power and might are all symbols and proofs of the worth and value of democracy. You take your freedom for granted; you see no people beyond your borders who can take it away from you. But the Filipinos were, before the war, and are yet today a people constantly challenged to justify their relatively higher standard of living, their western culture, ideology, and religion against the teeming, famine-stricken millions who surround them in the Orient. In such a situation, a symbol becomes a sacred thing. To us, America is that symbol.

You have become that symbol first through 47 years of beneficent rule in the Philippines, through your unprecedented action in guiding us steadily forward in the direction of self-government; and second, and perhaps more significantly, by your own success in translating the democratic philosophy into a system of government which has brought freedom, well-being and prosperity to your citizens in a greater measure than that enjoyed by any other people in the world. Since we have acquired from you the identical system of government and the identical philosophy of life, our people have the natural and even logical hope and expectation that we, too, can move forward along the same road toward the fuller life. It is this spectacle, here in America, of democracy-in-action which keeps us firm in our faith, which kept us firm in our faith during the war, that your way of life is the complete answer to our national aspirations. No other way of life will do.

For your part, should the Philippine people demonstrate, before the eyes of the world, that transplanted democracy can succeed in the Orient, you will see your creed enhanced beyond measure in prestige and power in the hearts of all mankind.

Of course this is a beautiful, but very sweeping prospect. It cannot be achieved by the uttering of pious wishes or the repetition of platitudes. It will take the same kind of sacrifices and endeavors on our part that were required from your forefathers in 1776. If I may make a historical comparison, we are far less fortunately situated today than you were at the beginning of your national history. Our land is an economic desert. Yours was not. We have only one market. You had many. Your infant Government in 1776 had immediate sources of revenue. Ours has none. In those

days, surplus capital from many European countries rushed into investment channels in the United States. We can invite capital only from the United States. The rest of the world is virtually stripped of capital assets.

It all comes back to this: that to make our efforts, to enable us to use the great natural resources we have, we need basically and fundamentally the cooperation, the friendship, and the assistance of the United States . . . not only of your Government, but of your people and businessmen.

We have already obtained some of this help from your Government. Your Congress has undertaken to pay, in part, for our war damages, private and public.

Your Congress has also adopted a trade formula providing for special trade relations between our two countries for 28 years, beginning with free trade, and progressing gradually to a complete elimination of trade preferences. That will give our destroyed and ruined industries and agricultural enterprises a chance to revive under the protective shelter of your tariff, and with the stimulus of your market. The Philippine Congress has yet to act on that formula, but I shall use whatever influence I have to see to it that the formula set forth by the United States Congress is approved by the Congress of the Philippines and accepted by the Philippine people. I have determined upon this attitude because I have ascertained that the formula in the Trade Rehabilitation Act was the best which could have been worked out at the present time. We in the Philippines will do our best to work out our problems under this formula. I trust and hope that if we find, by experience, that the formula provided is inadequate to meet our essential requirements, the United States Congress will agree to the necessary modifications.

I must tell you frankly that one provision of that Trade Act has aroused some resentment in the Philippines. That provision requires us to modify our Constitution so as to grant American citizens and corporations the same rights and privileges, as to business and enterprises, as are granted to Philippine citizens. We are required to permit American citizens and corporations the same prerogatives for the exploitation of all our natural resources, including the ownership of public utilities, as are granted to Filipinos.

The first and most significant objection to this provision arises from the fact that it is not reciprocal. It is a one sided bargain. You in the United States do not grant those rights to Filipino citizens. In fact many of your States have laws discriminating specifically against Filipino citizens. I hope I am not being impolitic in mentioning this. I think that as friends, as fellow American nationals, and soon as partners in world enterprise, we owe each other a high degree of frankness. That is the way I get along with High Commissioner McNutt. That is how our two peoples should get along.

But we will overlook for the moment the lack of reciprocity, although it is a matter which touches the Filipino on the most sensitive portion of his character, his pride and dignity. Even as a strictly business proposition, this provision, requiring us to modify our fundamental law, is an insinuation of evil intention. It is like asking a normal home-loving citizen to sign a pledge and take an oath that he will not beat his wife. We had no such intentions in the first place.

However your Congress thought that this provision was desirable and necessary to induce businessmen and capital to invest in the Philippines and help us build up our war-shattered economy. I assume Congress thought that the businessmen of America required that assurance before investing in the Philippines. I am convinced that the authors of this provision had the best intentions in the world and had no thought of mischief or subtle purpose whatsoever. But it is my opinion that, had this provision never been presented, American capital would have come to the Philippines anyway; they would have joined with us in productive enterprise, and would have made their contribution to our economic recovery in exactly the same way that they are going to do now.

As long as this provision was adopted, I will do my best to implement and support it. As long as we are required to take this pledge of good intentions, we will go through the motions and make the motions whole-hearted. Yet I cannot refrain from saying, in the presence of my great friend and your magnificent representative in the Philip pines, Paul V. McNutt, that the Filipino people would, under any conditions, welcome American capital with all their heart and all their gratitude. We knew we need that capital. We knew it can come only from you. We prefer it

that way. American capital has never taken excessive advantage of us in the past. I do not expect that it will in the future.

A few of my countrymen are alarmed about your imperialists. I am not alarmed. I think that between the democracy-loving people of both our countries, we heavily outnumber the imperialists. It is my impression that the majority rules in this country as in the Philippines We are not afraid of imperialist designs on the part of the United States. If imperialism had been a basic part of American policy toward the Philippines, we would not be on the road to independence today. If imperialism had been the American credo, it would not have had to wait until we were a free land to accomplish its purposes. The Philippines today are a living testimonial and a perpetual monument to the lack of imperialistic pattern in American foreign policy.

But it is my feeling that there is a studied attempt by some forces in the world today to make us and other people believe that American imperialism is on the march. I do not believe it. I reject the notion. If there is such a thing on the horizon as the American century, it will be an American century by example and by emulation rather than by extension of control by either subtle or direct power. We are a living allegation to that effect. I hope we remain so.

I do not doubt that there are forces in the United States, as there are everywhere in the world, which would like to use the power and prestige of the American Government to gain personal profit. I do not believe the American people will ever elect a Government which would allow itself to be so used. There are other countries of whose regimes I am not so confident.

The Philippines, especially because we have been economically levelled, offer unbounded opportunities for economic enterprise. Under my administration, free private enterprise will be given every opportunity, yes, every encouragement, to take the lead in the rehabilitation and the expansion of our economy. I believe firmly that the free enterprise system is the best that has yet been devised by man. But I am just as firmly convinced that it is the responsibility of government to regulate and guide private enterprise, where regulation and guidance are required for the protection of the public interest. Concentration of economic power, to my mind, is as evil as concentration of political power. Private interests of any nationality must not be allowed to prevail over the public interest in such few cases where the two interests collide. It is my purpose in the Philippines to use the powers of government as a check-rein on economic monopoly. The producers and consumers must be able to look up to the government for the protection of their basic rights. Legitimate free enterprise, which acknowledges its responsibilities to producer and consumer, will not require that kind of control. And against legitimate free enterprise, there will be no discrimination based on nationality, provided that the first consideration of such private enterprise will be the public welfare.

I want to say at this point that Governor McNutt and I decided to take time from our urgent flight schedule for this appearance before the Commonwealth Club precisely because we knew of your great interest in the Philippines. We knew that some of you already have intimate business connections with my country. I hope that many more of you will take an interest in the business of my country and will join us in what I conceive to be a great crusade for the expansion of democracy and mutually beneficial relations.

We want investments by Americans who are interested in building, in making, in producing. We want investments by Americans who are interested in forming part of a mutual bond of interest between our two countries. We want investments by those who are more interested in production than in profits although I assure you that there *are* profits to be made.

I was elected President in the recent voting in my country because I promised action, I promised vigorous effort. The Filipinos asked and are asking for leadership and guidance as they march into the dangerous days of independence.

Today hunger stalks my homeland. Unemployment is increasing dangerously. We have a hundred problems which must be solved immediately. Under some conditions I would feel our prospects to be dismal indeed. But I approach the assumption of my responsibilities without fear. We must banish fear. As our great benefactor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, said in those historic words which will ring through the ages . . . the only thing we have to fear is fear, itself. We are buoyed up by our faith in our way of life; we are confident that in this direction lie salvation, freedom,

and prosperity. We are given heart by the basic knowledge that we have the resources, we have the men. And finally . . . perhaps most of all . . . we are given courage by the sure knowledge that our mother country the United States, will not forget us after July 4, but will be reassuringly near in all the difficult days ahead, giving comfort and inspiration by example, and standing ready to provide more practical assistance if we urgently require it. I think I am expressing the sentiment of my people when I say to you that we are proud to pledge that these conditions we will not fail. We will not falter on the way.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 1). Manila : Bureau of Public Libraries.

Inaugural Address of President Roxas, May 28, 1946 Inaugural Speech
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
As President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines

[*Delivered in front of the ruins of the Legislative Building on May 28, 1946*]

MY COUNTRYMEN:

I have taken my oath as President of the Philippines to defend and support the Constitution, and to enforce the laws of our country. I assume in all humbleness the complex responsibilities, which you have chosen to give me. I pledge my effort and my life to discharge them with whatever talent, strength, and energy I can muster. But those responsibilities must be shared by the Congress, by the other branches of government, and, in the last analysis, by all the people of the Philippines who face together the great test of the future. I would not be content to assume this office, I would not have the hope to discharge the duties assigned me if I were not confident that my countrymen are ready and capable of sharing in full measure the work and sacrifices which lie ahead. Certainly no people in recent history have been called upon to surmount the obstacles which confront us today. But I have supreme faith in the ability of our people to reach the goals we seek. I ask from the nation the full and undivided support of heart, mind, and energy for the necessary tasks which await us.

In our traditions, there are ample sources of inspiration. From the recent past, we have the standard of dynamic leadership erected by Manuel Quezon, that mighty champion of independence, and great friend and benefactor of the masses of the people. We have the spotless integrity and noble patriotism of Sergio Osmeña who grasped the banner of leadership when the incomparable Quezon was taken from us.

Our appointment with destiny is upon us. In five weeks, we will be a free Republic. Our noble aspirations for nationhood, long cherished and arduously contended for by our people, will be realized. We will enter upon a new existence in which our individual lives will form together a single current, recognized and identified in the ebb and flow of world events as distinctly Filipino.

Yet look about you, my fellow citizens. The tragic evidence of recent history stares at us from the broken ruins of our cities and the wasting acres of our soil. Beneath the surface of our daily strivings lie deep the wounds of war and economic prostration. The toppled columns of the Legislative Building before which we stand are mute and weeping symbols of the land we have inherited from war.

Unemployment is increasing, as the United States Armed Forces decrease the tempo of activities here. Our soldiers are being discharged in growing numbers to swell the ranks of those who must find work and livelihood. Many of those who have work are employed in trades dependent on the rapidly shrinking expenditures of the Army and Navy.

There is hunger among us. In the mountain provinces and in other far-flung areas of our land, children starve. Prices race with wages in the destructive elevators of inflation. The black market with all its attendant evils of disrespect for law and public morality thrives in the channels of commerce.

Plagues of rats and locusts gnaw at our food supplies. Public health and sanitation have been set back a quarter of a century.

Housing for most of our urban citizens is shocking in its inadequacy and squalor. Disease and epidemic threaten, and we have to thank the Divine Providence that the toll of death is still relatively small.

Our communications are destroyed, stolen, or disrupted, and many of our countrymen are still today cut off from the main currents of national life. Schools have been burned and teachers have been killed; our educational system is in large measure a shambles.

I have sketched a dark landscape, a bleak prospect for our future. I have not meant unduly to dramatize our ills. I do not wish to parade the sackcloth and ashes of our people. Nevertheless, it is necessary to know the truth. Many of us live today in the chambered Nautilus of our own mental construction. There are those who close their eyes to the problems that confront us, and prefer to direct the national attention and the national energy at objects outside ourselves, at fancied enemies, at fancied fears of imperialistic aggression. The coincidence of easy money and high prices gives to some of our people the false illusion of national prosperity and the mad notion that we have time to dally and debate. The prosperity of money and prices is a hallucination, a nightmarish dream resulting from the scarcity of commodities and the influx of a half billion dollars of troop money. Soon, very soon, we must awake from that dream. We will find that mere money, bloated by inflation and circulating in narrow channels, does not bring about prosperity and national well-being. Everyday, that money is being siphoned from our land by more and more imports—not productive imports, but imports of consumption. The well-being of the tradesman alone is not the well-being of our people. Disaster awaits us tomorrow if we do not rouse ourselves and get back to work, to productive work.

I recall our national temper and our national condition five years ago, the last year of the generation of peace.

We had then a land of comparative plenty. The products of our fields and farms were flowing in a never-ending stream across the oceans to the United States, to Europe, to China—even to Japan and Russia. The Government was rich in revenue from taxes, from customs, and from the refunded collections on Philippine products processed and taxed in the United States. We were in the midst of a program aimed at the eventual achievement of social justice for the underprivileged elements of our population. Yes, we had those elements then, as we have them now. We must not imagine that economic maladjustments, land hunger, and farm tenancy are problems born of recent years. They are as old as our present civilization in the Philippines.

The brutal hand of war spread its breadth across our land and blotted out not only our progress toward a fuller life for all, but our entire economy, all the economic goods and tools we had amassed by a century of labor. We had not expected to be a battleground. We had not expected war. Nor were we alone among the peoples of the earth in our lack of understanding of the military aims of our enemies.

We were treacherously attacked; soon, despite the unmeasured heroism of our men at arms and of their gallant American comrades on Bataan and Corregidor, despite the magnificent courage and leadership of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, our land was conquered. A new sovereignty, by dint of force, was imposed upon us. From the beginning, the Filipinos had indicated by word and deed that the fate of the United States in this global conflict was the fate of the Philippines. President Quezon offered the United States the blood and treasure of the Filipino people until victory came. We did not then realize how complete that offer was!

For three and a half years, we were an unwilling part of the Japanese sphere of conquest. But though the land was possessed, there was never a moment in which our hearts or convictions faltered. The Filipinos discharged their debt of allegiance to the United States with a payment of loyalty which has never been surpassed.

I need not refer further in phrase or word to the gallantry of our countrymen in their resistance to the Japanese. The deeds of the Filipino people have been celebrated wherever men have gathered to pay tribute to heroism, courage, and fidelity. Their gallantry has become an epic, a byword, a standard by which all heroism may be measured. Many have tried to explain that heroism and that loyalty. But like all heroism, it rises above the logic of mere reason. I judge it a proof and product of the passion for democracy and freedom which America has taught us during 48 years. That teaching took deep root in a soil made fertile by our great heroes of pre-American days—Rizal, Mabini, and Bonifacio. Our hearts were ready when the Americans came in 1898. By the manner in which America discharged her trust, we developed a devotion to that great nation which I know will exist for all time.

A nation is something more than the people who inhabit a geographic area. It is a spirit, a tradition, and a way of life. There have been Americans whom we have disliked. There have been American administrations from which we have received scant comfort. There have been American Governors General with whom we have quarreled. But we have never had cause to waver in our confidence or faith in America. We have clasped to our bosom her system of government, her language, her institutions, her historical traditions. We have made them ours. We cannot forget this fact and this great truth. We are to be a free nation largely because we were aided in that direction by the love of liberty and the goodwill of the American people. If we succeed as a nation, if we are able to survive as a nation—and of course we will—we will have America to thank. I bear witness to the fact that America stands ready to help, without selfishness, without motive except to reward us for our loyalty and to advance in our land the great cause of democracy and freedom for which Americans and Filipinos died together, in many corners of the earth in the past four years.

I find no dream of empire in America. While cognizant of power, America, as a nation, is troubled in the use of that power by an earnest and heartfelt desire to advance not the cause of greed but the cause of freedom. We are and shall be a living monument to this fact.

Yet we have today in our own land a few among us who would have us believe that we are in danger of an imperialistic invasion from the very nation which is granting us our sovereignty. They would have us believe that the American Republic, resplendent in her power and prestige as the leader of democracy and as the spokesman for freedom, would lend herself to a theft of our national heritage for the sake of a thimbleful of profits. No, my mind will not stoop to as low a conceit as that. The nation which spent 300 billion dollars to arm the hosts of freedom, the nation which has spent and is spending so much of its substance not only to free but also to feed the hungry peoples of the earth will not do that. Small minds see small deeds. I will not place my Government in the position of accusing the United States Congress of willingly conspiring to cheat us of our birthright. I admit the possibility of error in the United States Congress as in any other constitutional body. But I have faith that justice will be done us by a country which has been our mother, our protector, our liberator, and now our benefactor. In this world, the balances of justice move only on great momentums. I am firmly convinced that when the scales point unmistakably to injustice being rendered us, the United States Congress will grant us redress in full and generous measure.

I have no fears from a nation which idolizes humanity and crowns with laurels those who fight for freedom and brotherhood. There is no greater regard in America today than the national regard for our people. Shall we sacrifice that rich regard on the altar of petty pride and foolish fears? Shall we hold up to world obloquy the country whose legions liberated us for freedom? Shall we give comfort to the enemies of liberty in the crisis which now grips the earth? The forces of evil may be defeated, but they are not dead. And there are new forces of evil growing even in nations which were our allies. I see no such forces reflected in the policies of the United States.

Let us strengthen as much as we can the hand of the nation which stands clearly in the world's confusion today for democracy and for justice under law. Let us bide our time for the rectification of alleged impositions. When the time comes, let us present facts rather than fears.

The gratitude of the Filipino people to America is great and enduring. Our feeling toward America is not represented by the loud complaints of an articulate few in our midst. I say in the presence of our great American High Commissioner—one of the ablest and most unselfish of our advocates and friends—that the America of Franklin D. Roosevelt and of President Truman is a land we love and respect. The mighty concern that these men have felt for our welfare dwarfs the magnitude of our fancied ills against the United States today.

Meanwhile, with the tools, which have been provided us, we must move forward without pause to bind up this nation's wounds, to toil, to make, and to build. We have, and will have, a market for our produce. We must concentrate on production, on ever-increasing production. This nation must produce to live. We must have income from abroad—income from exports. We must have that income so that we may buy the machines, hire the technical skills, and, for a time, buy the food, which we need to sustain our strength and impart vigor and health to our young. That task must be begun now, today. The time for action has come. The national energy, in all its parts, must be focused on a single purpose, on the rehabilitation of our destroyed and ravaged economic enterprises—on rice, on sugar, on coconuts, on abaca, on coconut oil, on cigars and tobacco—on gold and chrome, and manganese and

lumber. We must foster the enterprises which will raise the national income and bring in financial returns from abroad.

But our aim is not alone to rebuild the economy that was broken and destroyed by war. That is only the beginning of our task, stupendous as it is. We must rebuild, repair, and replace. We must feed the hungry and heal the sick and disabled. We must care for the widows and orphans of our soldier dead. We must wage war against inflation and unemployment. That is the obvious foundation stone of national rehabilitation. But we know, we have long known, that the narrow economy of the past must be broadened. The national structure must be sufficient to house the energies of the whole people. For the Philippines to fit into the pattern of the 20th century, to take its place as an equal among the nations of the earth, we must industrialize; we must make as well as grow. Only in this way can we raise to substantial and permanently high levels the living standards of our people. To support this kind of economy, the producers must become consumers and purchasers. They must have the income with which to buy the products of their toil. Higher wages accompanied by efficient and increased production are the true road to full employment. Increased wages and income in pesos must represent increased purchasing power. Prices must be kept under control until production and importation reach saturation levels. We must avoid a price structure based on scarcity. We must avoid a wage structure based on inflated prices. Meanwhile, we must encourage the production of more and more of our primary requirements, production of things we ourselves will consume. The encouragement of production for consumption and the increase in the purchasing power of the masses are parallel paths which we must travel.

Our people are well known for their handicraft and for their ingenuity. There are available in the world today tools and machines of which we must become the masters. There are many natural resources in our land which can be processed by the methods of modem technology into finished items for our consumption and for sale abroad. There are many small industrial and business enterprises which must attract the skills and talents of our citizens. Every encouragement must be given the Filipino to participate in all the operations of our new economy at all its levels. But this participation cannot be a grant of government. Participation in business and industry cannot be magically induced. Opportunity can be afforded, but it is the responsibility of the individual and groups of individuals to strive for and capture that opportunity and, by so doing, become integral parts of the expanded economy of the nation.

Tools and implements will be needed to make this dream an actuality. Capital will be required. The savings of our own people will be called for, but they are inadequate. We must invite foreign capital, American capital, investment capital.

We may well wisely look to the great international organs, the International Monetary and Rehabilitation Bank and others, for financial aid. We may look to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. But for some of our needs, we can only obtain assistance from the United States. In addition, we must remember that the United States is the source of most of the finances of all these organizations. What we can secure directly from the United States is far better and more expeditiously obtained than through the devious channels of international action. We must bear in mind in this and other connections that the great international organization of the United Nations, lofty in concept, is yet only an infant in the arena of world affairs. Recent events have demonstrated to us, as to the rest of the world, that the skeleton of the United Nations Organization must grow flesh and develop muscles of its own before it can be depended upon as a repository of our immediate hopes.

We will be as wholehearted as any nation in our devotion to the ideals of an indivisible peace and an indivisible world. We will maintain with all our strength and all our power our obligations to the United Nations, and to the causes set forth in the United Nations charter to which we are a signatory. In the same way, we will maintain friendly and honorable relations with all our neighbors and look forward to the day when peace and security will be maintained by mutual consent and by the collective conscience of mankind.

But until that happy day dawns upon us, we can much more securely repose our fate in the understanding and comradeship which exist between the Philippines and the United States than in the hope of an international morality which, however desirable, is still today in the process of development. We are fortunate to have as the guarantor of our security the United States of America, which is today the bulwark and support of small nations everywhere in the world.

I have spoken of the past; I have spoken of the future; I have not spoken much of the present. I have suggested some of the problems we face. I have not referred to one of our most urgent ones.

In some few provinces of our land, the rule of law and order has yielded to the rule of force and terror. Using economic injustice as a rallying cry, demagogues have destroyed the precious fabric of public faith in democratic procedure. The faith of the people in government and in law must be restored. I pledge myself to rectify injustice, but I likewise pledge myself to restore the role of law and government as the arbiter of right among the people.

A great American who loved mankind and died in its name, Abraham Lincoln, once said: "Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet… they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost."

This great humanitarian could not be accused of placing the values of law above human values. He recognized as do all right-minded men that if government has one function, it is to insure the reign of law for the protection of the weak in their inalienable rights—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This Government is pledged to maintain the rights of the underprivileged with all its strength and all its power. It will see justice done to the poor, the lowly, and the disinherited. But it will not sanction, it will not permit, it will oppose with every force at its command if necessary the imposition of extra- legal rule over any section of this country by any group of self-anointed leaders or individuals. The show of arms and terror will not daunt us. Defiance will not obtain from us a single additional iota of justice. Justice is absolute and is not to be measured by strength of contention.

We will move with maximum speed to cure the ills which beset the landless and the tenants, the hungry, and the unemployed. Only unavoidable lack of means can delay the full execution of this policy. A new tenancy law, granting a greater share of the produce of the land to those who till the soil will be recommended; usury will be stamped out; lands will be purchased by the Government and resold to tenants; new agricultural areas will be opened to settlement; modern methods of agriculture will be taught; and farm machinery will be made available for purchase. It is my aim to raise the status of the farm worker, to increase his earnings, to spread wide the benefits of modem technology.

Labor must be given the full fruits of its toil. Its right of organization must be protected. The dignity of work, and the worker's equity in the product of his labor must be assured by the Government. We will endeavor to assure economic security for all our people. But meanwhile, terror must be abandoned as an instrument of justice. Lawlessness must stop without a moment's delay. Our people, starting out on a career of nationhood, cannot permit our national efforts to be influenced by fear. This proud nation will not grant economic concessions at gunpoint. Arms must be surrendered, except by those licensed to bear arms. The Government will undertake to protect each man, woman, and child in the security of his person, of his liberty, and of his property. That protection is an absolute requisite of progress.

We understand the habit of violence which developed in time of war when violence was the creed of freedom. Many of those who now hold arms illegally served well our common cause. We will not forget their services. We are not without sympathy for the centuries-old burdens of injustice visited upon some of our people. We must understand that anger will lurk in the hearts of men when the gains won by violence in war seem about to be taken away. But the rough gains achieved in the absence of law are transitory and insecure. Be assured that the welfare of those who suffered injustice in past years will be heeded. Their war-won gains will be replaced by the more substantial benefits of justice, of peace, and tranquility within a framework of national prosperity and economic well-being. But first, arms must be surrendered and the leaders of violence must recognize the leaders duly chosen by the free vote of the people.

I recognize that government, in order to maintain respect for law, must in itself bear the unassailable stamp of integrity. Honesty in government is the first essential for the maintenance by the people of faith in its actions. It is a corollary of this that government must be efficient and must watch with vigilant eye the expenditures of public funds. Public officials must render public service. That is their duty. That is their responsibility. Every centavo of the people's money must be spent for the people's benefit. I intend to maintain these standards during my administration.

We have great tasks before us, tasks which challenge the very best and the most that is within us. There is no seed of effort which can be spared from the national planting. Charity and understanding must replace bitterness and anger. We cannot afford to cherish old feuds or old divisions. For the many tasks of national reconstruction, we need the thousand talents of all our people—men and women alike. The recent elections are past. Likewise, the strife of war is over. Bitterness engendered by these events must be forgotten and healed. Violations of basic law will be tested and punished by law. Traitors will not escape their just desserts. But among the people, there must be no recriminations or malignancies. Errors of mind rather than of heart must be forgiven. The great test of war and sacrifice through which we have passed with such hardship will have failed in one of its few benefits if it has not taught us that only in unity can there be power, that only in singleness of national purpose can there be achieved national salvation. I do not mean to suggest that there is no room in this democracy for division of views or of parties. Vigilant, free, and constructive minority organization is a spur to majority leadership and responsibility.

But as we go forward in our full faith to work out the destiny of our land and of our people, we must cling fast to one another, and to our friends across the seas; we must maintain in both our hearts and minds a gentleness of understanding as well as firmness of purpose. Sweat and sacrifice will be needed, but they will fall on barren ground, unless we move in the path of God, "with malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

I have faith in the wisdom of our people. I have trust in the goodness of God. Let us together maintain our faith in each other, in liberty, and in the ways of democracy, and give strength to one another as we advance in our search for the evergreen pastures of peace and well-being for all. With the help of God, let us build in this our land a monument to freedom and to justice, a beacon to all mankind.

Message of President Roxas in honor of Guerilla members of the Cosmopolitan Church, June 9, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines

[*June 9, 1946*]

I feel exceptionally privileged in joining with you in spirit today to do honor to the memory of the martyred members of the Cosmopolitan Church. They were a gallant body of men and women. They chose to perish in the hands of the enemy in order to protect and preserve what they held most precious in our faith, of our culture and civilization. They loved liberty, they believed in democracy; therefore, they poured out their blood so that there would be liberty and democracy left for us to defend and maintain with equal firmness and devotion.

I am proud to note that this heroic group of your church included Filipinos and Americans. No testimonial can be more eloquent to the compact sealed between the peoples they represented, to live together, stand together and, if the occasion arises again, to die together for the ideas and ideals that have brought them together and are the durable stuff of the universal dream to freedom, decency and justice.

I salute these veritable comrades-in-arms. Their sacrifice is an earnest of the better order which we must and will build.

Speech of President Roxas on the occasion of the 48th Anniversary of the declaration of Independence and the proclamation of the Republic of the Philippines

Speech
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the 48th Anniversary of the declaration of Independence and the proclamation of the Republic of the Philippines (English translation of the speech in Tagalog)

[Delivered in Kawit, Cavite, June 12, 1946]

On this very spot 48 years ago our revolutionary armies declared our independence and proclaimed the Republic of the Philippines. All the ties which bound our land to the Crown of Spain were severed and dissolved.

That Declaration of Independence, in language and spirit, stemmed directly from America's own Declaration of Independence. Our declaration affirmed the inalienable right of Filipinos to govern themselves and to be free. It was a consummation of our age-old struggle for liberty and national individuality. In this sense it was much more than a war measure against Spain. It was the sculptured spirit of a whole people, exhibited for the first time to the world in all its simple grandeur. Freedom! Liberty! Independence! Those words, spoken by us in 1898, made the rulers of the Orient pause and listen.

The great heart of America heard. Although our Revolution was short-lived in form, it achieved its purposes in substance.

That celebration on June 12, 1898, was held in the presence of American officers who, under Admiral Dewey, had participated in the sinking of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. While these Americans looked on, our national flag was raised for the first time over our land, and the inspiring tune of our national anthem rang out over these historic acres.

We did not attain our full freedom then. The United States, feeling a deep sense of responsibility for our enduring welfare, and an international obligation for our security, took upon herself the task of gradually training and preparing us for self-government. Our forces valiantly resisted the forcible imposition of this strange benevolence. We had no way of knowing that those professions of good intention were sincere. Our resistance was overcome and we laid down our arms, but in the act of acquiescing to American rule, we accepted American protestations of good intentions. We put our faith in the American declaration that she had come not as conqueror, but as liberator not to exploit but to help us husband our resources and to develop them for the benefit of our countrymen. We soon discovered that that faith was well placed.

We learned, and we may well profit today from that lesson, that freedom and progress may move in paths of peace even more surely than in paths of violence. We learned that in a pattern of order and security, based on good faith and mutual confidence, peoples may move forward to their goals in irresistible strength, unmarred by force or hate.

At first our country, was governed by Americans with the help of Filipinos, later, by Filipinos with the gradually diminishing intervention of Americans. Today our government is practically in our own hands. The intimate and unselfish collaboration between our two countries has no parallel in history and is the inspiration of subject peoples in many lands. On the part of the United States, there was shown the purest altruism and disinterest, and on our part, undivided loyalty, and eagerness to learn and work for the attainment of common aims and purposes.

As we are about to reach the end of the road we have travelled under the guidance of the United States, and to attain the fulfillment of our aspirations, there is nothing in our hearts except gratitude to America and the abiding hope that she will continue to assist us in the trying days ahead.

Veterans of the Revolution! You are members of a glorious generation, now passing from the scene. Your ranks are broken and your numbers are less by the heroes who are not with us today . . . Luna, Bonifacio, Del Pilar, Malvar, Jacinto, Quezon, Leyva and uncounted others who do not answer today's roll call. But our people will never forget them, nor you. You have taught us to fight, to die for freedom. You have proved to us that liberty is more precious than life itself. You have shown us, by brilliant example, that it is the duty of those who survive the struggles of war to live for their country as valiantly and as courageously as those who die. You have shown us the example of unstinted service and sacrifice for the nation's good.

I pledge to you here and now that the torch of liberty you lighted 48 years ago will not go out during our time. I pledge my own efforts to hold that flaming brand aloft with every fibre of my being. The proud banner of liberty you unfurled here will fly proudly over your children and those who come after them. We will maintain our freedom we will maintain our national honor, we will maintain the institutions of democracy and our faith in God and in human dignity with the same perseverance and sacrifice that you showed and offered so many years ago.

We do not fear any nation. We do no suspect any people of having designs against us. We ask for assistance, from friends who are in a position to give assistance. I do not look for evil purpose in the offer of assistance. But we will resist, even as you resisted, with our lives and our treasures any assault against our institutions and our national independence.

In the name of the cause for which your comrades died and struggled, we pledge ourselves on this sacred soil, enriched now by the blood of two generations of soldiers of liberty, to carry on this noble work, so nobly begun.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). English translation of the speech in Tagalog delivered by President Manuel Roxas on the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the declaration of independence and the proclamation of the Republic of the Philippines. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(6)*, 1304-1306.

Radio Address of President Roxas to the American People on the Eve of the Philippine Independence, July 2, 1946 Radio Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the American People on the Eve of Philippine Independence

[July 2, 1946]

"We have One Source of Comfort and Assurance our Deep and Undying Friendship with the United States"

MY FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN RADIO AUDIENCE:

It is but two days until the moment when I take my oath as President of the Republic of the Philippines. I look forward with joyful anticipation to that great climax of our history. We have struggled and striven long to achieve that day. We have fought a great and desperate war on the side of the United States, under the American flag, to arrive at last at the glorious occasion, which awaits us now. It is the goal we have dreamed and worked to reach for centuries. Mere words cannot express my feelings or the feelings of my countrymen at that realization.

But our feelings are not unmixed. We do not leave the comforting security of our long political association with the United States without some sadness. Under American leadership and direction we have progressed far. We have come to an understanding and devotion to great ideals and principles which are common now to both the American and the Filipino people. We have taken for our own the American system of government, the American language and, in many respects, American habits of thought. We are not much different, essentially, from America itself. And so in leaving the safe haven of American sovereignty, we look back on our years under the American flag with a gratitude and warmth of feeling which beggars all description. We have grown to be American in many ways. And we love the purposes and principles of freedom, equality and democracy that we have learned from you.

We will not change in that devotion now that we are about, so very soon, to become an independent Republic. We will not falter in our support of the deathless principles which inspired Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Thomas Paine, and the others of the Founding Fathers. We have claimed those principles for the Filipino people.

But we do not base our love of America merely on a common subscription to the ideals of past heroes. There are new and vital causes in the world today. There are still ideological conflicts among men. Five years ago one of the greatest of those conflicts was fought out on the world's battlefields. The evil doctrines of fascism and the cancerous growth of national militarism came to death grips with the principles of Christianity, of democratic freedom, of humanitarianism. With unexampled carnage and destruction of all the world's goods, the forces of evil were defeated. Our cause emerged victorious.

But the battle of freedom is never ended. The implements of struggle for the cause of righteousness may be the implements of peace, but the struggle goes on nevertheless. There is such a conflict going on in the world today. There are evil forces gathering in many areas of the earth. Evil may be defeated but it is never completely conquered. In this struggle, we throw ourselves unreservedly on the side of right, on the side of justice, on the side of the four freedoms. It was for those convictions that we contested in the recent war. We have not changed our minds or our hearts.

The recent conflict was a tragedy for the Philippines. Our land became one of the prime battlegrounds. For the sake of those principles, as well as because of an intrinsic loyalty to America, our people sacrificed themselves, their treasures and their entire land in the conflagration of war. We were happy in liberation and in victory. Our faith in America had been justified. America returned to this land and drove the hosts of savagery and barbarism from the ruler's seat.

Now America is about to bestow this land upon the Filipino people. A broken and war-wasted territory will arrive upon the stage of nations. We are not despondent. We are not discouraged. As masters of our own destiny, we will conquer our difficulties. Of that I am sure. Of that my 18,000,000 countrymen are thoroughly convinced. We are prepared for the sacrifices, we have already begun the toil which is called for. The motto of this nation for the next space of time will be work, struggle and sacrifice. I have told my countrymen of the grim prospects ahead. They have embraced those prospects and have gone to work with a will. They feel the exaltation of their new sovereignty. They are willing to move mountains to preserve and maintain it.

In facing our difficult prospects, we have one source of comfort and assurance, and that is our deep and undying friendship with the United States. The community of interests we have with America overshadows all our obstacles and inspires all our purposes. We have received many grants of aid from America. They have been gratefully received by the Filipino people. America will always be our beacon and our guide.

As we turn to build the foundations of our Republic and establish economic and diplomatic relations with all the other free nations of the earth, we are pledged and will remain pledged to the maintenance of friendly ties with America as the cornerstone of our foreign policy. We will discharge all our obligations as a member of the United Nations. We will uphold the cause of liberty and democracy wherever our voice will be heard and wherever our strength will be felt. In support of these principles, we will join with all peoples of like mind and like purpose.

Inaugural Address of President Roxas on the Independence of the Philippines

Inaugural Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Independence of the Philippines

[Released on July 4, 1946]

"WE HAVE REACHED THE SUMMIT OF THE MIGHTY MOUNTAIN OF INDEPENDENCE"

MY COUNTRYMEN:

An historic drama has just been unfolded before our eyes. The American flag has been lowered from the flagstaffs in this land . . . not in defeat, not in surrender, not by compulsion, but by the voluntary act of the sovereign American Nation. The flag which was first raised in conquest here has been hauled down with even greater glory. The Stars and Stripes will no longer fly over this land; but in the hearts of 18,000,000 Filipinos and in the eyes of many millions more in this part of the world, the American flag flies more triumphantly today than ever before in history. Some hundreds of yards from here at Fort San Antonio Abad, the American flag was first planted in 1898. As its brave colors fluttered down from the flagstaff a moment ago, the cycle of history had completed a full turn. In the culmination today, America justified her destiny. For America, today's act of renunciation was the climax of triumph . . . for enlightenment, for democratic values, for liberty. We mark here today the forward thrust of the frontiers of freedom.

I have raised the Philippine flag to wave henceforth alone and unshadowed over the entire Philippines. American sovereignty has been withdrawn. It has been transferred and is now possessed in full measure by the Filipino people.

We have thus reached the summit of the mighty mountain of independence toward which we and our fathers have striven during the lifetime of our people.

As the spokesman for America predicted half a century ago, the Filipino people now look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila Bay placed this land under the sovereignty and protection of the United States.

The birth of this nation is attended today by dignitaries from many lands. It is attended by the personal representative of the President of the United States, by leaders of the Congress and of the armed forces and other high officials of the American Government.

The President of the United States has proclaimed our independence. The Republic of the Philippines has now come into being, under a constitution providing a government which enthrones the will of the people and safeguards the rights of men. The historic event has been completed. There remains for us only to evaluate the significance of what has occurred.

There are moments when men should pause in their humbleness and look beyond the passing shadow of events to see the towering magnitude of the forces which have been brought to bear upon the affairs of current time. I judge this such a moment, and I am humble before it.

We who are gathered here personify, but no more than that, the act of establishing a new nation. All of us are mere symbols of the millions of men, and the hundreds of hopes which are involved in our passing pageant.

It can be said that the eyes of the world are upon us. But the world is not listening especially to the brittle words we say, words which pass quickly from hearing and fade soon from even the printed page. The peoples of the earth see in this occasion a magnificent flowering of the human spirit, an interval of grandeur in an epoch in which the grandeur of unselfishness is rare indeed. The peoples of other nations are listening to the words uttered here not so much as words but as sounds which have echoes in the human soul . . . mystic sounds unlimited by time or language . . . sounds which ring in intimate harmony with the voices of freedom heard . . . now remote … now insistent . . . since the dawn of human history.

This occasion, this event which happened here, responds to a cry which is common to all mankind. This cry, the cry for freedom, for liberty, and for dignity resounded in ancient times from the hillsides of Greece; in the Middle Ages, from the high plateaus of Bohemia and the green countrysides of Britain; in the beginning of modern times, from the canals of Venice, from the narrow streets of Paris; and finally and most memorably, from the bright new world which began on the western shores of the Atlantic.

The revolutionary doctrines so immemorably phrased and immortally achieved by the early Americans had not sprung full-grown from the American soil. They were convictions which had been distilled from the product of centuries of thought, of struggle and of sacrifice. On the shores of Galilee, 2,000 years before, a people small in numbers had defended the dignity of man and the glory of God. In the shadows of the towering Alps, the heroic Swiss had fought for home and freedom against the ruthless tyrant. These events and a thousand more went into the making of the American Revolution. The labored thoughts of centuries of scholars, the lyrics of a thousand poets, the insurgence of numberless philosophers, all contributed to the ferment of ideas which found final form in the America of 1776.

American democracy was established. The miracle was that it succeeded. And with its success the eternal search for freedom took new heart and courage. In France the human spirit broke its bonds only to be subdued again by military despotism. The Old World was shaken to its foundations. Anxious kings and princes took violent steps against the doctrines of liberty. But freedom did not die, the struggle for freedom did not end. It gained new impetus as the American democratic experiment continued to flourish, to give hope to men who loved liberty in every land. Gradually democracy moved irresistibly westward across a vast continent until it reached the shores of the Pacific.

Nor did the broad ocean stay the westward surge of the pioneers of liberty. They planted its seeds in this land . . . seeds which bear today their richest fruit.

So as we embrace *our* national freedom, we must see in it, as other peoples of the world do, not alone the product of our struggles and strivings, not alone the altruism of America, but also the final product of the world's age-old quest for liberty. We owe to our own heroes . . . to Rizal, to Del Pilar, to Bonifacio, to Mabini, to Quezon and to many others a gratitude of memory, both deep and abiding. But in this supreme moment we must likewise pay tribute to the great apostles of freedom of many lands who contributed to our independence and nationhood just as surely as if they had lived and died on our soil. Kosciuszko, LaFayette, and Simon Bolivar were all soldiers of liberty, equally with Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The origin of our liberties reaches far back into antiquity, but it was America, who, through the past two centuries, incubated the concepts of freedom and the equality of men, which have now found such firm lodging in the Philippines.

Long before the coming of America to the Philippines, our aspirations for nationhood had been influenced by thoughts and doctrines originating in the United States. The philosophers of our several revolutions were inspired by the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Bill of Rights, and the Federal Constitution. *Our* patriots of those early days demanded the rights of free speech and of free press and of self-government. We well recall those who died here on the altar of religious freedom. When the first Philippine Republic was proclaimed, its constitution provided for a representative democracy. The Philippine Declaration of Independence borrowed even the language of the great American charter of liberty.

When American troops landed on these shores in 1898, they found in full cry the yearning for freedom. American control had to be spread by force of arms throughout the Islands. But the conquerors spoke strange words into Filipino ears. They said that America had come not to exploit but to teach, not to tyrannize but to lead, not to own but to liberate. To our great surprise and to the wonder of the entire world this promise was kept. The benevolent stewardship was discharged with scrupulous regard. The successive spokesmen America sent here reiterated and emphasized the intentions of the United States to educate the Filipinos for freedom.

General Arthur MacArthur, the gallant chieftain who led the first armies of occupation, early won our confidence, for he spoke to us not as the Captain of a conquering host but as a friend and liberator. Americans have maintained that role ever since. The presence here today of the great son of that first leader adds scope and significance to the present hour. The name of MacArthur will be forever emblazoned in the pages of our history.

Our independence missions to the United States received without exception kindly and sympathetic hearings. Our aspirations for independence were given consistent support and encouragement. In 1916 the Jones Act promised us freedom as soon as we should be ready for it. In 1933 and 1934 that promise of independence became a compact between two peoples. The Filipinos, subdued and conquered in 1900, were accepted in 1934 as partners in agreement. The mighty nation whose power awed the earth, whose wealth and substance had won a great conflict in 1918, offered us our independence, promised to restore to us our national birthright and took steps to prepare us for our national freedom.

Then came the war. General Douglas MacArthur directed that heroic defense which has become a legend in military history. The Filipino people thronged to the colors to do battle for their motherland. They continued to resist under the American flag even after that flag was lowered in temporary surrender. When General MacArthur at the head of his valiant legions of liberation returned in 1944, his forces were swept up in a tidal wave of gratitude and were carried forward on a mighty current of acclaim and support. The scattered remnants of his Filipino forces of 1941, their ranks filled out with the heroic guerrillas, flocked to his standards and added fury to the successful assault upon the enemy.

The world cannot but wonder today as we become a nation. A new era has come to the Orient. The first democratic Republic has been established in this quarter of the globe. Freedom has been granted our people, a freedom requested by peaceful petition and freely granted by the American Congress. There are members of that Congress here today and among them are men to whom our obligation of gratitude is deep and everlasting. We will never forget their long and ardent labors for our liberty and welfare. They are heroes of our history and of our people. Their place in our hearts is secure.

And now we must turn our eyes from the past and inspect as well as we can the dim and uncertain future.

From this day forward our international responsibility is absolute. As we are the masters of our own destiny, so too we must bear all the consequences of our actions. If we surmount the difficulties that beset us, if we conquer the obstacles which bar our way, our people will grow great in the eyes of men. But if we strut with false pride upon the world stage, if we berate with bombast our friends and benefactors, if we lend, for reasons of political expediency, comfort and encouragement to the enemies of peace and freedom, if we invite poverty, chaos and disorder to inhabit our land, we will break faith with our noble past and imperil our national future.

No longer are we protected by the mantle of American sovereignty. No longer can we look to America to shield us from follies or excesses. There is no redress for our actions beyond the immutable laws of justice among nations. Our period of apprenticeship is past. We are an adult in the council of nations. Our decisions must be gravely made; they will be gravely judged. Our war-time heroism has commanded the respect of the world. We dare not sacrifice that respect.

From this day forward, it is not the leaders of Government alone who will be judged. By the actions of our Government, the Filipino people will be appraised. Our actions in the next years will determine the estimate the world will place upon our national character. Heavy is the weight of responsibility we bear as we start out upon the

dangerous paths of independence. The ever-present guide is gone. We must find our own way, with the instincts we have inherited, with the wisdom we have acquired.

Words must cease to be substituted for thoughts and judgments. In a troubled world where our alliance with one group of nations or another might help determine the fate of mankind, we cannot afford to hesitate or choose capriciously. We cannot be epicures at the international table. We must select our fare, and adhere to that selection. Our alliances must be firm and unshakeable. Our loyalties must be strong and enduring.

I judge that our choice has been made. In the presence of our honored guests today, in the presence of the representative of the sovereign American Nation, I state my firm conviction that we have already subscribed irrevocably to the principles of the American Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution. Those principles are now embodied in the basic law of our land. We are committed to the cause and the international program of the United States of America. We are pledged to the support of the Four Freedoms.

We are in the atomic age. We cannot stay the swift advance of time even if we would. The world shrinks with each passing hour. Wings carry men across deserts, oceans and mountains. The wide waters have ceased to bar access to our land. The stratosphere is now an avenue for swift flight or swift destruction.

In such a world we cannot retreat within ourselves. We cannot live in unconcern for the world's opinion. We cannot bar from our shores the products of other lands. We cannot build on principles of isolation. Today the affairs of Trieste must be our concern. Today we, too, have an interest in the Mediterranean. The problem of Palestine is our problem. The Poles and the Czechs are our neighbors; their fate concerns us as intimately as the destiny of China, the future of Manchuria or the welfare of Malaya. The world today is one.

While we gain the glorious gift of freedom, it is accompanied by a charter of obligations. Today the concept of independence is overshadowed by the dynamic growth of international interdependence. On all fronts the doctrine of absolute sovereignty is yielding ground. Heavier and heavier grows the pressure of the world's anxiety for peace and security. That pressure is directed against the principle of total sovereignty. We have, by our membership in the United Nations, already surrendered some of our sovereignty. If called upon to help in the enforcement of peace, we must supply that help. We have, as have other nations, granted the right of the United Nations to utilize our land and our resources, if required for the purposes of international security. The cry for a World Federation of Nations is again welling from many throats. Should this come to pass, our sovereignty would be further curtailed. We cannot obstruct that development. In the world of nations we lack the authority of power. We must depend on the world's conscience for our protection and salvation.

But we have yet a greater bulwark today . . . the friendship and devotion of America. That friendship, which is the greatest ornament of our independence, raises us far above the level of our intrinsic power and prestige. There are many nations aspiring to world recognition. There are many peoples who merit the sympathy and understanding of mankind. There are few who are poorer in wealth of goods and economic power than our new-born Republic. In both Asia and Europe, the small nations tremble in the shadows of insecurity or are pawns in the insidious politics of power. Freedom, if it ever existed in many of those lands, has been erased. Famine, actual starvation, stalks the streets of cities and the by-roads of countrysides. What help they receive to avert epidemic and hunger must wait through the long processes of international consultation, and is subject to the moves and counter-moves of conflicting interests. America is the source of almost all of the assistance furnished the stricken areas of the world; and the American Congress, appropriating with troubled and divided conscience for the bare relief needs of these lands, looks askance at the political complexions of the governments in some of those areas. We, of the Philippines, are spared that trial. American aid to us is direct and whole-hearted.

In other parts of the world, nations not fastened in the iron control of fear are locked in internal chaos, with civil war rampant and governments holding power by the tyranny of might.

The Middle East writhes in ferment. Africa is a political battleground, the Iberian Peninsula seethes with unrest—only the western hemisphere, the lands and peoples of the New World, are relatively free, secure and without fear . . . the New World and the democratic British Dominions overseas. Only these of the small nations of the earth are

content in their security. And for these nations, through one means or another, the United States is the guarantor. Their security is a measure of the unselfish power of America. In the western hemisphere, the stability of governments and their freedom from interference and coercion are the results of the Good Neighbor Policy and the Monroe Doctrine. The British Dominions, for their part, owe a large measure of their security to their geographic position within the American defense sphere.

Any doubts which may still linger in some quarters of the earth as to begin intentions of America should be resolved by what she has so nobly and unselfishly accomplished here.

Should we in the Philippines disdain the support of this modern Colossus whose might is the hope and strength of the world? No free nation today can, to its advantage, scoff and snarl at the United States, whose broad shoulders bear the awful weight of world peace. Subtract the influence of the United States from the rest of the world, and the answer is chaos. Perhaps we have not fully understood what has taken place in the past five years. There have been withdrawn from the balanced scales of world power the might of Japan in the East and of Germany and Italy in the West. The attrition of war has diminished the strength of Britain and broken almost entirely the authority of France. China is in the agonized throes of national rebirth. There are only two major poles of power in the world today . . . Russia and the United States, both of them bestriding the oceans, facing Orient and Occident. Not since the Peace of Rome was broken by the onslaught of the barbarians twenty centuries ago has there been a comparable situation. The mind of man can scarcely conceive of its implications. The world may well shudder, contemplating the possible consequences. But men of good will in many lands, desperately loving peace, have brought forth the United Nations, noble in concept, and worthy in purpose, a hopeful answer to the prayers of the humble peoples of the earth.

We are a member of the United Nations. Even as a Commonwealth, we signed the charter of that organization. It was Franklin D. Roosevelt's strong desire that we should be considered a nation among nations even before our independence, even while our land was in the clutches of the enemy. The signature of Manuel Quezon is affixed to the Declaration of the United Nations. Today we may well rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the United Nations, to the preservation of peace and the promotion of justice among men.

But as we pledge ourselves to this world organization, it is well to bear in mind that today the United Nations is no stronger than its strongest power, and that it is the leadership of the United States which has given to this body its soul and strength.

The world cannot but have faith in America. For our part, we cannot but place our trust in the good intentions of the nation which has been our friend and protector for the past 48 years. To do otherwise would be to forswear all faith in democracy, in our future, and in ourselves.

As we pursue our career as a nation, as we churn through treacherous waters, it is well to have a landfall that we may know our bearings and chart our course. *Our* safest course, and I firmly believe it true for the rest of the world as well, is in the glistening wake of America whose sure advance with mighty prow breaks for smaller craft the waves of fear.

The Philippines aspires to greatness. We seek, along with all other nations, after glory. We seek eminence among the peoples of the earth. But we will not sacrifice peace to glory. We will not trade the happiness of our people for national fame. We will not yield freedom or liberty for economic well-being. We will search for, 'and I trust we will find, that happy formula for security, for friendship and for dignity that can be combined with the elevation of the economic status of our citizens, and with the preservation of our liberties in a world of peace and equal opportunity for all nations.

We are a troubled people. Our economic goods are destroyed and our homes and buildings are in shambles. We must rebuild a levelled land. Against a background of destruction, we acquire our sovereignty, we receive our national heritage. We must perform near-miracles to bring prosperity to this, our land. The work of two generations was reduced to rubble in the passionate moments of war. Now we must rebuild in months what was created in decades. Time wields her whip-lash over us. Delay and decay stand in impatient turn at our door. Swift must be our

actions lest the dynamics of chaos overtake our efforts. To succeed in this imperative, we have the assistance and support of the United States. Without that assurance, our prospects would be bleak and grim.

In all this we will maintain the implacable substance as well as the noble forms of democracy. We will stay our progress, if it is necessary, to permit time for democratic counsels. We are determined to reflect in the actions of government the will of the majority of the people We will move with the speed indicated by the people's wisdom.

We will eschew the symbols and shibboleths as well as the motives of dictatorship. We cannot avoid the process of pause and advance which is the democratic way. Laws and institutions are more certain guides than the unchecked will of men, however benign their purpose.

In our economic life, we will continue to embrace, as we have in the past, free but guided enterprise. That is our system. We will defend it against the deceptive allures of communism, of militarism, and of fascism. We will not give comfort or countenance to those anti-democratic creeds. Proponents of these views will be protected in their right to hold and openly to advocate them. They will not be protected in subversive schemes to destroy the structure of this nation or of its free institutions. Alien anti-democratic "isms" will not be permitted to misuse the priceless privileges of freedom for the systematic destruction of liberty.

We have surveyed at length our relations with the United States and with the rest of the world. We have discussed the significance of our nationhood in transcendental and in immediate terms. But this nation is above all a nation of people. Its Government exists by the consent of the governed, and seeks to express the will of the governed. The welfare of all the people must be our primary concern. The toil and sacrifice we have laid out for ourselves must be directed not for the exaltation of the state, but for the elevation of all our citizens, for their greater happiness, for their economic security, for their well-being, for the attainment of greater opportunities for their children. The sweat of the toiler's brow must be fairly and fully rewarded. The products of enterprise must flow in proper measure to those who participate in all the processes of production. There must be neither masters nor serfs in our economic system.

As we stand at this moment, facing the thorny path of the future trying our first unaided steps on the road which leads to tomorrow, let us take comfort in our national sturdiness and courage. We are 18,000,000 strong. Our people bear well the burdens of adversity. The national spirit is one of humility, of gentleness, and kindly brother hood. Stout of heart and firm of purpose, prudent and wise in the deep wisdom of nature and of God, our people have great reservoirs. This land, this child of freedom, has great responsibilities to America. We are a staging area of democracy in this part of the world. But whatever our role in history, of one thing we may be sure . . . the Filipino, strong in his faith and steadfast m his loyalty, will support his nation, come what may. This daughter land of America, sprung from the hardy stock of Asia, will not be awed by difficulties. It will live and endure the shocks of time. This is our faith, and this is our resolve. With the help of the Divine Providence, our steps will be illumined by the shining countenance of truth and of righteousness . . . our spirits will be eased from the weariness of toil by the grace of knowledge that our people's happiness is our goal.

Our independence is our pride and our honor. We shall defend our nation with our lives and our fortunes. As a poet wrote long ago:

Let independence be our boast
Ever mindful what it cost.
Ever grateful for the prize,
Let its altar reach the skies.

NOTE.—The historic drama referred to in the opening sentence of this address is described on pages 4 and 5 of the *Blue Book of the First Year of the Republic of the Philippines*, as follows:

"In a moment, we saw a silver poles—so tall, so bright, so magnificent. Then we saw Ambassador Paul Vories McNutt, he of the silver hair, arise and slowly, gracefully, patiently pull the great American Flag from the top of the pole. The United States Army Band struck up the opening strains of the *Star-Spangled Banner* and kept the music

solemn, sweet, and sad. And we sang in our hearts, with tears streaming down our cheeks, «O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.» Forty-seven years! This was our song too. This was our flag. Beneath it we fought the epic battles of Bataan and Corregidor. Beneath it we felt that this was not a mere patch of tropical soil with swaying palms and tawny sunsets and silver breakers creeping on the oozing sands. This was a piece of America. This was American Democracy. This was the last outpost of freedom in the Pacific.

"Then the President of the new Republic of the Philippines slowly, gracefully, patiently raised the Flag of the Filipinos to the top of the silver pole. The Philippine Army Band began to play the Philippine National Anthem. As it gathered volume and reached for the climax we intoned in silent determination, a tingling thrill running through our hearts:

«Ne'er shall invaders trample thy sacred shores.» Never again! No, never again shall a foreign power set foot upon this, our hearth and home. Never shall the barbarian crush beneath his booted heel the writhing bodies of our women and children.

"At this point the two flags met on the way—one going up, the other coming down. There was a brief, split-second pause. They touched each other for a fleeting instant as if in a last caress, a last kiss. A breeze was rising from the west. It brought echoes and memories. We harked back to the dark days of 1942 when the whole world seemed crashing about our ears. We heard the voice of the American President—the incomparable Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

" 'Your freedom will be redeemed and your independence established and protected.'

"This was the Voice that sustained us through the long, unequal fight. This was the promise that now found consummate realization and fulfillment. It was worth the sterling valour and the unspeakable sacrifice. It was worth the blood, sweat, tears, and treasure that any nation could offer upon the altar of immaculate liberty.

"In another moment the American Flag was folded carefully, solemnly, tenderly. At that moment the Philippine Flag, its red bar below the blue in token of beneficent and dearly bought peace at last, began to wave in the sweeping wind. The wind came in swift, low gusts. The spell was broken.

"Guns—big guns of the Army began to bark not in accents of defiance but in salvos of applause. A siren sounded screeching like a New Year's greeting. From a hundred spires churchbells began to peal the mellow golden song of freedom."

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 1). Manila : Bureau of Public Libraries.

Independence Day message of President Roxas, July 4, 1946

Independence Day Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines

[*July 4, 1946*]

The significant burden of Independence Day is that membership in the community of free nations is to be maintained only by a close adherence to the basic imperative of self-help rooted in self-respect. To start with, and do, less is to impugn our capacity and vitiate our right to the status and stature of freedom.

We can expect cooperation, secure assistance and win respect from the rest of the world only as we demonstrate enterprise and competence from the beginning in the use of what resources we have.

This was the basis from the beginning of our people's long struggle for freedom as sanctified by the blood of our heroes, patriots and martyrs. From this has been derived our immemorial hope of fulfilling our creative gifts as a nation and contributing our share to the welfare of the world as one community.

It is most appropriate to acknowledge on this day our lasting obligation to America for the fulfillment of our age-old dream. In providing us the means to realize this dream, she has set a precedent without parallel in history. Ours is the responsibility to be worthy of her faith.

Message of President Roxas to the Filipino Businessmen's Convention in Manila, July 6, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manule Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Filipino Businessmen's Convention in Manila

[*July 6, 1946*]

To the delegates and officers of this convention I wish to tender my heartiest greetings. It is most appropriate that you meet shortly after the soul-stirring birth of our infant Republic to consult with one another on her crucial problems within your special field of interest.

I look upon you as fellow architects in the vast task of national reconstruction. Our goal is set, and all I would ask of you as you meet to propose and discuss is to remember that, in what we are determined to build, everything depends upon the quality of our construction materials, the calibre of the competence employed in their use, and the integrity with which what plan we have is enforced into concrete fulfillment. The very substance of our opportunity for creative leadership rests on these fundamentals.

We are called upon to build firmly and durably. This requires the best available materials, the greatest skill, the highest honesty, the most far-reaching enterprise. Where we falter in living up to any of these basic imperatives, the result must of necessity be shoddy, shaky and ultimately disastrous. As economic leaders of our young Republic, I beg of you to meditate on the suffering that would be visited upon our people should you neglect to lead and cooperate on the highest plane possible.

It is you who will give flesh and bone to the very pattern of our culture and destiny. It is you who can determine the quality of living in this country of ours—whether it will be progressive, abundant and full of grace, or whether it will remain impoverished, ugly and disruptive.

I need not stress further that this is a tremendous responsibility and that you and I and everybody else must face it together; consecrate ourselves, as it were; and go at it with a heart and a will that shall not reckon the ruggedness of mountains.

I wish your convention every success. May it be rich in ideas rooted in reality. May it generate the passion to conquer the most stubborn obstruction.

Message of President of Roxas honoring the 50th anniversary of the Cry of Balintawak, August 26, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion honoring the Fiftieth Anniversary
of the Cry of Balintawak

[*August 26, 1946*]

Fifty years ago a group of Filipinos met on this spot of Balintawak to pledge themselves unto death to the cause of Philippine liberty and freedom. The Cry of Balintawak formally launched the Filipino fight for freedom by the last recourse of arms.

Fate had not willed that those eager and intensely patriotic souls, who fought under insuperable odds and died that their country and people might be free, should see the fulfillment of their dreams. It was left for another generation—this generation of ours—to reap the fruits of their sacrifice.

The Cry of Balintawak had the historic answer in the proclamation on July 4 this year, of Philippine independence. Our heroes and martyrs have not died in vain. Our country is at last free.

Significantly enough, freedom came only after another generation, worthy inheritors of the spirit and tradition of 1896, had given generously of their blood in one more supreme dedication to the cause. Our freedom could not have been so preciously paid for and won.

In commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Cry of Balintawak, therefore, it becomes our privilege and duty to dedicate ourselves anew to the equally heroic and patriotic task of making our dearly won independence real, secure and lasting. The strength of unity and common interests that our heroes and martyrs have so well demonstrated in the fields of battle is the same and the only power that can pull the Filipino people out of the chaos and confusion that the last war has visited upon our land. It alone can lead us into the promised realm of peace and progress as a free and sovereign nation.

Address of President Roxas to the Alumni Association of the University, September 28, 1946 Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Alumni Association of the University
On the occasion of Rebuilding and Expanding the University of the Philippines

[*September 28, 1946*]

FELLOW ALUMNI:

It is a source of peculiar satisfaction, common to all men, to be able to return among one's classmates, or townmates, or boyhood friends, as the boy who made good. I am not claiming that laurel yet, but I hope to have earned it by 1950.

Today, I am happy to be honored by my fellow alumni of the University of the Philippines, and I am grateful. Like all of you, I love my Alma Mater. Like all of you, I am proud of her. I am proud of her record of scholarship, of her national service, and of her numerous and eminent brood. I am especially proud of the war record of her students, faculty and alumni…a record that for generations will fill her halls with glory and serve as an inspiration to those who may enter after.

I want to take this occasion to congratulate all who have participated in the magnificent reconstruction of the University from the havoc of occupation and war. I say reconstruction, despite the fact that the buildings and classrooms and laboratories, which we so proudly built before the war, are still shambles and shard. Reconstruction is fast taking place with the true elements of a University…the spirit and devotion of its teachers, and the loyalty and enthusiasm of its student body. A university is not, essentially, a mere physical plant…a collection of halls, rooms, books and campus greens. These are but conveniences and facilities. A university may exist without them; a university above all is a free market place of thought and learning, where teacher and students assemble to examine the enduring and precious wares of the sages, and to trade in experiences, truths and ideas.

The great universities of antiquity were in the open squares of Athens where Aristotle, Socrates and Plato conducted their discussions. So in the Philippines we have rebuilt a University in tents, in burnt-out halls, in Quonsets, in bombed and fire-scarred shelters. But the spirit of learning and of inquiry is brighter than ever. It is that spirit which makes a University great, It is of that spirit that I am so deeply proud today.

Nothing so marks a nation's greatness as its institutions of learning, The glories of Ghengis Khan fled with his death. Phoenicia and Carthage and the cities of the Mongol Empire are only names in history. But Athens, Alexandria, Damascus, Goetingen, Heidelberg, Madrid, Florence, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge are place-names which are immortal because learning flourished there.

And in our own times free inquiry and untrammeled learning have come to be a hallmark of democracy. The great humanistic tide which has swept over the world swirled first out of university classrooms. Free primary education and state-supported higher education, combined with complete freedom of inquiry, have become almost synonymous with the institution of democracy itself, For this reason, as well as for many others, the University of the Philippines, and all the other schools, private and public, of this nation must be one of the first concerns of the Government and of the people. They are the heart, the pumping station of the lifeblood of democracy. Among the educational institutions of our country, the University of the Philippines is naturally the most important. We expect it to continue producing leaders for our nation. It will have my unstinted and affectionate support. One of my great ambitions is to see the University, before I leave the presidency, expanded and rebuilt into a greater and nobler institution of learning than any in our part of the world.

But today we face other more pressing problems than the condition and future of our Alma Mater. These problems are ever present in my consciousness. And so I will presume upon your patience and your interest with a discussion

of some of those problems exactly as they have been taking shape in my mind these recent months. I should like to speak with utter frankness, and at some length, confident that you will thus be able to comprehend more clearly and directly the motives that underlie the recent moves of government. I should like to expose, as with a scalpel, the inner recesses of my thinking, so that you may understand, and so that the people may understand, what I see as I examine the condition of the Philippines. If I may use a medical analogy, I should like to do what doctors do when they examine a patient. I will enumerate symptoms, indicate a diagnosis, and then make recommendations for treatment and recovery.

The people have chosen me to be the chief physician in this case. Perhaps I have selected an unfortunate figure of speech. A physician is dispassionate, detached and is not personally involved in his cases. I am far from detached or dispassionate. I am part of the patient. I am the head of a family, which has been struck by disaster. I am far from calm as I view the plight of my countrymen. But for the sake of this discussion, I will be as measured as I can in the figurative role I have chosen.

First of all I must assume that you agree that the patient is ailing. You need look no further than across the street to see the physical manifestations of the blight, which has struck us. These physical manifestations have been often listed, analyzed and commented upon. I need only refer to them briefly here; but the pages of our contemporary history must be drenched with tears at the recording of the devastation and destruction visited upon this oncesmiling land. Here were our cities, our farms, and our countrysides, our roads, our waterways, once comprising an integrated and intricate pattern of beauty, of achievement, of the builder's art, the engineer's skill, the industrialist's enterprise, the farmer's competence, the seafarer's craft…all marred and mangled now, and out of pitch, tumbled down, burnt, shell-pitted, ravaged, stolen, looted, crumbled. The work of centuries undone, the carefully husbanded wealth of ages blasted and dissipated.

Have I drawn too swift, too dark a picture? Have I made the patient's symptoms more serious than they are? I do not think so. Let memory be sharp and contrast our land six years ago with what it is today. We are too prone to become accustomed to ruin, to disorder and to squalor. The ugly outlines are softened in their ugliness by our acceptance of them. But for this diagnosis that we are making, we must keep our minds crystal clear and recall the patient in health to determine the extent of his illness now.

But of course the physical ruin is only a part, almost a small part of what war has wrought. Clear away the debris of destruction; build again the rubble into stones; raise new buildings in place of the old. The tragic effects of war will still be here. Those effects are much deeper than the heaps of ruins in cities, and the rusting machinery in our factories and mills. We must face the truth that the dry rot of enemy occupation has eaten deep into our moral fiber.

The virtue of honesty, having little immediate survival value under Japanese rule, has gone much out of use. Many of our people have come to accept the easy advantage of bribery, of evasion, untruth, graft, and even corruption. The injunction from Mt. Sinai that we shall not envy our neighbor's goods is likewise out of fashion. Thievery is rampant. The easy way of life attracts many of us.

Armed bands of our citizens have offered defiance to duly constituted government, and have sought to parley and treat with our government, as potentates of a foreign state.

The sanctity of human life is much discounted. We have become callous to death and violence. Our capacity for being shocked by brutality and human savagery has decreased. A two-line item in our newspapers disposes of our reaction to murder.

A large part of our younger generation eschews the sterner virtues, and looks lightly upon sobriety, chastity, obedience, truth, and arduous toil.

There is altogether as much of a sickness of soul as there is a blight of physical destruction upon our land and upon our people.

The family, once the bedrock of our society, is loosed from its moorings. The once indissoluble ties of blood relationship have been cut across in many cases by the new hates and passions of the recent horrors.

Our unique culture, formed by the meeting here of the three great currents of civilization…the Latin, the Anglo-Saxon, and that of the East. ..is in danger of being mongrelized and disintegrated. We are losing the urge to retain in our culture pattern the stern and virile virtues of our fathers which are the essential elements giving it cohesion and form.

Religion and the eternal moral precepts have lost much force and meaning in our lives.

These are symptoms of our national ailment, and I judge them to be serious indeed. I judge them to be dangerous, to hold all the perils of disaster.

It might seem that I am heaping obloquy upon our people. It might be said that some of the symptoms I have mentioned are common ailments in the backwash of war, and are not at all peculiar to the Filipino people. I might be accused of defeatism, or of wailing before the wall of the inevitable. I do not think so. I am not a defeatist. I am not willing to accept the present state of affairs as insurmountable. I refuse to be tolerant of this growing malady of the soul. I do not believe we are helpless before it. I do not believe we should shrug our shoulders and merely wait for the healing hand of time.

I have said before, and I repeat now . . . I have unlimited faith in the Filipino people. Even as I have examined with pitiless honesty the weaknesses which today beset us, I can likewise name the noble virtues and magnificent characteristics of our people, their sources of strength, never so heroically demonstrated as during the recent war. These sources of strength, these constitutional factors, are those upon which I call to mend our present failings.

There is within us a courage and resolution which, over the past four years, was one of the epics of the war. Our devotion to ideals and principles, our loyalty, and our love of freedom will be celebrated in many lands and in many tongues for generations to come. There is strength of purpose and an innate nobility in the Filipino character, endowing it with those resplendent qualities, which have borne other nations to glory and happiness. This is my creed, my article of faith. Upon that rock we shall build.

I judge that there is more than enough strength and resolution within us to halt the inroads which expediency and cynicism are making in our national character. I have full faith that there can be a moral and spiritual revival among us to keep pace with the material and economic rehabilitation, which we contemplate and on which we are embarked. I am convinced that the latter cannot properly proceed without the former. But I am just as convinced that the opposite is true. I believe the two must go hand in hand. I will dwell on that in some detail in a moment.

But first I should like to discuss another ailment which is plaguing our body politic…one which concerns me deeply, one which is deep-rooted, and is not especially the product of war, but one which we must face honestly and directly. I refer to the extreme and unintelligent nationalistic spirit, which today pervades many quarters, and is especially marked in our youth.

A spirit of national pride is, of course, vital to independent existence. It is essential to nationhood. It is a mark of all united peoples. In its finer manifestations, it is a sign of national health, vigor and courage. But it is a delicate plant, which easily runs to seed. Untended, growing wild in rank soil, it becomes a noxious weed, choking off all that is fine and noble in a nation's culture. In such a guise it becomes antagonistic to freedom, to democracy, to art, to culture, to all the noblest endeavors of men. It leads to dictatorship, to repression, to brutalism, and in the last analysis, to war.

To be proud of one's citizenship is to reflect the highest teaching of humankind. It is to live in the noble model etched by Plato in his famous dream, the Republic. But being proud of citizenship necessarily implies being proud of that which citizenship stands for. And for this latter pride there must be a basis in national accomplishment. In ancient times there was no prouder boast than to be a citizen of Rome. But that pride was founded on the equality of all citizens, and even more, on the accomplishments that were Roman.

In the great periods of Grecian history, it was noble to be a citizen of the state of Athens, or of Sparta. But there were other periods when the spirit of the ancient Greek had grown small and mean, when the city-states quarreled and bickered incessantly one with another, when a stranger was a challenge, and bore his own death warrant when he wandered from his own borders. But in the mighty moments of Greece and Rome, strangers were welcome. Men of many lands thronged the cities and universities and temples of the capitals, and gaped in wonder at the marvels of civilization they saw.

For centuries, repeated waves of barbarism washed over the defenses of Rome. But in the end it was Rome that conquered, and the barbarians that were conquered by the rich culture of Rome.

In more modern times, it has been a source of pride to be a Frenchman. But no more hospitable country existed in all the world than France; none was more gracious in extending asylum to the foreigner, was more cosmopolitan in accepting with easy grace the differences of language and speech than the French Republic. The Frenchmen were not afraid. They were fiercely proud of the delights and glories of their native land, but they were not at all jealous of the enjoyment of its pleasures by others.

But who has heard of these other nations of ancient and recent past who have chanted nationalistic hymns of hate, who have persecuted the traveler, the visitor, the immigrant, the foreigner? No greatness is in them, no lasting page in history records their deeds. Japan's original barbarianism before Commodore Perry, and her later career of international crime can be traced to a chauvinistic nationalism which exalted race and racial credo, and despised or feared the foreigner. The memory of Nazi Germany is too green to require more than mention. We could cite many a small nation, comparable to ours, which fell into the same error. Those peoples, still backward, still oppressed by their own masters, and by international financial power, which knows no nationality, serve as sufficient text for this great lesson of history. Peoples which have built their national pride on sand, which have worshipped only the idol of race or nationality, remain confined in the narrows of their own short-sightedness and provincialism. They furnish no leadership to the world, nor happiness to their own people.

It is almost invariably true that this false nationalism of which I speak is a cloak for selfish ambitions and tyranny. Such leaders fear to face the open test of comparison. They shrink from the race of competition. They shirk the duty of providing adequate standards for their own people. They point the finger of blame at foreign folk for their own shortcomings. More often still, unthinking nationalism is a refuge for scoundrels to disguise acts of oppression, persecution, and denial of freedom. It is in such cases a convenient vehicle of power, supported by hate, suspicion, and fear. Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo rode on that vehicle to their countries' destruction.

It is my fondest hope to encourage the right kind of nationalism in the Philippines, not one born of distrust or resentment, nor of envy, but rather based on pride in accomplished deed, in achievements of greater freedom and happiness for the people. I should like to think of the Filipinos as a nation ready and willing to assert themselves in the face of all adversity and competition, taking hardy root in open soil . . . not a hothouse flower, growing in anemic isolation . . . but rather like the Molave on our hillsides, braving the sun, the winds and the storms, growing sturdily and flourishing to delight any passing eye. Only when exposed to such tests of strength and hardihood can our national character develop to the full richness of its native genius. Courage is our noblest quality. Let us give it full rein.

I wish to see the Philippine Republic the fearless and outspoken leader of the small nations of the world, a shining jewel in the diadem of world freedom. Other peoples will look to us prayerfully, gratefully for our advancement of the holy cause of liberty, that we have gained not only independence, but happiness and contentment for a once subject people. That is my dream. That should be our goal. Such nationalism, such patriotism is devoutly to be desired. Then we can be proud. Then we will be proud.

I do not mean that in order to attain that goal, we must, impoverished as we now are, open our nation's gates to the even poorer peoples that surround us. I do not mean that we should invite exploitation from abroad, any more than we should tolerate it from within. We have our domestic problems to solve. They must be solved. Our own citizens must be given every encouragement and every assistance to participate fully in our economic life and advancement. But in the things that we cannot do, whoever can help us, of whatever nationality, creed or color, should be welcome

here. Whoever will observe our rules and our national requirements, whoever will contribute unstintingly, helpfully and without improper design to our economic rehabilitation and expansion, is a welcome addition to our present company.

Foreign capital must be invited here to help us in our great tasks. We should have confidence in our own governmental skills, in our own powers of regulation, and in our own ability to safeguard our national interests; we should have no fear of foreign capital; we can well afford to pay it its due reward, and retain for our nation the benefits of the development and the employment brought to us.

Natural resources are not useful riches until and unless they are developed and converted into products for consumption or industrial use. Our soil may be teeming with fertility, but unless we cultivate it, its wealth is wasted. Timber, gold, coal and oil may abound in our soil, but until we cut the timber, and process it, and until we dig the gold and the ores, and tap the oil fields, they are valueless to the people. It is true that gold and coal mines and oil fields can be exhausted, and that timber lands may be laid bare. But to hoard these resources because we have not, ourselves, the talents or the capital to develop them, and fear to invite the capital from abroad, is to subject ourselves to slow economic starvation in the shadow of plenty. It may be that tomorrow atomic power will make coal and oil superfluous. It may be that gold will cease to have any but passing value. New synthetics may take the place of timber. I am making perhaps an extravagant statement, but I should like to indicate the economic blindness of the view, so often expressed here, that as long as we have the resources, we need not worry, that it matters not if they are undeveloped, that the primary importance is in keeping them, and in keeping them exclusively for ourselves. That is economic nonsense. It is the philosophy of the miser who hoards his money and denies it even to himself. This generation, our generation, has every right to exploit and enjoy these resources. Let us do it ourselves if we can; if we cannot, let us do it with the help of others. The benefits, which they will derive, will be infinitesimal compared with the benefits which our nation and our people will derive.

Mine is not a defeatist view. It is a challenging one. It is practical and proved. Permit me to cite once more the pages of history, and the experience of the United States. When that nation started its development, all its capital came from abroad. There was no native capital, no government loans or loans from international banks. Private capital from Britain, from France, from Spain …from all of Europe ventured into the New World. Fortunes were made by these investors. At first the balance of payments was unfavorable. Dividends and interest flowed out of the New World. But a nation was developed. Those pioneers were brave, hardy men. They refused to be either impressed or oppressed by the tasks they faced. They worked, they struggled, they planned and they grew, in numbers and in wealth. Gradually foreign investments were liquidated, not intentionally but naturally, not by law, but by force of circumstance. And today the nation which 170 years ago was a colonial, virgin wilderness bestrides the earth like a colossus in wealth and power.

We should not admit that we cannot follow in those footsteps. The American system of government is our system of government. Her principles are our principles. Her system of free enterprise is our system of free enterprise. Why are we afraid? Because we are suffering from an inferiority complex which we are too proud to admit. And we call it nationalism.

There is one aspect of the American economic development which can well bear study and emulation. Although America got its start producing for export, there was an element in American political thought, in the American philosophy of freedom, liberty and equality which was from the first antagonistic to a colonial psychology. That precious element, which may have made all the difference in the world, was an essential part of the American way of life. I refer to the economic practice of producing for consumption. The first consideration of the New World was the production of the elements of livelihood . . . food, shelter and clothing. What products could be exported were sold in order to finance the basic requirements of a democratic society . . . education, books, newspaper presses, newsprint, magazines, music, the elements of culture. Technical inventions and innovations were welcomed, because they saved labor. Enterprises of all kinds were welcomed, because they served to expand the national economy, and provided capital for local investment and development. But always the primary emphasis was on meeting national needs; the inhabitants had to be fed, clothed, housed, educated, and informed. The excess was for national development, for culture and for luxuries.

And so today, in turning our eyes to the future, in assessing our own national health, I see as a primary need the development not only of markets overseas, but of our home market, of producing for 18,000,000 customers here at home. These customers need houses, clothing, food, education, information, and modern labor-saving appliances. They need these things, but have not the money to buy them. I propose that we set as our goal the conversion of 18,000,000 Filipinos into 18,000,000 producers and consumers, into 18,000,000 makers and buyers of our own products, into 18,000,000 readers of books and newspapers…we should set ourselves the task of making of our 18,000,000 countrymen democrats in fact, as well as in name, free partners in a free society, each contributing according to his ability, each receiving according to his contribution.

We are apt to pay a great deal of lip service to democracy, without reflecting on its true significance or defining its terms. A democracy is a system of government in which the people rule. A constitutional democratic republic is one in which the people rule through elected representatives, in accordance with constitutional limitations and provisions. The Philippines is such a constitutional democratic republic. But democracy is more than a mere form. If it were no more than that, it would have no greater merit or validity than any other form of government. A democracy implies equality of citizenship, and equality of opportunity, economic and social. It implies that each citizen has a potentially equal stake in the nation's goods, and in the nation's well-being. In this sense democracy is dynamic. It looks constantly forward, not only to the perpetuation of its own existence and its own institutions, but to the improvement of the welfare and well-being of its citizens. Ancient states were dynamic in the sense that they moved in the direction of territorial expansion and enrichment at the expense of their neighbors. That is no longer possible. That is no longer internationally acceptable. That is repugnant to our modern concept of international morality. Today among nations, the weak and the small are accorded, in theory, the same right to existence and well-being as the strong and the powerful. The strong merely bear a greater responsibility for the preservation of peace and order in the world, and for the protection and advancement of the welfare of the weak. This has been recognized as a part of our international morality.

We must learn to apply the same morality to our internal affairs. The democratic philosophy directs the dynamics of expansion toward the welfare of the individual, using the power of the state not for territorial expansion, but for the improvement of the well-being of the nation's citizens, and the protection and care of the weak and the unfortunate.

As long as Government is used toward this end, as long as the people know that Government is using its power and its collective authority for the promotion of the health, the welfare and the security of all, the faith of the people in their government and in their nation is strong and sound. That nation is strong because the people's faith is strong.

That is the reason why, during this week just ending, I asked the Philippine Congress to enact legislation creating a great economic instrument for the national welfare, a Rehabilitation Finance Corporation.

I proposed to the Congress that there be organized a financial institution to aid in the tasks of physical rehabilitation. I asked for authority to permit this Rehabilitation Finance Corporation to aid all the available instrumentalities of government, as well as all forms of private enterprise, in a vast and concerted crusade for the repair and development of our national economy. Farmers, small businessmen, cooperatives, farm tenants, and workers will be offered the direct support and assistance of the National Government to participate in the national effort. Our people must know that everything which the Government can do to expand the opportunities for work, for enterprise and for democratic growth will be done. But as should be the case in a democracy, it will be, in the last analysis, the people's responsibility to take advantage of the opportunities offered. It will be their own burdens that they are asked to shoulder.

I have laid great stress upon the role which the Government should, can and has offered to play in the national rehabilitation. We are now an independent nation. We stand firmly upon our own feet. We can rely primarily on none but our own devices. But this does not mean that we should shun whatever aid we can obtain from others. We are still in dire need of more capital than we have or can borrow as a government. We are in even greater need of technical skills, ingenuity and enterprise. These I propose to continue to invite from abroad, to join with us in the building of a great democracy here. Foreign technicians, foreign capital and foreign enterprise will find ample room for activity here alongside our own efforts, spearheaded by the Government and Philippine private enterprise. In this broad field, there cannot be too many willing hands. And we cannot wait lest we be outstripped by others.

I have described, in very general terms, our overall economic program: to give work, to rebuild our shattered industries, to repair our utilities, to build new enterprises, to give life, zeal and dynamic direction to an independent democratic economy, based primarily on building up a great producing and consuming class, industrializing and mechanizing, but retaining always our backbone of agricultural pursuits.

High wages, fair profits and ample returns to our farmers . . . such must be our economic goal. We cannot gain it in a day or in a year, but the strength of democracy is in the faith we must have, that we are moving courageously in that direction.

I have spoken at considerable length of our economic program and needs. I have departed from my central theme, which was an analysis of our national ailments. Before returning to that theme, I should like to digress again in a different but related direction. To exist as a nation, to maintain our independence, we not only need to improve and expand our democratic practices and to uplift and improve the status of our people…we must also have national security…security against potential enemies from without, and security from treasonable and subversive elements from within. I believe we can deal amply with our internal security, both by physical vigilance against actual saboteurs, traitors and banditry, and by the democratic process of increasing the people's faith in and devotion to our democratic institutions.

But against enemies from without, we are less adequately equipped to defend ourselves. We are small in number, and exposed on all sides to approach by sea and by air. We form an abutment to the Asiatic continent, where mighty world powers contest for mastery. To be prepared to withstand any of them would drain us of all our national substance, and reduce us to the status of an armed camp. Moreover, we know today that small powers can fight only a delaying action against the massed and determined strength of great powers.

But we in the Philippines have an advantage in the friendship and support of the world's greatest power, the United States. Accustomed through 48 years to intimate association with America, we found nothing strange in subscribing to an agreement with the United States to maintain a common defense. The United States, desirous of maintaining the peace of the Pacific, could use bases in the Philippines to supplement her major defensive and offensive bases elsewhere in the Orient. The Philippines could be defended by American forces, incidental to the defense of those bases. An accord on such an agreement was easy.

But the implementation of such an agreement in practical and specific terms is less simple. We are not sided in this by the uninformed caviling of some among us who would gain political advantage by inflammatory denunciations. If these critics would propose their alternative to Philippine-American defense arrangements, the people could more easily judge the merits of the criticism. It is unfortunate that we live in a world in which force and violence are still unchained. But while we do, we must hold fast to strong and tested moorings, and avoid being cast adrift on the angry sea which is apparent to the west of us. Perhaps there are some who would like to see in our land a repetition of what is taking place in China, or expose us to the fate of Korea, or of Iran, or of other nations which are today the object of the contesting designs of great powers. I prefer the security of our present plight. We bear lightly the burden of our own defense. The United States is spending this year for national defense 18 billion dollars out of a national budget of 43 billion. Most other nations are spending from one-third to two-thirds of their national budgets for defense purposes. We support an army of 12,000 men, mostly in training, at a cost of less than one- tenth of our budget. We are fortunate that we can devote the greater part of our substance to the pursuits of peace rather than to the trappings of war.

So much for our national defense. I return now to my theme, to the Philippines as an ailing land, requiring treatment of both body and soul. I have already indicated the heroic measures which are necessary to meet the physical needs of our people. I have also tried to indicate the importance I place on meeting those physical requirements. I have stated, and I state again for emphasis, that we must infuse the democratic body with a faith in its economic future, in order to inspire the democratic soul.

But as man does not live by bread alone, and since the sweat of his brow is not sufficient to bring him salvation. I am equally and simultaneously urging that we must revitalize the spirit of the people even as we bring them social and economic justice.

In this urgent undertaking, there are three institutions, which must play the leading roles . . .the press, the school and the church.

As for the press, it must understand its responsibilities as well as its freedoms and point the way, from day to day, toward the goals we seek. It must accentuate the positive, dramatize the immediacy of our needs, and act as watchman over those who bear the public trust, either in government or private capacity, in the great crusade which we are launching.

The schools have a role that is as clear as it is vital. They must furnish fresh and intelligent leadership in the training and intellectual stimulation of the nation's youth. Training in citizenship and civic responsibilities, in national awareness, and in the understanding, which leads to wisdom, is an inescapable responsibility of our educational institutions. Our universities have, perhaps, the biggest responsibility of all. For this is not only the job of our decade, but of decades to come. There must be leaders, in growing numbers, to shoulder skillfully the burdens which we are now inexpertly assuming. Our schools must instill in our youth a flaming zeal for public and unselfish service. The sickness of the national spirit can be healed, in part, in the schools. I call upon our teachers and our schools to throw all their strength and all their energies into this great endeavor.

The churches and religious faiths, the leaders and their flocks, must accept their responsibilities too. The house of God must renew itself as a place of reverent worship, and of dedication to the true and unchangeable tenets of our religion…peace and brotherhood, love and justice.

Family ties must be strengthened and enfirmed. The place of the family in the social structure must be restored and renewed. The family must again be the basic unit of our social organization; the obediences and loyalties, the mutual care and solicitude which should characterize the nation must start first in the home.

The iron virtues of integrity, truthfulness, sobriety, and honest toil must be paid their due tribute, and must get their due reward. They must be exalted over all other talents and values, and must form the cornerstone of the national character.

The gentle virtues of generosity, unselfishness, kindliness and consideration must be reinstilled and reemphasized.

The heroic virtues of courage, gallantry, honor and self-sacrifice must be retained and extended.

Patriotism and the national spirit must be broadened to include a fundamental understanding of democracy. Selfish provincialism, envy, and arrogance must be eliminated. Patriotism and nationalism must be an emotional and intellectual conviction, and not an assumed attitude. It can be firm, but tolerant and friendly; it should be gracious.

The corrosive acid of cynicism should be neutralized and rejected from the national body. Its toxins destroy the tissues of faith, of courage, of honesty and of brotherhood.

Faith in law and order, in Government and in the democratic way of life must be repaired. Lawlessness, banditry, criminality and defiance of constituted authority must be rebuked and punished. Respect for law must be restored.

Sanctity of life, of liberty, of person and of property must be proclaimed and enforced. The precious freedoms by which we live must be honored beyond all compromise. There must be no tolerance of brutality and savagery. Callousness toward death and suffering must be abandoned. Tenderness and compassion must take their honored place in the feelings of the people.

These are the specific measures, which must be taken to treat the bruised and wounded spirit of our countrymen. These are as urgent necessities as feeding the hungry, sheltering the destitute and healing the physically disabled and diseased.

I should like to compare our present plight to a land and a people in the path of a raging flood. The dike has been broken. The angry and destructive waters sweep through the breach and cover the lowlands, threatening with final disaster the entire population. Disease and misery mount with each passing hour. The water mounts higher and higher, lapping at the isolated places of refuge which still remain. A damage-repair crew, a life-saving crew and a first-aid crew swing into action. They dare not concentrate on one task alone, although some tasks are more urgent than others. One crew begins immediately to shore up the dike to prevent its giving way entirely. Another undertakes to repair the breach, to stem the surge of water. Still another tends to emergency cases of human suffering. A third removes persons who are in danger to places of greater safety. A fourth plans for the feeding and the sheltering of the surviving population. And still another begins to plan the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated areas when the waters shall have subsided.

So we must face our tasks. We cannot concentrate on any single aspect of our emergency. We cannot afford to forget the others. We must work on many fronts, making temporary repairs, salvaging, relieving distress, and planning for the future. All these must be done simultaneously, but under an overall pattern and plan which will bring order out of chaos.

As we stand in the midst of our difficulties, I am inspired and led on by a vision. I see shining buildings where now ruins meet the eye. I see rising in our cities the smoking chimneys of factories; I see great turbines catching the mighty force of falling waters, stored in convenient reservoirs by tremendous dams, and transforming this energy to electric power for delivery to industrial centers and residential areas for miles around. I see irrigation projects, turning stunted grasslands into fertile fields of food and commercial crops. I see our land covered by a network of highways, permitting the easy shipment of crops to nearby and distant markets. I see some of our vast unsettled areas claimed from the jungle, tamed to the plow, harnessed to the needs of our people, adding to the riches of the nation, and giving contentment, happiness and opportunity to our countrymen. I see schools training the hands and brains of our children to those modern skills without which we are helpless to master the machines of the modern age. I see our people, straight of carriage, firm of step, happy in bearing…the young and the old, glowing with the health of well-being, proud in the dignity of freedom. *Those are our children.*

This is more than a vision. It is almost a prayer. It is like that inspired vista which led the Jews through the wilderness into Canaan, which brought Coronado and his *conquistadores* through the Mexican desert to the Rio Grande. We must keep this vision in mind as we tackle the detailed and often dreary problems which lie ahead. The trust of a nation is in us. The fate of a nation rests upon us. We carry the banner of democracy and freedom in this part of the world. Our countrymen pin their hopes on our efforts. With such a vision, bearing such a responsibility and in such a cause, we dare not dally on the way.

Fellow alumni and distinguished guests, I conclude with a toast and this sentiment:

Our Alma Mater, may she keep the lights of wisdom, liberty and purest patriotism ever burning, to illumine our path into the future.

Speech of President Roxas at the Luncheon given in his Honor by the members of the Philippine Bar Association

Speech
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the Luncheon given in his Honor by the members of the Philippine Bar Association

[Delivered at the Manila Hotel, October 12, 1946]

FELLOW LAWYERS:

I am always glad when I can start a speech with the word "fellow." It establishes a feeling of intimacy, a community of interest. To say "fellow lawyers," is to say much more than "fellow students" or "fellow stamp collectors." Law is not only a profession, it is a ministry; it is almost a way of life. It is certainly a way of thinking. I have not spent much time in the active practice of law, but I have never stopped studying law. I have participated in the writing of a good deal of law; and I have administered a good deal more. Law has been my hobby as well as my profession. I have given much study and thought, as you all have, both to the philosophy and to the practice of law. Today I shall speak to you a little concerning theory but more extensively concerning the application of law in our courts and in the practice of our profession.

But first, let me address a few frank and pointed words to you as an organization. The practice of law is one of the oldest organized professions in the world. Lawyers, being more perceptive than most people, saw the necessity of organizing their own numbers long before there was such a thing as a labor union, a chamber of commerce, or even a medical association. Lawyers have long recognized and recognize today the necessity of having a responsible body to maintain, elevate, and protect the ethics of their profession. It is essential to have a lawyers' association, because the practice of law is in a sense a vital public utility, and the public must certainly be protected against fraud, deception and malpractice. Lawyers, knowing this, have undertaken from the very earliest days of their profession, to police themselves through the medium of bar associations. Because lawyers are officers of the court, a bar association can and should become a useful and organic adjunct to the judicial system. It should represent the combined conscience of the legal profession and indirectly, of the courts as well.

It is for this reason that I view with some regret the present situation in the Philippines where there are not one, but five lawyers' associations. I feel strongly that there should be but one—a strong, democratic and vigilant organization. I now call upon the members of the bar to bring about a union of their organizations. As many of you remember, there have been submitted, from time to time proposals for an integrated bar which would accomplish, by legislative edict, the consolidation of lawyers' associations. I have not at all made up my own mind about this proposal, but I can hardly imagine that lawyers should have to be required by law to take a step which is so obviously desirable—a step that should be taken voluntarily and without delay.

A bar association has many functions which are well known to you. One concerns me very directly. I should like to be able to consult the bar association on appointments to the judiciary. It has been my purpose from the very start of my administration to make the judiciary an independent, non-political body, completely removed from partisanship or from any consideration or taint of politics. I hope most of you will agree that my judicial appointments have reflected a desire to achieve this goal. It is not always easy, unaided by a public-spirited, representative and high-minded bar association. I should like to inaugurate a regular practice of consulting on judicial appointments not only the Secretary of Justice, but also the Chief Justice and members of the Supreme Court and the bar association. But it is necessary that there be one association and not five. Should I request five bar associations to recommend appointments, or submit to five bar associations proposals for appointments, the result would be such a hodge-podge that it would be less than useful.

In referring to judicial appointments, I have mentioned only one of the many important and desirable functions which a unified bar association can usefully discharge. I might also mention, first the exercise of influence to bring

about an elevation of the standards of legal education, and, second, the raising of the standards of the legal profession itself through self-discipline.

But the maintenance of a noble judiciary should be, as I know it is, the most vital concern of the members of the bar. It is an undertaking of transcendental and imperative national need. To my mind the judiciary is the keystone of the national structure, furnishing also the mortar which joins the legislative and the executive branches into the arch of government.

The classic definition of the function of government is to establish law and order among men, to administer justice and to promote the welfare of the people. The judiciary bears a vital responsibility in all three of these major fields. I need not repeat to you how strongly I feel about the reëstablishment of law and order in our country. As it stands first in the classic definition, so it stands first in our own particular needs. And for this purpose, the courts must learn to act both swiftly and surely. This involves, in our particular case, tedious and unremittent labors on the part of court officials. Lost court records must be reconstituted. Backlogs of cases must be cleared up. Yet speedy trial is the keenest edge of the sword of justice. Centuries of experience have taught us that the chief deterrent to crime is not so much the stringency of punishment as the certainty and swiftness of punishment. Thus crime and outlawry were much more rampant in ancient days, when trial by ordeal was practiced, when there were scores of misdemeanors and felonies for which death was the penalty, and when simple theft was a hanging offense. But in those days justice was as slow and uncertain as it was cruel and unreasonable. In the recent move by our Government to stamp out crime in the metropolitan area, I urged the courts to speed up their handling of cases and to make punishment sure as well as stringent under the law. The delays which the law provides to protect the rights of the innocent must not be used to shield the hardened criminal nor to obstruct the path of justice.

In addition to punishing the violators of law, the courts have what I deem an even higher function. That function is the defense of the people's rights. In the modern structure of the state, with the gathering of greater and greater powers into the hands of government affecting every aspect of communal, social and economic life, the protection of those basic rights set forth in our Constitution has come to be one of the most imperative missions of the Judiciary. The distinguishing feature of the democratic way of life and of the democratic system—the aspect which gives democracy its vitality and its survival value—is its emphasis upon the rights of the individual, upon his dignity and worth. Those rights are protected by constitutional limits upon the powers of both the executive and legislative branches of the government. In the non-democratic areas of the world, the people's rights, the rights of individuals, are at the mercy and at the pleasure of Government. Whatever freedoms are possessed by the non-democratic peoples of the earth are enjoyed by grant of government. We reject that concept and that system. To us the rights of the people are inherent and inalienable, sacred rights and freedoms bestowed by our Creator and subject only to such conditions and qualifications as are absolutely necessary for social existence. This is the major point of cleavage between our philosophy and the philosophies of the totalitarian and semi-totalitarian states today. That is our banner; that banner we must never lower. The courts are the vanguard of the forces which must uphold that banner, which must defend those precious rights. They must be defended zealously, vigilantly, and endlessly, against denial or abuse. The battle for liberty is never over.

The third prong of the trident of government is the protection and promotion of the welfare of the people. In this, too, the courts are called upon to play a vital rôle. In our Constitution, the promotion of social justice and of the welfare of the people is set forth as a basic function of government. The courts must exercise what I would like to call "judicial statesmanship" in extending the protecting cloak of that constitutional mandate over such acts of government as are clearly designed to carry out that objective. The welfare of the great masses of the people must be a concern of the courts coördinately with the rights and freedoms of the individual. To chart the sometimes narrow course between these two guide-posts requires the utmost exercise of judicial statesmanship. I trust that our courts, in examining the boundaries and limits fixed by the Constitution, will find in their wisdom that the enlargement of the area of individual freedom and, at the same time, of the powers of government to promote the social welfare are not inconsistent, but are rather complementary. By doing this the courts will give effect to the liberal philosophy underlying our Constitution.

I have described in broad terms the rôle of the judiciary in our national life. To meet those tremendous responsibilities, men of great learning, unimpeachable integrity and sober wisdom are called for.

I should like to see our judiciary manned by those giants of intellectual and moral character who at one time were the objects of our national awe and respect. I recall such men as our Chief Justices Cayetano Arellano, Victorino Mapa and Manuel Araullo, whose every breath and move while in the public view was as measured as the simple but resounding prose in which they wrote their decisions, whose public and private acts alike were beyond reproach. Those men infused the breath of life into the law and gave to justice the sacred and majestic mien which compels worship and respect from all. I do not think I am stretching or belaboring the point when I say that it is my aim and aspiration to maintain in our courts the majesty and dignity that makes of our judiciary a priesthood and the practice of our profession a noble dedication to righteousness and justice.

Last May, when I was in Washington, I had occasion to pass the huge and imposing building which houses the Department of Justice. The architecture of that building is of the Greek school, known as ionic, with many wings and a magnificent frieze surrounding the top portion of the building, depicting the growth of the modern concepts of justice. Over the main entrance, there is a sentence which remains today in my memory: "The place of justice is a hallowed place." I can think of no nobler sentiment. I should like to think of that sentiment enshrined over the entire Philippine Islands, a place of justice. I hope our courts may be the repository of a true national reverence for justice. I hope that the Filipino people may come to look upon the courts not as a seat of punishment but as a temple of righteousness where the evil-doer and the malefactor will find his just desserts, and where the righteous man may look for the defense and justification of his righteousness. I can think of no finer nor higher goal for the nation. I can think of no better dedication for the legal profession in the Philippines. As far as I am concerned everything I can do to speed the movement in that direction will be done.

It is certainly redundant for me to refer again at this point to my firm intention of keeping the courts out of politics, and of making appointments without regard to political affiliation. I think the leaders of my own party understand why I must frequently disappoint them with my selections of judges, and why I must prefer a good man to a good Liberal. So much for the courts.

The function of the legal profession is not alone in connection with the courts; lawyers also have an important duty to discharge in connection with the general national welfare.

You have the inherent duty of interpreting to the people in the plain language of the law and of common sense the problems and questions which arise in connection with law and government. A lawyer is obligated not only to know the law but also to translate the law into values and terms which are meaningful to the ordinary citizen.

There is a great deal of misunderstanding concerning the problems and issues that we face. I judge much of that misunderstanding to exist because the people have not been given an adequate interpretation of the concepts involved in those issues and problems.

Phrases and words are being lavishly used without much concern for their basic meaning. Appeals are being made to the emotions and, what is more, to the passions through the erroneous use of certain words and phrases. We hear, for instance, the word "sovereignty" being invoked with almost mystic incantation to curse some of the policies and program being undertaken by the Government. Yet I doubt whether very many of the persons who use the word "sovereignty" have an accurate comprehension of the term. The dictionary defines "sovereignty" as a state of being absolute and unlimited in power, authority, or independence. The ancient sovereign had those prerogatives. But the whole concept of sovereignty is in a state of flux today. Once sovereignty reposed in the person of the monarch or ruler. Later it was considered to be the possession of the government. But in more recent years sovereignty has come to be recognized in greater and greater areas of the earth as reposing in the people—in all the people. That is the first principle of democracy. Democratic sovereignty is a fundamental authority residing in the people.

The exercise of that authority, however, is a function of judgment and wisdom. In external affairs, it must be exercised within the framework of national advantage and the realities of geographic and political position. Today every nation is in some sense dependent upon others. Although our goal is *one world* in practice, as it is already in fact, we recognize the existence of gravitational groups within the *one world*. Thus the western hemisphere nations accept their security as against Europe and Asia, from the United States. The United States in turn is in many ways dependent upon her sister Republics, both politically and economically. The nations of the Mediterranean and of the

Middle East are largely dependent upon British power. Governments of Central Europe are subject to the exercise of Russian influence.

The Great Powers offset each other, and yet are dependent upon one another; it is only collective equilibrium that today permits the maintenance of an uneasy *status quo*. In such a system of balanced forces, the only security for small nations is within the orbit of greater ones: a gravitational arrangement in which the smaller nations exert an influence on the larger, as well as vice-versa. This is the system of regional collective security which we have in the world today. In such a world system true "sovereignty" is freedom of choice, in an empiric sense, in the ordering of a nation's internal and external affairs including the selection of its political attractions in the international field.

In that sense, we in the Philippines have sovereignty in a much fuller sense than most other nations in the world. Certainly, we have more complete freedom than the nations in the Middle Europe, or in Northern Europe, or in the Middle East, or in Asia. We have the right to dispose of our internal affairs as we see fit. We might even decide in the exercise of our full freedom of choice in foreign affairs, to sever our intimate connections with the United States. Whether such a move is compatible with our national security or with our economic requirements is certainly a matter for our decision. But we have long ago made that decision. We made it most dramatically in the recent war. Our government-in-exile operated under that presumption. The preceding administration continued to carry on that policy without interruption. Both political parties in the recent national election promised the people to adhere without qualification to that program. Because I was and am convinced that such a policy reflects our basic national aspiration and is also the undeniable will of the vast majority of our people, I have continued and will continue that policy with abiding faith in its correctness.

But let us for the moment examine the alternative. Should we cut our ties with the United States, we would rapidly, almost immediately, find that even our area of choice and selection in arranging our internal affairs would be much more restricted than it is today. This would result both from the force of economic circumstances and from the fact that other great nations in our vicinity might be far less scrupulous in the exercise of their interest in our internal affairs than is the United States.

Our general program of economic aid to our own citizens is a national policy supported by our people. We undertake such a program in the certain conviction that our purpose is fair and wise. But our friendship with the United States is an assurance that we can pursue our course without fear of intimidation.

Yes we are free, completely free, even to withhold the grant of equal rights to American citizens in the development of our natural resources. Should we desire to withhold that grant, neither military nor political pressure would be applied against us; yet I would judge such a course extremely unwise. Certainly our judgment on the matter is free; but if our judgment partakes at all of wisdom, it must be guided by considerations of what is best for the country and for the people. I believe that it is best for our people to extend these rights to American citizens for the duration of the Trade Agreement. We will be free at any time to denounce the Agreement and thereby cancel those special rights. But precisely because we have that power, we need not fear the phantoms of disaster which partisanship and prejudice have raised before our eyes. To refuse to comply with this condition of the Trade Act would cripple our program of rehabilitation. But we have the power to do so. We are free to do so. That is the ultimate test of our sovereignty.

We have the perfect right to determine for ourselves our system of national defense and security. But you will recall that a little more than a year ago, the Philippine Congress by unanimous vote approved the commitment entered into by President Quezon and President Osmeña and sanctioned by the American Congress, for the establishment of military bases here for mutual defense. We have thus made our choice in this matter. Still the United States would not insist on the retention of bases here if we did not desire them to be retained. Recently, the Government of Iceland declined to permit the United States to continue maintaining bases in that country. The United States forthwith agreed to the abandonment of her Icelandic bases. I do not think the United States would deal with us less scrupulously than she has done with Iceland. America has nowhere shown her intention to exact privileges by force of arms or by economic sanctions. But were we to withdraw from the base arrangement with the United States, we would be sacrificing our national security on the altar of a mistaken sense of dignity. We would then be faced by the problem of assuming alone the maintenance of our national security.

National security is an imperative need of all nations. No nation can prosper in an atmosphere of fear. In the troubled condition of the world today, no nation is secure of itself. In whatever direction we lock, we see nations in arms. The abandonment by any nation in the Far East of security measures would create a military vacuum which could easily be fatal.

The strength and authority of the United Nations is based completely on the precarious balance of strength and power between the great nations. Any reduction in the military strength of any single power without a concomitant reduction in the power of the others, would upset that balance.

All the peoples of the world look forward with hope and yearning to a progressive international disarmament, to the day when the United Nations as an international organization will possess unquestioned military authority for the enforcement of law among nations. But that day is still far in the future. The organic structure of the United Nations is not yet such as to permit an independent military authority to exist. And so the security which we in the Philippines have as a result of the presence of American forces and bases here is a security in which we should feel fortunate. The establishment and maintenance in the Philippines of American bases, despite their disadvantages—and unquestionably there are disadvantages—are of much greater advantage to us in an immediate sense than to the United States, whose interests in the Orient, as in Europe, are remote rather than immediate. Our best and wisest course is to minimize these disadvantages in so far as practicable without impairing the effectiveness of the security provided us.

Our objective in these defense arrangements is first to insure our own security and sovereignty and second, to aid as best we can in strengthening collective security in this part of the world. The specific agreement we are making is designed to meet these requirements.

It is my considered judgment that by retaining our military ties with the United States, we are serving first of all the interests of the Philippines. If I did not hold that view, I would not lay down that basis of our foreign policy. I wish to assure you, as I have assured the country on numerous occasions, that I have only one basic and guiding rule for our foreign policy as well as for our domestic policy—and that is the enduring interests of the Filipino people. There is no other consideration which has any weight in my mind. I am moved by a single devotion; that devotion is to my own country. I do not believe there is any inconsistency in coupling that devotion with a devotion to the cause of world peace, security, prosperity and freedom for all men. To maintain this policy and to uphold these interests, I have pledged my administration.

I have not intended here today to make an exhaustive or even general analysis of the broad and complex subjects of our foreign relations, our national security, or of the equal rights amendment to our Constitution. I have dealt with these subjects merely to indicate the responsibility of interpretation which you as lawyers bear to the general public and to the nation.

I invite you and all the members of our profession to set aside personal and political considerations, to raise our eyes from the immediate goals and to fix your sights on that distant horizon where lies the future of this great nation. Let us set our course to a high goal, fearlessly and with supreme confidence in our ability to achieve it. We have a tremendous responsibility to our posterity. Let them not say of us that we lacked the strength to carry the load, or shirked the duty to take steps which at the time might have seemed unpopular in some quarters. Unless leadership today is capable of the highest statesmanship in dealing with our vital problems—irrespective of immediate popular reactions inspired by suspicion and prejudice—that leadership has no right to continue. The duty of leadership today is to insure the permanence of this Republic and to safeguard the freedom and welfare of the people at whatever cost. I am not interested, for myself personally or for my party, to remain in power, merely for the sake of power; I am interested only in serving this nation and its people, and I assure the country that I will pursue that course, come what may.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Speech delivered by President Manuel Roxas at the luncheon given in his honor by the members of the Philippine Bar Association. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2551-2560.

Radio message of President Roxas for the support of the Philippine Red Cross, October 27, 1946

Radio message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
For the support of the Philippine Red Cross

THE RED CROSS IS A NATIONAL NECESSITY

(Radio Appeal for the Support of the Annual Fund Drive of the Philippine Red Cross)

[*October 27, 1946*]

There has recently been a succession of appeals to the Philippine people to contribute to worthy causes. In all the cases of which I have personal knowledge, those causes were deserving ones.

I will speak to you tonight not in behalf of a cause, but rather in support of a national necessity. I am referring to the Philippine Red Cross.

The Red Cross, of course, is not a charity in the ordinary sense of the word; it is rather an essential function, which has appealed so deeply to the people of the world that it has come to be recognized by governments and by international agreements. It performs services for men, women, and children of all colors, races and creeds in times of disaster, tragedy or national need. The Red Cross is, in a sense, the very conscience of mankind in action. It is a concrete expression of the fundamental humanitarianism which we all acknowledge as a basic element of our modern civilization. The Red Cross has done much in its long and glorious history to arouse and crystallize that conscience of mankind. The simple symbol of this organization has come to be recognized the world over as a symbol of rescue, of help to the sick, the wounded and the starving, as well as to those weakened or oppressed by disaster. It has also become the symbol of health and sanitation, of medical service. That symbol is now a mark of inviolability and of neutrality. Red Cross workers are recognized by international convention as belonging to no army and to no nation in time of war. That inviolability was unfortunately transgressed during the recent conflict, as we in the Philippines have good reason to know.

Each nation has its own Red Cross, but the Red Cross of each nation is part of the International Red Cross, which preceded even the League of Nations as a truly international body. Soon the Philippine Red Cross will apply for recognition as an independent Red Cross Society and for membership in the League of Red Cross Societies. Since the inception of the Red Cross movement 82 years ago, one of the basic criteria of nationhood has been the existence in each independent country of an independent Red Cross organization. The attainment of Red Cross recognition lies within our grasp.

Following liberation, the Philippine Red Cross was reestablished. While at present it is, as it has been for many years, a chapter of the American Red Cross, we now have a reconstituted Philippine Red Cross, devoted solely to the cause of our people and working on an active program of service in every province of our country.

It is our inescapable duty to maintain and develop this organization so that its service to our people may grow in stature in the years to come.

Financial independence is an indispensable prerequisite of the independence of the Red Cross. I call upon you all, therefore, to support this campaign with your generous contributions and maximum volunteer efforts.

The Chairman of the Philippine Red Cross is Mrs. Aurora Quezon, widow of our late heroic President. She has undertaken this great and humanitarian work because of her deep love for our people. She and all the many others who are working with her in this fund drive, deserve and should have the unstinted support, cooperation and

assistance of the entire population of the Philippines. You are asked to give, in mercy's name. You are asked to give as a patriot. You are asked to give as a member of the human family.

Speech of President Roxas on the 10th anniversary of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines

Speech
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the 10th anniversary of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines

[Delivered in Malacañan, October 31, 1946]

In every established language and in practically every culture, one of the basic and most timeless thoughts which men have arrived at is the fact that the child is the father of the man, that the care and training of the nation's young predetermines the health and vigor of the nation itself.

The totalitarian regimes of Germany, Italy and Japan, which recently threatened the very existence of mankind, paid more attention to the training and conditioning of the youth than to the welfare of adults. One of the unmistakeable marks of a totalitarian fascist-state is a compulsory regimentation of that nation's boys and girls. But they are trained in blind obedience, in military drill, in Heiling Hitler, or Viva-ing Il Duce, or in clenching their fist in passionate salute to the national leader. Their bodies are made strong, and their minds are made weak. They are forced into a single mold of obedience and brutality. Iron discipline is sanctified—discipline for the sake of discipline.

We call such a system cruel and stultifying. We reject it and denounce it. Yet we must recall that such a program brought results, although those results were tragic for the world. We must recognize that this program developed a generation of youths, passionate in their patriotic fervor, blind in their devotion to the Government and to the State. We can, if we will, distinguish the good features of such a system, from the evil, barbaric, and savage features. We can see that unstinting attention to our youth is essential to the development of national vigor, vitality, and virility.

Discarding the elements of regimentation, of mental suffocation and discipline for disicipline's sake, we can still appreciate the immeasurable benefits of a youth training program, volunteer in nature, rational in principle, and devoted to the character development of the young instead of to their conversion into blind and obedient robots.

These principles were perceived long ago by a British gentleman by the name of Sir Baden-Powell. In England he founded the Boy Scout movement. That movement has since spread all over the world. There is no nation in the free areas of the earth which does not have a flourishing Boy Scout organization. I am happy in the knowledge that the Philippines has its own vigorous and active Boy Scout group, of which thousands of our young boys are members. I could say the same thing, of course, about the Girl Scouts, but on this particular occasion, I am addressing my remarks to our Boy Scouts who are celebrating this week the anniversary of their founding in the Philippines, and are hailing the acknowledgment accorded them by the International Boy Scout organization, as an independent national Boy Scout movement.

I am deeply gratified by this recognition. It is yet another symbol of our independent national existence. It is not an unimportant symbol. It indicates the coming of age of one of our major youth movements, which can now proceed under its own power and under its own leadership, to do the job which is so essential—the job the Boy Scout movement has been doing with such brilliant success all over the world. That job, as I understand it, is to make upright men out of boys; it is to develop initiative, courage, health, manual skills, and appreciation of nature; and last, but by no means least, to cultivate a spirit of national patriotism and community responsibility. It teaches boys to live and to work together, to cooperate, to adjust themselves to the necessities of gregarious living, and to make good neighbors.

The Boy Scout laws, as I recall them, pledges young men to honor their parents, to be cheerful, kind, friendly, thrifty and helpful; to love their country; and to reverence their God. I can think of no nobler rules of conduct; I can think of no finer guides for the development of our young. I was pleased indeed to take the Scout oath today when I was inducted as an honorary tenderfoot. I think I value that designation more than the other given to me today as honorary scout president. I like to think of myself as a tenderfoot. As a beginner, starting at the very bottom of the

ladder of scouting, I suppose I will have to earn a considerable number of merit badges and to qualify in such things as swimming, first aid, tracking, and forest conservation before I can become a second-class scout. I have had some experience in a few of these fields and will have a little easier time of it, than many of you have had in gaining your ranks in the scouting movement. Being only a tenderfoot, I am sure to make progress. I certainly cannot be demoted.

In any event, and seriously I am proud to be associated with all of you young men of tomorrow. I envy your hopes, your dreams, and your opportunities. The world is yours. Your life is before you; you can make of it what you will. Your Government is determined to provide for you full equality of opportunity. That is one of the functions of government in a democracy—so that every youth, regardless of his economic status, will have an unlimited opportunity to turn his own talents to their maximum advantage, and to achieve the greatest heights of which he, himself, is capable. In this way the individual is given his chance to enter what I have often called "the free market place of competition" and to do his best, to run the best race of which he is capable without handicaps. That is a goal which we have not yet quite reached. In fact we are a considerable way from it. The children of economically underprivileged parents do not today have the same opportunities as the children of wealthier parents. There are still far too many of our young whose capacities must remain undeveloped, for economic reasons. It is my purpose and it is the purpose of your Government to work toward the day when every boy and every girl has every chance that he needs to make the most of the talents which the Lord has given him. There must be equality of educational opportunity. The poor man's son must have the same chance to go through college as the son of the rich. Whatever steps are necessary to achieve this must and will be taken as soon as we are able. Those who are especially talented, manually or intellectually, must be given every encouragement to develop those talents at the expense of the Government, if necessary. I pledge my efforts in that direction.

The Boy Scout movement is inspired by the same democratic spirit which is our national heritage. It matters not that I am President of the Philippines. I am still only a tenderfoot in the Boy Scout movement. Political and class distinctions are set aside. Each is judged according to his merits and his attainments. Each of you may become an Eagle Scout, if you have the capacity. Napoleon, who was the first military leader to introduce a measure of democracy into an army, told his men in the ranks that each of them carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack, and that there was no private soldier who did not have an opportunity to become a supreme leader if he had the ability. That is the spirit of democratic society. It is the spirit of the Philippine nation.

The fact that the Boy Scout movement is spreading so far and so fast in our country is a reflection of the basic devotion of this nation and of its people to democracy. The Boy Scout movement, as I have said, is a democratic movement. It corresponds in every way to the spirit of democracy. I should think that every young and growing boy would like to be a boy scout; it would please me very much if it were so. But above all, the Boy Scout movement is a volunteer movement. Boys belong to it and join it because they want to join it and belong to it. That is the essential element, the element that distinguishes it so completely and so vitally from the youth movements of Hitler, of Mussolini, and of other totalitarian regimes. And it is the element of free will, of choice and selection that truly distinguishes a democracy from all other forms of human association. When men may, in the exercise of whatever wisdom they have, decided to take one course or another or even in some cases to take no course at all, they are exercising their rights in a democracy. The fact that the Boy Scout movement swells its ranks with young men who want to be scouts makes those ranks happy, willing, and friendly. Those boys learn to adapt themselves to the requirements of cooperative effort the more easily because they have *chosen* to enter into the Boy Scout association.

What is true for boys is also true for men. Your country has made certain decisions with regard to its national and international policies. It is possible that those decisions are wrong, but those decisions represent our best judgment. We will do our job much better because we have chosen our goals and our directions. It is possible that higher powers or absolute leaders could make our decisions more efficiently for us than we can for ourselves; but in the long run the decisions we make by common consent turn out better because they have the support of the people.

As I look about me and consider all the heavy and difficult problems which our nation faces, I am sometimes discouraged and humbled by the tremendous responsibilities that weigh upon my shoulders. I become impatient. There are not enough hours in the day; there are not enough people to undertake all the labor to accomplish all that urgently cries out to be accomplished. I grow weary and think, sometimes, how much easier it would be to rest and to relax, and to let the stream of events follow the least difficult course. And then I think of our youth, of our boys and girls, and of our young men and young women. Riding through the streets, I see the bright and eager faces of the

generation that will inherit our own, and of the generation after that. I feel their determination. I perceive their hopes and I am thrilled by their courage. I am revitalized and inspired, and I know that no matter how far short we fall of our goals, our young will carry on and will reach those goals and establish new goals, even further and higher. I become determined, as I am determined, that this coming generation shall inherit the best world and the best Philippines that it is within our power to endow them. I take new resolution to do what I can, and to encourage others to do what they can to insure peace, security and well-being for our people.

This war has left in its wake some very bitter tragedies. Mothers and fathers have been taken away. Brothers have been sacrificed. Our very children, theoretically inviolable in war, have suffered major casualties. For this I can never forgive our enemies. For this I cannot cease to hate with all my being the thought of war. These young men here and those other thousands and millions scattered throughout the Philippines must not be offered up as a sacrifice to greed, lust for power, or national ambitions. These young of ours must have their opportunity to live in peace and security for the greater glory of mankind. In the name of all of them, I pledge my efforts toward this end. I appeal to all of you who will one day take over the reins of leadership, never to lose hope, never to give up, never to abate your energies in the drive to reach the goal that the world is seeking today. Be a good Scout always; be an eagle Scout all your lives!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Speech delivered by President Roxas on the 10th anniversary of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines in a ceremony in Malacañan on October 31, 1946. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2561-2565.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Address of President Roxas commemorating Armistice Day, November 11, 1946

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
In Commemoration of Armistice Day

[*November 11, 1946*]

Twenty-eight years ago at this very hour, a great silence fell over a vast front in Europe and elsewhere throughout the world. The silence was the more impressive because it followed after a din of battle which, up to that time, had been unprecedented in volume and terror in all the history of mankind. Men in every corner of the globe breathed prayers of thanksgiving. The forces of evil had been defeated—the forces of militarism, of brutality and of oppression. The war to end war was over. The struggle of right against might had been victorious. The hopes of plain people the world over went up to heaven in the form of a single word—"peace." The death and destruction, which came out of that war, staggered the imagination of man. Along a short front of one hundred miles, millions of men had died for the possession of a few strategic heights, of a few square miles of territory. Trenches were heaped high with the dead; the hospitals were filled with the agonies of the wounded.

In the Philippines at that time, we were grateful that the war had come to a halt. We were preparing our regiments to be sent across the distant miles to fight in the cause of democracy and freedom for which America was contending. Some of our sons did fight and did die at sea and on land in that fight. But we were mostly grateful because we confidently believed that men had learned a lesson and would never resort to war to settle their quarrels. The world surveyed the wreckage on that morning, 28 years ago and said "never again."

Now, on this November 11th, we are binding up our wounds from another war, which, in magnitude, in destructiveness, and in terror, dwarfs the first world war, as a mountain dwarfs a molehill. We are recovering from a shock of horror so deep that we cannot measure it against nightmares or anything we have known.

Yet even so, we still hear the rattle of the drums of war, sounding again the call to arms, matching one nation against another, calculating this nation's resources and that nation's manpower. The hates and national passions are once again being summoned up. Class prejudices and racial and national pride are being paraded in militant array.

Will this madness never end? Will we once again offer our youth, those few who escaped the searing experience of combat, to the altar of war? Will nations not learn that force begets force, and that dragon's teeth, once sowed, cannot be plowed under? Certainly there are such things on earth as justice, law, and brotherhood. Certainly the people of the world do not wish war. Certainly there are no square miles of earth, there are no strategic areas, there are no straits, there are no resources, there are no spheres of influence whose possession or loss can compensate for the blood and blasted dreams of the world's youth and manhood, for the wasted goods of the earth which are poured out without stint in war, when they could be devoted to the enrichment of all of us.

I know that my countrymen join with me, on this Armistice Day, in high and holy pledge to do our part to maintain an honorable, just and equal peace . . . let us accept that as our first mission, our first responsibility. Let us clasp to our bosom as brothers, of closer kin than blood, those who love peace, justice and freedom, and will work with us to preserve and exalt them.

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NOTE.—Armistice Day is the anniversary of the cessation of hostilities in World War I (November 11, 1918) and of the signing of an armistice between the Allies (United States, England, France, Italy, Belgium, and others) and Germany. On this day every year since, the Philippines usually observes a one-minute prayer in honor of the dead as the clock strikes 11: 00 a. m., the hour, which marked the final cessation of the first world conflict.

Address of President Roxas on the parity questions at the University of the Philippines, November 19, 1946

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the parity question
At the University of the Philippines

[*November 19, 1946*]

PRESIDENT GONZALEZ, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND STUDENT BODY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am indeed very happy to be back on this old campus, the campus that has been my stamping ground for many unforgettable years, the campus where I have spent some of my choicest romantic years, the campus that has been the backdrop of all my hopes and ambitions in my future life, the campus where very often I have stood before the student body in political joust, defending the principles and the policies in which I believe. And I am happy to say that in the past my views and my stand on public questions were always supported by the student body of the University of the Philippines. If I were to find explanation for that happy result, I might mention the fact that probably that is because you and I have studied in the same university; you and I have drunk deep from the same fountain of knowledge and of experience; you and I have been nurtured in the same traditions and in the same principles; you and I have fashioned our ambitions for the future in the same mold.

But there is one other reason and this I hold in common with all the young men and young women in this country, that I view and you view public questions without the disturbing spiderwebs that darken the vision of people when they examine experiences and the facts of life, because while probably getting old in age, I am young at heart. I take your views of public questions disinterestedly, your views that are forgetful of personal considerations and prejudice. I view public questions with the eyes and the mind and the heart of the youth that can look ahead and not back, that can sacrifice everything in defense of country and for the benefit of the country …the eyes of the youth that are idealistic, the eyes and mind of the youth that are not afraid, that are not belabored and are not handicapped by hobgoblins and ghosts that our own weaknesses conjure up.

And today, as I propose to discuss before you one of the burning issues of the day, probably the most controversial issue that has confronted our people since the liberation, I prefer to expound that issue with complete faith that your intelligence, your patriotism and your disinterestedness will induce you to see the things as I see them, and that reasoning together, we will arrive at the same conclusion which will lead this country along paths that will be more conducive to her welfare and happiness. I am going to speak to you this afternoon on the parity question. I want you to analyze with me all the questions involved in this issue. I want you to view the arguments and the propositions with the same discriminating judgment that you use in your study, that you use in your laboratories, where you base your conclusions on your observations, where you are not burdened by preconceptions or prejudices, where you accept results whether you like them or not, whether you desire them or not.

If I were to choose one group of people to whom I would prefer to speak at length on this fundamental issue, I would choose the student body of this university. I believe that the student body of this university, perhaps more than any other, represents and expresses the progressive, intelligent and patriotic spirit of our nation. Perhaps the student body of this university, more than any other, represents the combined judgment and opinions of our people because you come from all over the islands. Most of you come from the poorer masses of our population; all of you come without prejudices; all of you are imbued with the spirit that is taught in this institution, and that is the spirit of service, service not precisely to yourselves, but service to your nation. So I speak on this subject today confident, that I will not be misconstrued, that I will not be misrepresented, that my arguments will be taken in good faith, on their face value.

And if after evaluating the arguments that I shall present to you, you should decide that you cannot and will not agree with me, I do not want you to go out and speak against parity. I would want you to come to Malacañan and ask me to speak to you further on that subject and I will be very happy to discuss it further with you. But if I should convince you that my conclusions are right—God knows deep in my heart I think they are right—I want you to become the spearhead of the crusade of enlightenment. You sweep the cobwebs of prejudice and of fear that very recently have been sown by prejudiced minds over the length and breadth of this land.

"Parity"—that is a misnomer. The question before us should not be termed the question of parity. The constitutional amendment that will be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection does not propose to grant to American citizens the same rights and privileges as those of Filipino citizens. That is my first point. The constitutional amendment merely grants to American citizens, for a temporary period, the same rights and privileges of Filipino citizens with regard to what? With regard to the exploitation and development of our natural resources or the ownership and operation of public utilities. That is all.

But that is not a proper definition of the issue. Once the amendment is approved, it does not mean that American citizens will have the right, as a matter of right, to exploit our mines and acquire public agricultural lands without limitation. The Constitutional amendment proposes that if our natural resources are open to any individual, they will also be open to American citizens. What does that mean? It means that if public policy requires that private individuals be not allowed to exploit the natural resources of this country, the Philippine Congress will have an absolute right to pass a law withdrawing from private exploitation the natural resources of this country and then that amendment will become meaningless. For example, today, the oil resources of the Philippines are withdrawn from private exploitation. By law and by executive order of the President, no one, except two companies that had acquired that privilege before the war, may dig for oil in the Philippines. That is reserved to the Government. No one may exploit the iron resources of Surigao in Northern Mindanao. No one may exploit the coal resources of Malangas and of Simara and other parts of the Philippines. Even if these amendments were passed, those resources would not be open to American citizens.

The next point—these equal rights, so-called, given to Americans will be given only for a temporary period. How long? A maximum of 28 years, but the constitutional amendment proposes that they be given this right only for the duration of the Executive Agreement. The Executive Agreement is the agreement entered into between the Government of the Philippines and the Government of the United States to permit a reciprocal exchange of merchandise and products produced in either country for a limited period. It is the so-called Free Trade Agreement. That Executive Agreement will last for 28 years, but it has one important provision—that at any time that any of the parties might believe that the other has broken any of the conditions of the Agreement, that Agreement may be terminated upon six months' notice by the other nation. In other words, if at any time after the approval of the Executive Agreement, we should feel that the United States had taken action in relation to certain commodities which might be prejudicial to the Filipino people, we may terminate that Agreement upon six months' notice.

The other provision is that either party—the United States or the Philippines—may terminate the Agreement for cause or without cause upon giving five years' notice to the other party.

That is the amendment that is to be submitted to the people on March 11 of next year for acceptance or rejection.

And yet every argument that I have heard against this proposal, every public discussion of this issue, can be boiled down to one thing. The opposition has based its arguments on one emotion—fear. Fear that this country is going to be exploited, fear that the imperialists will rob us of our birthright, fear that we are going to be enslaved, fear that the Filipinos will become strangers in their own country. Fear—what craven thought! How unworthy of the people of Rizal and Quezon! What a thought to be used for the purpose of defeating a proposal that will make this country stronger and more self-reliant, more capable of enjoying not only the prerogatives of free national existence, but also prosperity and happiness in this, our native land.

"Fear", the Quixotes shout from one house-top to the other, and from one public plaza to the other. But why fear? This nation that braved the tyranny of Spain, this nation that dared to resist the mighty American nation, this nation that fought so heroically for more than four years in the defense of our birthright against the brutal Japanese empire,

this nation now is afraid? Afraid of whom? Of the Americans, our friends? The Americans who stayed with us for 47 years and, instead of exploiting us, helped us to develop this country, to educate you and educate me and raise our standard of living and prepare this nation for a free independent existence?

Should we fear a nation that, after liberating our country in compliance with the great promise of President Roosevelt, is helping us to rehabilitate this country, a nation that has voted out of its substance four hundred million dollars to pay for the damages wrought by the war; a nation that has voted a hundred and twenty million dollars to pay for the damages suffered by the government and government institutions including this great university (and I say great because this university is great although its buildings are toppled down and are destroyed . . . it is great because of its faculty, because of its student body, because of the opportunity that lies ahead of it) , a nation that has given us six hundred thirty million dollars' worth of surplus property without asking a cent in payment? Should we fear a nation that is going to transfer to us in a few days almost fifty ships that we need to maintain interisland communications in this country; a nation that is going to transfer to us not only all the arms and equipment for our army but even the arms and equipment that you will use for the training of our citizen army (and I promise that you are going to get these arms and equipment very soon); a nation that is going to transfer to us eighty-three ships, fighting ships, for our offshore patrol; a nation that is going to receive, beginning next month, five hundred students to study in the universities of the United States at her expense? To do what? To be trained to become servants and peons here? No. Five hundred students will go to the United States every year at the expense of the United States to train us in the different trades, in different professions, in science, in the arts, and in the technological accomplishments of that great nation, to keep the Philippines not only a free country but also a country that will be owned and operated with skill and efficiency by the Filipinos and Filipinos alone.

If America were imbued with the desire of exploitation and the spirit of imperialism, would she do these? No. America will keep us in ignorance and subjection. But who are afraid? Who are the men and women that express fear that America will exploit this country? I know some of them. Some of them were men who all their lives fought against the independence of the Philippines. They always opposed independence and now that independence has been won . . . has been won, I tell you, not by them but by us who fought for it . . . now they are more uncompromising in their stand for an absolute independence that we are. Yes, these are the men, men who formerly were afraid to make the Philippines a free nation, who now insist that the Philippines should have nothing to do with the United States. Well, I am going to try to convince you that their arguments are absolutely unfounded and false.

What are the advantages and what are the disadvantages of approving this amendment? The Congress of the United States passed several pieces of legislation designed for the rehabilitation of the Philippines. America spent four hundred sixty billion dollars to win this war and is going to spend probably two hundred billion dollars more for benefits and pensions to war veterans and probably another two or three hundred billion dollars to win and maintain peace, not only for the United States but for all the peoples of the world, including the people of the Philippines.

Those who oppose this measure say, "What if America has voted approximately or more than one billion pesos to pay for war damages here? It was her duty to do so." I grant that. America has a moral obligation to pay for war damages in the Philippines because this war was not a war of our own choosing, because the Philippines was invaded, because the Army and Navy were here, and because this was American territory.

But my reply is: If we had been independent before 1941, so that at the outbreak of the war the American flag was not flying over this territory, what intelligent Filipino will tell me that the Japanese would not have come any more to invade this land? They would have come because they realized the strategic importance of this territory in relation to the plans of war conquest and domination of their brutal empire. They would have come because they needed and they wanted the resources of this country so absolutely necessary to them in carrying out their war plans. Will anyone tell me that Filipinos would not have died or that fewer Filipinos would have been killed if the Japanese invaded this territory after the American flag had been hauled down? No, my friends. Why did we fight this war? We fought—and no colonial nation has shown more loyalty and greater fighting spirit in this past war than the Filipinos have—because we are loyal to America, not only because we are grateful for everything that America has done for this country, but also because we were loyal to the principles for which America was fighting, because we were defending our independence and protecting our hearths and our homes; and we were standing guard on the beaches and on the hillsides of this country, because we did not want to be the subjects of the Japanese Emperor .

Our participation in that war and our participation in the final victory are the greatest boast of this nation. I pray you do not put a dollar sign on it.

Yes, America has the moral obligation to pay war damages. So has England the moral obligation to pay war damages suffered by the populations of Malaya. So has France the moral obligation to pay war damages to the population of French Indo-China. So has Holland to the peoples of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Celebes. And yet, what other nation on earth, great or small, has discharged this moral obligation to date? Has England done it? Has France? Has Holland? No. The poor inhabitants of these territories have been left alone and are today being left alone to lick their wounds without assistance from the mother country. And they are still under the domination of the mother country. On the other hand, America has helped us to liberate our country and has proclaimed our independence. It has paid us war damages and is even assisting in the economic rehabilitation and reconstruction of this nation.

They say "parity" is an extraordinary concession. Why should we give this right, this privilege to Americans when we are not giving them to Englishmen? To us, that is an extraordinary concession. But so are the concessions which Americans are giving to us. Not only extraordinary but very extraordinary, not only very extraordinary but unprecedented in the whole history of the world since the dawn of civilization. They say that "parity" is a concession demanded by Wall Street in the United States in order to exploit this nation. Where is the authority for that statement? Wall Street is not interested in the Philippines. America is not an imperialistic nation. Not because Americans are angels, but because America is such a great and wealthy nation and has such tremendous resources that she does not have to be an imperialistic nation. An imperialistic nation arises when a nation needs products or goods vital to her existence. So if that nation could not get them in good fashion, it grabs the territory that has them.

America has an excess of raw materials. America does not need raw materials from the Philippines. It might be convenient for the United States to have some raw materials from the Philippines like copra, like hemp, like tobacco or shell buttons. I wonder how many nations would be imperialistic just to get shell buttons? I wonder how many nations would become imperialistic to get copra from the Philippines when copra is produced in many parts of the world; when everybody knows that vegetable oils can be substituted—and there are many well-known substitutes for vegetable oil? For hemp? Everybody knows that during the war we did not export a single pound of hemp from this country. And yet America did not die. There are many other fibers that can substitute for hemp, and steel cables and other synthetic materials can be fashioned now for use in place of cordage made from hemp. There is nothing we can produce in this country that is absolutely necessary to the economy of the United States.

But they say that the concession we grant to the United States is extraordinary. So is the free trade granted to us by America extraordinary. What nation in the world would not want to enjoy free trade with the United States? Is there any nation in the world that would not give quite a lot for the privilege of selling in the great American market? But contrary to her traditional foreign policy, contrary to her commitments to many powers, America has entered into an agreement with the Philippines whereby for 28 years Philippine products will be admitted into the United States, free of duty, with certain modifications at the end of the first 8 years. Isn't that extraordinary?

Why did America do it? Because America realizes that her obligation was to liberate our country and help insure the security of our freedom. America realizes just as a good man should realize when he raises a child to age and maturity that he has some obligations to that child and that he does not discharge those obligations by turning him out of doors in the cold without any assurance of a livelihood for him. America realized that when she granted us independence, she would have to take the necessary steps to give us at least a reasonable chance to make good that independence. America realized that it would be cruel on her part to grant us independence after our country had been destroyed by the war and when there is absolute certainty that there would be chaos, starvation and hunger in this country if we were left alone. So, what did she say? First I am going to help the Philippines rehabilitate her pre-war economy. In other words, America is going to help restore our factories and our farms and our mines as a basis for this independence program. She believes that it will require this free trade arrangement to do that. Why? Because our pre-war economy was dependent on privileges in the United States.

Sugar was an important industry in this country. Next, coconut oil. Next, cordage. Next, cigars and tobacco products. How could she rehabilitate our pre-war economy without giving to these products an opportunity to subsist in the rough competition with other countries after the war? Well, my friends, were it not for this free trade with the

United States, you would not be able to send to the United States one single pound of sugar and make a profit from the bargain because the tariff on sugar in the United States and in other countries is so high that only products from efficient countries, producing countries like Cuba and to a certain extent Java, could compete in the sugar market of the world. Well, should we disapprove this proposed constitutional amendment, all the sugar centrals in the Philippines would have to be scrapped. Only one or two would remain to produce enough sugar for local consumption. And if that should happen, if we cannot meet competition in the foreign market, if we don't have the stimulus of free trade, we could produce sugar here for local consumption, yes, but you would be continuing to pay P2 for each pound of sugar when you should only pay about P0.16 per kilo.

Our sugar cannot compete in the world market because our system is inefficient and costly. The cost of production will continue to rise because of increasing wages. I do not criticize the increasing wages. But that is a fact. Cigars cannot be produced here at a profit and if you should add tariff costs yet, the cigar industry would be dead. And what would happen? Suppose the sugar industry would disappear now? Suppose the oil industry would disappear? Suppose the cigar industry would disappear and the tobacco industry, too, and other industries dependent on the free American market, what would be left of our economy? Who would employ men here to provide an opportunity for livelihood for our laborers? Where would we get the purchasing power to maintain the industries that produce for our own consumption? Where could labor find employment? Where would the Government obtain the taxes to open the schools and to maintain this university, to maintain the Army, and the police force and the school teachers, and the army of government employees that are every day providing you with services necessary for a decent livelihood?

We can theorize. We can raise these specters and these phantoms of fear to frighten our people into voting against the agreement that will bring prosperity and bring about the salvation of this nation. But what a tragedy it would be if we should heed the prophets of gloom and disaster!

Aside from providing a market for Philippine sugar and other pre-war industries, America will give us the money to revive those industries. America says: "We will pay you war damages, pay you war damages to rehabilitate your factories. We are going to pay you money not in order that you can take your wife and children, as many now do, to the United States and have a grand good time." No. Every cent that is received by everybody here for war damages will have to be spent in restoring the property, the factory or the service that was lost or destroyed by war. That is in the law. If America were looking for her own advantage, if America were not interested in the economic development of this country by and for Filipinos, that provision would not have been inserted in the law. But it is there.

The war damages alone would not, however, be sufficient to restore these properties, especially with the present cost of production. America realizes, too, that America would like, I am sure, to have given more than she has given us, but America is overburdened with public debt. As I said before, America owes her own people four hundred sixty billion dollars. Translating this in Filipino terms on the basis of population, it would mean an indebtedness for the Filipino people of fifty billion dollars—fifty billion dollars or one hundred billion pesos would be our public debt if we were taking the same per capita proportion as the public debt of the United States today. Now, what does one hundred billion pesos mean? Our public debt today is ninety million pesos. Let us put it at one hundred million pesos. Well, one hundred billion pesos, if you are fast in your arithmetic . . . I might make a mistake but I think I am correct…one hundred billion pesos means one thousand times one hundred million pesos. You can correct me on that if I am wrong. In other words, America today is supporting a public debt structure that is one thousand times higher than the public debt burden of the people of the Philippines. And yet America is taxing herself more and more not only for the benefit of her own people, but also for the benefit of the peoples of the world, including the Filipino people.

But, as I said, that war damage payment will not be sufficient to restore these industries. That is why I have established the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation so that the Government can supplement the war damage payments that will be received with new capital that will be loaned for the rehabilitation of these different industries, their homes and other facilities. But the three hundred million pesos that I have set up as the capital for the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation are not enough. I am borrowing from the United States. And if this amendment is passed, I am practically sure that I am going to get the money I want to borrow and which the country needs. I am going to get money from the United States to put it to work here in the Philippines for the benefit of future Filipino generations and our own. Defeat this amendment and you are going to destroy the whole economic program of this

Government—the only program that has been presented here for the rehabilitation of our people's livelihood and our country's economy.

The critics of this amendment who raise this phantasm of fear have never come out with an alternative proposal. How are we going to save this nation if all the aids that America is giving to us are withdrawn? If the free trade granted in the Executive Agreement were withdrawn because that is tied up with the parity measure if the parity is defeated, there would be no free trade, no sugar, no coconut oil, no cordage, no tobacco, no cigars. If this parity agreement is defeated, there will be no war damage payment in excess of one thousand pesos for each claim. What will they answer to that?

They talk of fear, imaginary fear, but here I am submitting to them a practical question. Are they not afraid of what will happen in this country, of the chaos and confusion and the social disorders that will happen here when people go hungry and unclothed and unclad? What is their reply? *"Bahala na."* Yes, *bahala na* that is what we said before the war. We were not afraid of any nation in the world because we had confidence in our brawn and our courage. But in this world where science travels with the same speed as the jet plane, where science is making so tremendous a progress, we must learn how to master science, or it will become a monster, a Frankenstein that will destroy our lives and the future of this country.

This parity agreement or proposal will be instrumental in bringing to us not the experiments of science but the proven results of scientific research. Why am I insistent that this amendment be approved? Because I cannot wait. Our people cannot wait. You young men and young women cannot wait. You are studying and slaving yourselves in this university at a tremendous sacrifice to your parents and to your friends and unless we can build up an economic structure here that will be commensurate with the needs of this nation, you will leave the portals of this institution and face the world burdened with great disillusions. You will find an empty world—a world that you thought would receive you with open arms—and people turning their backs at you. You will find no opportunity to make a decent living.

Today I know lawyers who are mere clerks. I know a lawyer who is a *capataz* in the Public Works. I know doctors and engineers, too, who are not practicing their profession. Would we be complying with our duty—we, who have been, rightly or wrongly, placed by the suffrages of the people of this country in our position of responsibility? Would we be discharging our obligation to the youth of this land if we allowed ourselves to be disturbed by these fears and doubts and prejudices and not construct for you and those who come after you a social and economic structure that will be sufficient and ample enough to receive you and give you the positions that you should occupy in society?

Well, the result of the approval of this amendment will not be the influx of billions of American money. I don't anticipate that. Some Americans are coming—trained engineers, trained technicians and technologists, trained miners, trained lumbermen, who will help us finance and develop our natural resources.

This country is a wealthy country. Wealthy country but many are poor. We always say with pride that our land is rich in natural resources. But of what use are natural resources if they remain undeveloped? Fields covered with underbrush and untended fields, however rich and fertile, are waste unless the plow is sunk into their bosom and they are made productive. Our mines may be rich, but unless we dig the tunnels and extract the mineral ores, they are waste. Our great rivers and waterfalls may be tremendous sources of electrical power and energy, but unless we can harness them for active use they are waste.

All these potential sources of wealth are waste today. We have not been able to develop and harness them for forty-seven years during the American occupation. The Americans did not want to develop them. Why? Because of the attitude of our people. We were afraid that if we allowed the Americans to develop these resources they would fight against our independence—that they would oppose Philippine independence.

But now the situation has changed. Today independence is ours. We need no longer feel afraid that American investors in the Philippines will go back to the United States and in order to protect their investments fight against

our independence because we have already won our independence. Let us not fight the battle for independence with yesterday's weapon.

Capital is very shy. Capital will not go to any country unless it is sure that it is welcome. That is why we propose to give certain concessions to American investors. But American capital should come here not for the benefit of the American investors but for the primary benefit of the people of this country. What difference does it make to the Filipinos if the owner of the Balatoc Mines be, as he is, Haussermann and a few other stockholders? Who is the greatest beneficiary of the Balatoc Mines? Is it Haussermann? Yes, Haussermann has received great amounts in Balatoc Mines dividends, but the greatest beneficiaries are the six or seven thousand Filipinos who have been able to find employment, working in those mines. The greatest beneficiaries are the producers of rice because these Filipinos had the money with which to pay that rice. The greatest beneficiaries are the people who sold lumber, who sold bamboos and roofing materials because these people had money to pay for those things. The country as a whole is the greatest beneficiary because the Philippine Government has obtained through taxes and royalties much more than Haussermann has been able to accumulate as dividends from that enterprise. I would like you to turn that thought over and over in your minds.

Who will benefit more if our mines are opened up or our lumber resources are developed? Or if our waterfalls are harnessed? Who will be more greatly benefited? The investor or the country?

We need electricity. We need power in this country. We are going to develop steel factories here. We are going to make roofing materials, rails, tubings, and we are going to bring from Japan machine tools to establish factories here. But we need basic materials. We need iron. We need coal. We need oil. We need to harness these reservoirs of electric energy. Who will do it? Filipinos? Yes, Filipinos would want to do it. I would like to do it myself. But I do not know how. I think I could get the money, but I would not know how to go about producing these materials. It takes years and years of technological experience and administrative or executive experience to efficiently handle business of this sort.

In the great world competition in the production of these commodities we need experts in every line, or our factories will be submerged. These technical men should come here to establish these factories. With our cooperation I am sure they will be willing to sell shares of stock to Filipinos.

But whether they sell or not, I want them to come because I do not want to wait fifty years before we learn these different trades and these different industries. I want these industries to be established now so that we may be able to progress more rapidly, so that we may not be outstripped by other powers who are now racing toward unprecedented economic goals. No, this country cannot wait. We have got to feed the hungry. We have got to reestablish our lines of communication and transportation. We have got to rebuild our schools, our factories and our homes. We have got to build better roads, we have got to improve our hospitals and build more of them. And certainly, I would like to give better facilities to make of this university, and others like it, great. I should like to establish another university in Panay, another in Cebu and another in Mindanao and certainly in Vigan, the home of my friend, the Vice-President. But I should like to make of this university not only a great university but the greatest university in the Orient and second to none in the world.

I am proposing to spend sixteen million pesos to construct buildings for this university next year, and I am in earnest. And whether you vote for parity or not the University will be built.

The main reason for approving this amendment is, therefore, not only to be able to effectuate the whole rehabilitation program approved by the Congress of the United States and by the Congress of the Philippines, but also in order that we may be able to acquire within the shortest possible time the scientific and technological equipment and skills that are necessary to make of the Philippines, not an agricultural country, but a productive industrial country. We want to build here a country that will not only sell food for the tables of others or supply new materials for the factories of others, but a country that will produce food for the tables of Filipinos and provide materials for factories owned and operated by Filipinos in the Philippines.

That is my ultimate goal. That is the salvation, the only salvation of this nation.

If we cannot borrow money from the United States, our Government is stalled. Our present revenues, how much are they? I have the Secretary of Finance here, who has estimated our revenues this year at P75,000,000. Against this amount our expenditures are estimated at P250,000,000. Next year our revenues may be a hundred million, but probably our expenditures will be P300,000,000. What will we do, close shop? Close the school houses and the universities? Send the nurses back home and close the hospitals? Where will the P250,000,000 come from in revenues? They can only come from one source—from productive enterprise and from business enterprise. And yet we, who want to make of this country a big prosperous country, would prevent productive enterprise. Today Americans can come here—and Chinese and British and Swiss—to invest in business in the Philippines. They can open banks. They cap open import houses. They can open export houses. They can open insurance companies and so forth, without any limitation. That is their privilege. But these forms of capital investments are merely entrepreneurial. They do not create wealth. They are merely distributors of wealth. I am not interested in those kinds of enterprises. I am interested in productive enterprises, in enterprises that will bring wealth to this nation. When a pair of shoes comes from the United States and is delivered by a Chinese and is sold in Bataan or in Surigao, that pair of shoes, whether it is handled by ten people, does not increase wealth. It is still a pair of shoes.

On the other hand, when virgin ore is taken from the grounds, when you dig into the ground and get iron ore out of it and put it in blast furnaces and make rails or nails or machines out of it, you are creating wealth. Men— men who have not had the privilege of instruction or education—are valuable to this country as laborers, may be as soldiers; but when we have young men like you, trained in the arts and in the sciences, we are creating wealth. You represent the greatest wealth of this nation. As a matter of fact, the manhood and the womanhood of any nation, especially when they are prepared to undertake the economic requirements of the modern age, represent the greatest wealth of any nation and that is why we are interested in our schools and in our universities. That is the kind of wealth that must be created and developed.

My friends, there is another thought that I want to leave with you tonight. We must accept that unless Americans help in developing this country, a very large percentage of the resources of the Philippines will remain undeveloped for many years. I can only judge of the future by the past and our past experiences have shown that we are not capable financially or technologically. I am frank enough to say that I have no false pride. I would rather admit we have not been able to develop these resources in the past. Many believe, and actual physical survey has shown, that the Philippines may be a source of mineral oil or petroleum. Unfortunately, only one Filipino knew anything about drilling for oil and he is dead. The project that we had started before the war, to drill oil in Cebu, had to be abandoned for lack of trained men to do it. Well, what shall we do now? Shall we, out of blind fear and selfishness, hoard our natural resources in the bowels of our earth where they can do nobody any good?

I have heard one so-called statesman say it is better to keep these resources under the ground than to give them to the Americans. But we are not giving them to the Americans. The Americans are not going to take these things and take them home. They can't do it. They will have to employ Filipinos to do it—Filipino laborers, transportation men, carpenters, and engineers. Three or four of them will come here and finance the project. They cannot remove those resources from our midst without showering upon us the benefits that will come from such enterprise.

Shall we leave our mines undeveloped? This is a new age of science as I have said before. This is an age of steel and of plastics. We have coal in our mines. They say it is better for us to keep that coal rather than allow the Americans to mine it. Can anyone of these wise men here who are opposed to this amendment tell me how long coal will be the source of energy? It has partly and to a great extent been substituted by oil. How long will it take before atomic energy does away with the use of coal? May be next year, may be in ten years, I do not know. But we will appear like the miser who, during the Japanese occupation, hoarded all his mickey mouse currency, thinking that he would be a multimillionaire after the war—never dared to spend it and now keeps it in his trunk and every day he takes it out and counts his worthless hoard,—if we insist in keeping our coal under the earth.

My friends, let us not be the miser of my story. As I said, atomic energy is going to revolutionize the power industry. Plastic is already taking the place of iron and steel and wood in many categories today, and yet we are told we better keep these things buried in the earth for future generations. But why for future generations? These resources are given to us by Almighty God not for future generations alone, but for our generation as well. This generation needs those resources as much as future generations will need them. And don't deceive yourselves, my friends, future generations will condemn us for not developing these resources. Are we going to turn them over to

future generations without having touched them, without having done any work on them? Would not these mines be of better use and value to the coming generations if we can convert them into great coal mines and gushing oil fields and great lumber factories turning trees into boards and into houses? Would our children not be better off and be more grateful to us if we can bequeath to them great water power projects ready for their use and advantage? Or must we pass the buck and, in the meantime, tighten our belts and just holler and ask the Government for improvement of conditions while we keep its hands helplessly tied by stubbornly refusing to follow its program of economic rehabilitation and development?

My friends, it is getting late and I could talk to you on this subject for three hours more. I am going to end and I will end by saying that on one side of this proposition are the people who are counseling rejection because they are afraid; they are afraid to try their wits and their intelligence, and their energy and their aggressiveness, and their faith against Americans. On the other side are the thinking people, and I hope the youth of this country belong to this group. I have been told that many young men and young women are opposed to parity. I do not believe it. I refuse to believe it. I refuse to believe it because I have faith in the intelligence and the patriotism and the courage of the young men and the young women of this country. They will always be on the side of faith and confidence. I have said it once and I am going to repeat it, that my vision and my dream of the Philippines is not like a Jasmin shrub living and thriving in a hot house. I want to see the Philippines grow like a molave tree on the hillside spreading its branches in the four directions of the compass and braving the sun and the rain and the wind, unafraid of the storms that may come, determined to grow strong, resilient, self-reliant, brave.

That is my dream and my aspiration for this nation, and in that dream and in the achievement of that aspiration, I invite the young men and the young women of the Philippines. In the past, you have followed me in many of my political battles. Now, for once, I ask you to follow me in this great political battle that will determine not only the safety of this country but even the liberty of this nation.

Let me warn you, my friends, that chaos, social disorders and financial and economic collapse will necessarily come if we reject the aid, which the United States is now anxiously tendering to us. If we want to remain a bankrupt nation—as we are today in a sense a bankrupt nation because we are spending more than we can make—then vote against parity. Then, indeed, will the liberty and freedom of our nation be at stake. Many nations have lost their independence because they did not have the courage or the guts or the sense to husband the financial and economic resources of their country.

My friends, let us not be afraid of foolish phantoms. No matter what happens, if this amendment is approved our people will remain sovereign in this country. No American, who comes here to invest under the provisions of the proposed constitutional amendment, is going to be more powerful than the Government. The Americans will come here to invest subject to, and in accordance with, the Constitution and laws of this country.

And the Constitution and laws of this country are very restrictive. Our Constitution and our laws say that no man can acquire more than 1,024 hectares of agricultural land. Even if John D. Rockefeller should come to the Philippines and say "I want 10,000 hectares," the Constitution stops him and says, "You can only acquire 1,024 hectares of land." Can there be an imperialist with 1,024 hectares? There are many Filipinos today who each have more than 5,000 hectares and they are not imperialists.

Our law also says that if you want to engage in gold mining, you can only develop one vein in a claim. Mr. Rockefeller cannot take as much as he wants. He has to follow one vein, and it stops at the limits of his claim. Under our laws again, a stockholder in a mining company cannot own more than 15 per cent of the shares of stock in that mining company, and he cannot acquire even one single share of stock in another mining company. That is our anti-trust law. There are many other regulations to that effect.

We also have a law, which says no private individual, American or Filipino, can now dig for oil in the Philippines, with two exceptions because these acquired their rights before this law was passed. There is also a law, which says that they cannot dig for coal in some localities. There is also a law, which says the Government has a right to preempt anyone of these resources. In other words, by executive order, Manuel Roxas, President of the Philippines, can say no one can enter the island of Mindanao, because the Government reserves that for its own purpose.

What should we be afraid of? There is another provision in our law, which says that anybody who owns land in the Philippines will hold it subject to the right of the Government to expropriate that property for public use. There is also a law which says public utilities owned by anybody—Americans or Filipinos—can at any time be expropriated by the Government. In other words, Americans may come and set up a big railroad—I hope they do. Americans may come and set up a big truck line, but at any time, my friends, the Government has the right to step in and say: "We are going to pay you a reasonable value for your equipment because the Government itself wants to operate this property." If that is true, if we have these restrictions and safeguards in our laws, what is there to fear? What danger can arise that will make the rejection of this amendment necessary? Nothing. There is nothing behind the campaign to reject it except partisanship, blind partisanship; and I am justified in saying this because the most vocal in their opposition to this amendment are men who were themselves responsible for the approval of this law. I am not responsible for the Bell Act. I was here fighting for my election. Under whose administration, may I ask, were the Bell Act and the War Damage Act passed? For my part, I am satisfied that these acts harmonize with the best interest of our people. I am supporting these Acts because, in power or out of power, I have only one guiding policy, and that is to serve the Filipino people, the interest of the greatest number of the Filipino people in everything that I shall undertake.

Now, my friends, I will say good night to you. I ask you to ponder over the things I have told you tonight. Talk them over with your friends. Write back home. And please do not disappoint me. I believe that the students of the University of the Philippines will be, as I said before, the spearhead in this crusade to bring about the approval of this constitutional amendment.

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NOTE.—The U.S. Congress posed before the Filipinos a very serious problem, known as the "Parity Question" for short, when it demanded the amendment of their Constitution in exchange for the benefits offered in the Philippine Trade Act of 1946, otherwise known as the Bell Act (Public Law 371, 79th Congress) . To take advantage of the provisions of the law, the Philippine Government entered into an executive agreement with the United States Government regarding its implementation (see Nos. 16 and 18); and the President urged Congress in his message of September 11, 1946, to take steps to bring about the amendment of the Constitution (see No.34) .

This address at the University was the first major speech delivered to win the support of the people for the amendment; after which the President conducted a nationwide campaign, taking to the field several times. He delivered his final speech on the eve of the election, in the evening of March 10, 1947 (See Nos. 63 and 64).

Address of President Roxas congratulating the Philippine Scouts, November 30, 1946

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Congratulating the Philippine Scouts

[*November 30, 1946*]

Today we commemorate our national heroes and I have chosen to come to this camp because of the thousands of them who lie buried here. Here in restful peace lie thou- sands of Americans and tens of thousands of Filipinos who gave their lives in heroic defense of the Filipino and American flags and of the liberty and justice which those two great flags symbolize.

I have come to honor not only the Filipino soldier dead, but also the gallant Americans who shed their blood in our soil so that our nation might live in freedom. They are as much our heroes as they are heroes of America. Our gratitude to them springs from our hearts in equal measure as to the soldiers of our own race. The fact that these Americans and Filipinos fought for the same cause and the same ideals and died in our country will be recorded in our history for our children to read and remember with gratitude.

We fought side by side as comrades, Americans and Filipinos. I trust that we will continue to live as comrades and, if need arises again, act as comrades in defense of the ideals that we have in common.

I am particularly happy today to have witnessed the parade of the Philippine Scouts. This organization is the bearer and beneficiary of a glorious tradition. No soldier anywhere in the world fought in the last war more bravely and gallantly or with more skill than the Philippine Scout. His record is unsurpassed by any soldier in any front.

While I was still in Corregidor in the early part of 1942, I witnessed the performance of the Philippine Scouts under the unmatched leadership of General Moore, now Commanding Officer of the United States forces in the Philippines, to repel the air attacks of the enemy against tremendous odds. Their success was exceptional. Their exploits reverberated to the four corners of the earth and merited the commendation of the Prime Minister of England. During the battle of Bataan I witnessed eleven successive savage attacks made by the enemy against a thinly held line of Philippine Scouts near Balanga. The Japanese came time after time with tanks and heavy artillery and frenzied shouts of "Banzai", preceded by a heavy air barrage. The Scouts held their lines without available reinforcements and with limited gunpower. They never yielded an inch of ground except momentarily; they always took back, before the sun had set, the ground they had lost. The Philippine Scouts emerged in the last war covered with glory and without a single defeat, a record attributable to their invincible fighting spirit.

I wish to congratulate every man who has been inducted into the Philippine Scouts. It is an honor, a privilege to belong to this organization. While the Philippine Scouts is a part of the United States Army, I am confident that every Filipino who has joined that force has done so because, in serving the United States Army in that capacity, he knows he is serving the interest of his own people and nation. Our special relationship with the United States and the purpose for which the Philippine Scouts has been organized fully justify that conviction.

It is unfortunate that our present laws withdraw the right of citizenship from a Filipino who has joined the United States Army. I am certain that this law was passed without considering the possibility of a situation such as has derived. We have an agreement with the United States permitting her to establish bases here for the mutual defense of our two countries. The Philippine Scouts will be used chiefly to man these bases. In joining the Philippine Scouts the Filipino is only required to take an oath of loyalty to the United States to the extent of his obligations as a member of the United States Army. He does not become an American citizen by that fact. In sentiment and in loyalty he remains a Filipino; he should be allowed by law to remain a Filipino. At the next session of the Congress I propose to recommend an amendment to the citizenship law to permit members of the Philippine Scouts to retain their Philippine citizenship.

I am sustained in this attitude by the fact that the Philippine Scouts has been organized to insure the defense of the Philippines. That mission is not in conflict with the duties of a Filipino citizen. On the contrary, it is the supreme privilege and obligation of a citizen. I am convinced moreover that the use of the Philippine Scouts for this purpose will greatly facilitate the execution of the program for the mutual defense of the United States and this nation. This force will also serve as a great reservoir of trained soldiers for our citizen army, which may be called upon in a crisis to take arms to defend our homeland from attack.

I wish to extend my felicitations to the United States Army for the speed and success with which it has whipped the Scout force into shape. I wish to assure every Filipino in this force of the approval of the Government of his enlistment, and to assure him, further, that he will continue to be looked upon by our people as their brother in flesh and blood.

In wishing you every success, I desire to utter the hope that you will continue to live up to your noble traditions and that you will serve the American Army with the loyalty that you have undertaken by your oaths.

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NOTE.—This speech was delivered at 10: 00 o'clock a.m. before the 12th Division of the U.S. Army, more popularly known as the Philippine Scouts, following a parade given in honor of the President at Camp O'Donnell, in Capas, Tarlac, which adjoins the National Cemetery.

Under Republic Act No.106 which was approved on June 2, 1947, a Filipino citizen may enlist in the armed forces of a foreign country without losing his Filipino citizenship, provided that *(a)* the Republic of the Philippines has a defensive pact of alliance with such foreign country, or *(b)* such foreign country maintains armed forces on Philippine territory. This law was in fulfillment of the assurance given by President Roxas in the foregoing speech that the Philippine Scout should not lose his Philippine citizenship for enlisting in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Memorial Day Address of President Roxas at the National Cemetary in Capas Tarlac, November 30, 1946

Memorial Day Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
At the National Cemetery
In Capas, Tarlac

[*November 30, 1946*]

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

We stand on hallowed ground today. Thousands of our gallant soldiers lie buried on this soil—the soil they dearly loved. Their noble spirits hover over us and throughout our land. In this hour of remembrance we glory in their deeds and enshrine them in our hearts. They are an irrevocable part of us. We are now what we are—free and marching forward—in large measure because of what they did. They poured their blood unstintedly to give us the liberties that we treasure. By an inexorable mandate from which there is no escaping, we are to continue where they left off, preserving these liberties and using them for the attainment of peace and the achievement of justice and economic security for all the people.

Ours is not merely the obligation of remembrance in solemn ritual and ceremony. Our obligation is to face courageously the responsibilities born of the times in which we live. Our backward glance into the deeds of our heroic dead gathers significance as we appreciate the magnitude of the tasks yet to be accomplished and as we gird ourselves to fulfill them.

In the presence of these hallowed graves, we must resolve to maintain aloft the standard for which they nobly gave up their lives. We must dedicate ourselves anew to the principles of liberty and justice for which they shed their blood. We must determine to devote our very thought and energy to the end that this nation may live in peace, freedom and prosperity.

The brave patriots who are buried here died in the defense of our country against a ruthless enemy. Many of them were my comrades in Bataan and Corregidor. Some of them were my personal friends. All of them gave to this nation their full measure of devotion under the shadow of the Filipino and American flags to resist a treacherous foe. These men were the flowers of our youth. They typified the courage and loyalty of our race. We can never forget them. We will never forget them. Their heroic sacrifice set a measure of fidelity to our flag and our institutions for this and future generations. They served our country well. We will not forget their widows and orphans. We will endeavor to make ourselves worthy of their exemplary conduct.

The Capas prison camp was the scene of many terrors and unforgettable tragedies. Thousands of these men died not on the battlefield. They died here because of the infamous neglect, the willful cruelty of the enemy. Capas is a name that will long live in the memory of our people as the stage for a tremendous holocaust. And as the field of Bagumbayan where Rizal fell, the victim of tyrannical rule, has now become a spot for inspiring patriotism, I expect that this sacred soil on which we stand will in time become a shrine of patriotism which succeeding generations of Filipinos will visit to revere and emulate the lives and deeds of the heroes and martyrs that lie here under the sod. I wish that all the school children of the Philippines should come to this place to feel the mystic effect of the surrounding landscape and with their own eyes see how many men have given up their lives for their country and for the liberty that they cherish. To that end this spot has been dedicated as a national cemetery. In this place we should erect a more appropriate monument to immortalize the deeds of these brave men and the priceless principles for which they fought.

We are indeed possessors of a precious heritage. We have a tradition of loyalty, courage and sacrifice of unsurpassed strength and power. We need to remind ourselves of this fact when we gather at some ground like this, sanctified by the blood of our countrymen. This tradition should constantly inspire our every endeavor. It should serve to lift our spirit to the performance of the manifold tasks before us. These tasks require the same loyalty,

courage and sacrifice which these heroes exemplified here. With such inspiration, we can dare to move forward in the fulfillment of our exalted goals despite the difficulties on the way.

With the spirit of these men to guide us, I am confident that we will be able to discharge our great responsibilities in the same fashion that our fathers in the Revolution of 1896 upheld the banner of protest and our brothers in the last war resisted the oncoming onslaught of a new tyranny, drenching our soil freely with their own blood to make the life of our people richer in opportunity for freedom and self-fulfillment.

The measure of our obligation to our heroes is not formed by the words that find utterance on a memorial day. Neither should our gratitude be reckoned by what limited resources we may grant of assistance to surviving widows and orphans. Rather the true measure of our obligation and of our gratitude must be proved by what we do today to fulfill their ideals. This is what is expected of us to acquit ourselves of our debt, a debt which we are to square not with our fathers but with our children.

Comrades, I salute you. Your names and your deeds will not be forgotten. They have found lodgement in our nation's heart. We will never permit an invader again to trample on our sacred soil. We will defend as you have done those imperishable ideals even unto death!

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NOTE.—Before the delivery of this address, the President and the Chief of Staff of the Philippine Army laid wreaths on the tomb of the Unknown American Soldier; while Maj. Gen. George F. Moore, Admiral H. Good, and Brig. Gen. J. Anderson, commander of the 12th Division, Philippine Scouts, laid wreaths on the tomb of the Unknown Filipino Soldier. From a grandstand erected in front of the two tombs, the President gave his address at one o'clock p. m. before an audience of about 10,000 People, many of whom were widows and kins of the war heroes, who trekked to Capas from all over the country.

Message of President Roxas as we celebrate National Heroes' Day, November 30, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
As we celebrate National Heroes' Day

[Released on November 30, 1946]

For the first time in our history, we can observe National Heroes' Day this year with the pride and dignity of a free people. We have achieved our heroes' noblest dream—we are now independent. We have acquired title to the priceless heritage of freedom which many generations of Filipino heroes and martyrs have tended with their own blood to bequeath to us. The symbolism of reverence to our heroic dead has thus become perfected, our debt of gratitude to them full and complete.

In a very special sense, this is the first real National Heroes' Day. For today our heroes can rejoice in their scattered graves happy in the thought that their strivings have ended, their dream of liberty fulfilled. Henceforth, it will be for us of this and coming generations to take up the mantle and fight the second phase of the battle—that of national survival and progress. Our forbears have fought to make of this a free and independent nation. Ours is to make this young nation live and grow and prosper.

We shall need in the new struggle a different type of heroism. We shall need heroes of peace. But for this new type of heroism, the same quality and standard of selfless faith and devotion, the same unflinching loyalty to the national cause, the same daring spirit and the same singleness and unity of purpose that lent eternal greatness to our heroes' deeds in the past, will be required. They are the absolute condition to our future success as a free nation.

A pledge and a resolve to live up, in our peaceful labors, to the virtues and standard set by the stalwarts of our race, sires of our national emancipation, would be a worthy thought for this memorable day.

Christmas Messages of President Roxas and Vice President Quirino, December, 1946

FOLLOWING ARE THE CHRISTMAS MESSAGES OF PRESIDENT MANUEL ROXAS AND VICE PRESIDENT ELPIDIO QUIRINO:

The President's message:

Christmas comes again this year with its magic aura of cheer and gladness. Its ancient message of peace and goodwill evokes a welcome response in the eager and yearning hearts of men everywhere. Peace, following the years of strife, has become the one great passion of war-weary mankind.

In the universal search for peace and the good life, the spirit that infuses men, women and children, young and old, rich and poor, on Christmas Day, should light the way. True Christian fellowship, brotherhood, goodwill and kindness—these are Christmas. And these—not arrogance, nor selfishness, nor greed, nor conceit, nor avarice—can lead humanity to its long-cherished goal of peace and happiness.

I wish our people the Merriest Christmas and a truly happy New Year. May the spirit of the season linger long in all hearts and homes.

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The Vice President's message:

Christmas comes to us this year without the bountiful plenty of the days before the war. Our ravaged and looted country has not yet recovered the prosperity to which we were long accustomed, and even that peace and general goodwill which is the traditional atmosphere of this holiday have not yet been re-established.

It may happen therefore that many of us will not feel like Christmas. It may seem to us that Christmas without rich presents, without lavish and brilliant entertainments, without elegant clothes and costly jewelry, is not like Christmas at all.

But it seems to me that it is precisely without these trimmings of wealth and ostentation that we can best appreciate the spirit of Christmas. The first and truest Christmas was celebrated in a stable amid such bare abandonment and poverty that the newly born Babe of Bethlehem was cradled in a manger of the beasts of the field.

If we are poor today, the Child Jesus was even poorer, poor beyond our imagination. If we are harassed and neglected, He too was denied shelter in every human habitation.

But the glory of that first Christmas reached the hearts of the world. The shepherds came and placed gifts from their flocks at the foot of the manger. The kings followed the star from the East, bearing gold, frankincense, and myrrh. They shared their wealth and their poverty alike with the Child who had come down to share their humanity.

That is the true message of Christmas; its wealth is not of this world but of the spirit; its true glory shines from the hearts of men of goodwill.

This year the Christmas message has a special significance for our people. For we too find ourselves in poverty and want; we too need a free and generous sharing with our neighbors and our countrymen.

Christmas does not depend on material circumstances; Christmas is what we ourselves make it. Let us make it a good, a happy Christmas, laying aside hatred and intolerance for peace and goodwill, forsaking envy and selfishness for a sincere love of our fellowman.

Yesterday afternoon I looked down from the window of my office in Malacañan on a sight that embodied all that I have said. All of the spacious lawn was filled with the children of the poor, orphans, and waifs, chattering and laughing gaily in the sunshine while the greatest ladies of the land, led by the First Lady of them all, Mrs. Manuel Roxas, distributed among them gifts to make it a real Christmas for the forgotten and the dispossessed.

It was not the first time it had happened in Malacañan but I could not look upon the sight without a sincere thrill of happiness. For this was the true spirit of Christmas, a spirit of sharing, a spirit of human fellowship. Let us fill ourselves with the same spirit and I am sure that we shall find riches and happiness greater than we could ever find in material prosperity alone.

A merry and a holy Christmas to all of you!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Address of President Roxas to the Rotary Club of Manila, December 19, 1946 "THE FUTURE PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS OF THIS COUNTRY DEPENDS ON FREE ENTERPRISE IN A FREE WORLD"

Address to the Rotary Club of Manila

[December 19, 1946]

GENTLEMEN OF THE ROTARY CLUB:

In the Philippines these days, after almost four years of oppression, the people are anxious to express their views on public matters. Every businessman has his economic philosophy. Every businessman has his own ideas as to how to cure the ailments of the world. It will take some time before we can clear the atmosphere and set ourselves to work on the task of national reconstruction. The rebuilding of the national economy on the ruins of war will be a long process. I shall endeavor this noon to share with you my thoughts regarding the solution of the problems we shall meet with in our common endeavor to place our economy on a sound foundation.

This country is in many respects economically prostrate. The destruction wrought by the war is greater and more extensive than many of us are willing to admit. The present situation demands special treatment. The productive systems of many nations of the world have been destroyed. World trade is just in the early beginnings of restoration. We have problems of production, of transportation, of communication, of distribution . . . problems affecting money, problems affecting credit, and problems which affect directly the lives of millions of human beings.

The United Nations Organization with its several agencies has tried to clear a way for an intelligent solution of some of those problems. There is an organization, which deals with international trade and international investment, and another organization, which deals with the monetary situation. There is an organization which deals with exchange rates, and another which deals with transportation and communication in an effort to restore as soon as possible the facilities for production, distribution, and exchange of commodities.

In the Philippines, we are doing our part to establish conditions, which will facilitate not only the restoration of our pre-war economy, but also the expansion of that economy. The Government by itself cannot change the situation. The Government can only create conditions that will facilitate production and distribution of wealth. The Government can only give assistance to create and otherwise provide stimulation of productive enterprise. Under our democratic philosophy, our Government is basically opposed to artificial control of the process of production and distribution. I am definitely opposed to government interference in the process of production and distribution. It is my conviction that the future prosperity and happiness of this country depend on free enterprise in a free world.

There is, however, a sense of disappointment and discouragement pervading the businessman of this country. There are many questions of fundamental importance that are not yet settled. The man interested in the sugar industry cannot start rehabilitating that industry until he knows that preferential trade between the Philippines and the United States will be approved. The man who wants to build a factory or to engage in the business of general merchandising desires, before he makes the investment, to be accurately informed of the conditions under which he will operate. I trust, however, that after the 11th day of next March, when the plebiscite on the parity amendment is held, whatever be the result, uncertainty in the minds of men in industry and in business will be eliminated and that by then they will know what they can expect from conditions here in the Philippines. By the way, I know definitely, positively, that the parity amendment will pass by a majority vote.

I have been disturbed recently by statements made by businessmen and neo-economists who argue against free trade with the United States. And I have been disturbed not because I fear that their statements, their campaign against the parity amendment will sway the people to their side. I am disturbed because of the impression that they create among people who are not fully informed on the subject. The free trade between the Philippines and the United States was imposed by the United States. I do not believe it is necessary for this audience to be enlightened on that policy. The United States is not interested in carrying on preferential trade with the Philippines. The American market is not dependent in any way on the continuation of Philippine trade with that country. On the contrary, free

trade between the United States and the Philippines implies a substantial subsidy to our producers. Products dependent upon the preferential market of the United States enjoy a subsidy, the total value of which is certainly a great deal more than the duty which American products are relieved from paying. The contention that free trade with the United States is favorable to America because American products enter the Philippines free of duty and that it is therefore insisted on by the United States is malicious. American products today are probably the only products obtainable by us in the Philippines. There is hardly any competition against these products offered by exporters of any country in the world.

It is because free trade is beneficial to the Philippines that I am supporting the Executive Agreement with the United States. Free trade is absolutely necessary for the Philippines during this period of reconstruction. If we do not have preferential trade with the United States to offer to investors and capitalists, the first industry that will be disrupted is the sugar industry. This industry employs 200,000 people. It is this industry that pays a substantial percentage of our government revenues, and supports many other industries. And it would disappear at a time when we are not ready to replace that industry. I have heard economists here say that this country can never be industrialized so long as American products enter the Philippines free of duty, and that the industrialization of the Philippines will be effected as soon as free trade relations with the United States are terminated. I cannot see any possible reason to justify that allegation. The assertion that free trade with the United States would prevent the establishment of industries here because our industries cannot compete with those of the United States does not seem to hold any validity in the light of recent international developments. The old classical economic philosophy of international distribution of trade and specialization of production among the different countries of the world has been revived and is now being followed and accepted by every nation of the world. Protection through tariff imposition is not the only way of protection. Such protection in fact is a toll, a subsidy, and that subsidy is paid by the consumer. Classical philosophy maintains a principle that in the world economy the nation that is best fitted to produce a certain commodity should be the nation that should produce that commodity. There is room; there is opportunity for all nations of the world to participate in this building up of a new free economy for the whole world. Some economists, among them Doctor Klein, make a few exceptions to this principle of international distribution of labor, saying that science has made such fast advances that even dirt and dust are today being used as raw materials for the manufacture of commodities that can supply the essential needs of man. The idea of synthetic production of such commodities, while scientifically possible, is gradually being abandoned in many respects because of the higher cost of production. Only totalitarian nations will continue to adhere to that philosophy because of the exhaustion of their natural resources or because of their inability to provide themselves with exchange with which to buy the raw materials they need. Free trade between the Philippines and the United States for eight years substantially as it was before the war and trade for a 20-year period thereafter on the basis of declining quota or increasing tariff impositions, is not a scheme or device formulated by the American Congress for the purpose of tying up the Philippine economy with the American economy. It is merely a device that will grant us a transitional period during which we shall be able to adjust our economy to conditions upon the expiration of preferential trade with the United States. I am surprised to see that men who before our independence believed it would be disastrous for this country to lose preferential trade with the United States, are the same men who accepted independence but now are opposing free trade. Just what kind of argument that is, I am at a loss to understand.

The next argument against free trade and the Executive Agreement that has been given wide circulation here is that in the Executive Agreement the Philippines agrees to maintain the present legal exchange rate between the peso and the dollar, that is, a ratio of one to two. It is argued that it would be harmful to the national economy because it would prevent the country from changing its monetary system even if we should find such a change expedient. In the first place, there is no nation in the world that has a stable currency. Our commitment in the Trade Agreement concerning our monetary system is not substantially different from the commitment made by this country when it adhered to the Bretton Woods Agreement concerning the International Monetary Fund. As you all know, the Bretton Woods Agreement was approved unanimously by the Philippine Senate before the last election. Practically every nation of the world that is a member of the United Nations Organization, not excepting Russia, is a party to the Bretton Woods Agreement. Every signatory to this Agreement has bound itself not to change the monetary value of its currency. The exchange rate adopted was the rate that prevailed in the markets of the world two months before the conclusion of this Agreement. And there is a provision in that Agreement that no nation shall permit a fluctuation in the exchange rate of its currency beyond ten per cent. That may be done from time to time without consulting the authorities managing the monetary agreement, but in no case can the change in value of the exchange rate be more than a total of ten per cent of the original parity rate. In other words, even without the commitment of

our Government binding ourselves to maintain the present legal exchange rate between the peso and the dollar, we would still be bound by the Bretton Woods Agreement to the extent of at least 90 per cent of the parity value of the peso to the dollar. But the reason why this provision was inserted in the Executive Agreement, I must state again, was not an imposition by the United States for the purpose of deriving advantages in the Philippines. That provision is there because it is a part of the rehabilitation program formulated for the Philippines by the Congress of the United States, after consultation with the representatives of the Philippine Government. Today, international capital, because of the disrupted condition of the world, is very rare. Today, no investor will go into a country to risk his capital if he is not certain of the stability of the monetary system of that country. Today, no man will set up a factory or engage in commerce with any nation of the world unless he knows that whatever profits he may derive from those operations he can convert into dollars at a reasonable rate of exchange and send them to the United States.

The same is true with regard to prospective investors in the Philippines. American capitalists before the war invested large amounts just to be certain that there would be a free flow of money between the United States and the Philippines, that there would be no controls and interferences. The second objective of the American capitalist is that he wants to be sure that every two pesos he makes in the Philippines he can convert into a dollar and send it back home. That provision, therefore, is part of the program to induce capital investments here in this country.

But the question will be asked, "Why should we tie ourselves to the dollar?" Practically every nation of the world today wants to tie up its currency with the American dollar. The sterling block exists and efforts are made to strengthen it. But it is said, "If America devaluates its, currency, our currency would accordingly be devaluated." That is true, but there is no chance for America to devaluate its currency within a foreseeable future because America is a signatory to the Bretton Woods Agreement and has agreed, as we have agreed, not to change its monetary system or the exchange value of the American dollar. In addition, I may say there is nothing in the Executive Agreement which would prevent the Philippines from presenting a claim for a just rate of compensation for our Government in the unlikely event of a devaluation of the American dollar. It is only because it is very easy to bring home to the masses of our people the fact that this is an imposition by the United States and yet no explanation is made of the circumstances why that provision was inserted, that I am disturbed by the way the campaign for parity has been waged.

My friends, the problems of the Philippines are of our own creation because we lack faith and confidence in our own selves and in our fellowmen. We have forgotten our friends very frequently, friends that have come here not only to feed us but also to give us our liberty. We are even capable of imagining evil motives in them. I am not among those who believe that whatever America does or decides for the Philippines is good, but I am one of those who believe that America will never ask the Philippines to do anything which America does not believe sincerely would be for the best interest of the Philippines. And I am one of those who believe that America will never force the Philippines to agree to something which we are convinced would be injurious to the interest of our nation.

What country in the world today, I should like to ask (and I do not except the United States), can offer more attractive prospects to capital, honest capital, for investment other than the Philippines? Our political condition is stable. Constitutional democracy is functioning here. Constitutional processes are in operation. We have had an election. This is truly a government that is democratic not only in form but in spirit and in fact. It is a government that does not intend to obstruct the efforts, the legitimate efforts, of businessmen. I should like to create among businessmen in the Philippines absolute confidence in the interest the Government has in their welfare. I should like businessmen in the Philippines to look upon the Government as their friend. The Government is going to create all the facilities needed for profitable enterprise in this country. We have created the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation with an initial capital of P300,000,000, to provide credit for the rehabilitation of our old industries and even for the construction of residential houses. I wish to assure you that I will not encourage the expenditure of this capital on doubtful projects. I will have every cent of that rehabilitation money put to work. I will endeavor to get out of their hiding places all the money stored up by private individuals in their trunks today. We are going to issue short term, low-price redeemable bonds in order to induce the poorest Filipino to invest his savings in these bonds. I anticipate that before long the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation will have enough money and enough resources to operate on a capital of more than one billion pesos. That is an enormous amount of money if properly used for productive enterprise.

If you add to that the expenditures for carrying on the ordinary government services and for public works amounting to P250,000,000 a year; if you add to that a hundred million dollars worth of surplus property, the procurement cost of which amounts to $637,000,000, which will be left here and sold to the public at the most reasonable prices, and for the purpose of providing equipment and other facilities to people who want to engage in production or distribution; if you add to that the ships which will be transferred to us by the United States within the next few weeks, 49 merchant ships for operation by our own operators; when you add to that about 83 ships which will be transferred to us, some of them adapted to commercial use; when you add to that the P240,000,000 which will be paid to the Philippine Government from the War Damage Commission for the purpose of rebuilding and restoring government buildings; when you add to that the P800,000,000 which will be paid for war damage; when you realize that the United States is helping this country in many other ways like providing the Philippine Army not only with arms and ammunition but with supplies and equipment, with uniforms and shoes and even food supplies (as a matter of fact, the United States Congress in its last session appropriated $18,000,000 to be used for the purchase of supplies and other equipment for the Philippine Army which it may need and are not obtainable from the stock files of the United States Army); when you realize that the Government of the United States is going to help us in establishing here aeronautical and navigation facilities and is going to spend many millions of dollars for our airport and other air facilities; when the United States will carry on a well-conceived program of education—we are sending 500 students a year to the United States—and is going to open fishery and other trade schools at its own expense; when the United States has expressed its willingness to help us solve the budgetary requirements of this country for a period of five years; when you realize that the United States Army and the United States Navy are going to establish bases in the Philippines and will spend millions of dollars in the Philippines for the construction of those facilities, for the building of bridges and for the purchase of materials and supplies,—you will readily see, my friends, that this country has a tremendous future.

Before the war, all the assessed value of properties in the Philippines was only about P2,400,000,000. That includes government and church property. For war damage payments alone and some other proceeds to be paid by the American Government, we will actually receive Pl,500,000,000. When you add the loans that we are going to obtain from the United States, we will have a total that will exceed substantially the total value of private properties in the Philippines before the war. The continued operation of the United States Army and Navy, as far as international payments are concerned, will bring to the Philippines a great industrial prosperity, possibly the greatest we can hope to have. I anticipate that the American Army and Navy, during their stay here in the Philippines, will spend around $200,000,000 a year—money that will remain in this country. While we shall derive material benefits from this expenditure, we also shall derive something better—security for our nation. Time will not permit me to discuss all this before you, but I should like you businessmen, especially Filipino businessmen, to try to form your opinions on this question and to advocate whatever you feel is right for your country's well-being. Your apparent indifference to these matters weakens our efforts not only in the reconstruction of this country but more particularly in the development here of an enthusiastic support of the basic things without which this country will sink deeper into economic depression.

I will ask you businessmen, including Americans, to speak your mind on the question. I know Americans are afraid to express their views on this question because they fear that such views may be branded as biased. I assure you, my American friends, that there is enough good sense in this country and our thinking public has enough confidence in the honesty of purpose of our old American associates here to be able to consider their views without bias. But more particularly I should like businessmen who are directly interested in these and similar matters not to permit formation of public sentiment here by people who are not directly concerned and who will look upon this question superficially and without full knowledge of the facts. I bespeak your support and confidence. I bespeak it for the good of our country. I do not ask that you support our policy if you believe it is wrong. Go out and fight it as hard as you can. I would consider that less harmful than remaining silent and seemingly indifferent to these things.

We have to develop this country and we have to do it rapidly. Our revenues for this year are estimated at P75,000,000 as against a budgetary expenditure of P250,000,000. We cannot increase the revenues of the Government and we cannot minister to the needs of the people without increasing our revenues. I am not in favor of taxing existing industries further or more heavily. We can increase our revenues in the Philippines only by increasing new sources of revenue, and new sources of revenue can only consist of new industries, new agricultural developments, new services—in other words, the expansion of our national economy. Our national income before the war was estimated at P2,000,000,000 a year. I think the value of our production now, compared to that of

production before the war, is only 50 per cent. Some economists would say our national income this year is as large as our income before the war. That may be true because of the prices our products command today. But that is not a good test during this time when we are suffering from a certain degree of inflation. We have inflation to face and we have to do things to forestall the aggravation of that threat. I think that the cause of inflation is well in hand and there should be no feeling of fear.

My administration has certain definite objectives. The first one is full employment. I should like to be able to give an opportunity for every man, woman and child who is willing and is able to work. But that needs expansion of our economy: it means more farms, more factories, more trucks, and more telegraph facilities.

The next is the raising of the people's standard of living. Let no one think that the Filipinos are more contented with the life they have today than that which they had before the war. The war has raised high hopes all over the world and the Philippines is no exception. We must face that fact. When I talk of full employment, I mean full employment at reasonable wages, wages that would permit the maintenance of a decent living.

The third objective in our domestic economic policy is the expansion of our national economy. To do that it is absolutely necessary—I repeat it is absolutely necessary—that the parity amendment to the Constitution be passed. I am not so much interested in that respect, in preventing the stopping of the payment for war damage which would necessarily result from the disapproval of the parity amendment. I am not interested in this matter because of my desire to speed up the industrialization of this country. We may have capital. We may have manpower. We may have natural resources. But today there are other essentials to efficient production. One is technology. That is one big essential in modern industry, which we cannot supply. We cannot afford to send students to the United States to study in the universities there. Modern technology has to be learned not only in universities but also in the factories themselves. Engineers must see the wheels turn. They have got to handle these machines in the factories. It will take us generations to industrialize this country without the know-how, the technological skill of the people who are engaged in that business. With the approval of parity, I anticipate the transfer of industries to this country. Assembly plants will be set up here because this is the only spot in the Orient where there is security. When those factories are established here, they will not be American factories; they will provide new Philippine industries. We shall have work for thousands of our laborers. These industries will provide us the means with which to increase the purchasing power of the mass of our citizens. We shall thereby increase our national income and stimulate the expansion of our economy.

In South America, there are countries that invite foreign capital to help them develop their industries, and countries that have become isolated. Take Argentina with only around 13,000,000 people. When I speak of Argentina, I do not mean to say that I agree with the political system in Argentina. I don't want that my remarks be interpreted as in any way referring to that subject, but purely from the economic point of view. Argentina is now one of the strongest countries, probably the strongest country economically, in South America. She attained that status by offering opportunities to foreign investors—Americans, British, Italians, etc.—to help in her development. But Argentina continues to be a country of the Argentines. Foreign capital has been put to work for the benefit of that country. On the other hand, take the case of Paraguay. Of all the countries in South America, Paraguay has the richest natural resources and yet it is the poorest country in South America because of her laws concerning foreign capital and the development of her natural resources. Take Colombia and Nicaragua. They are prosperous countries today because they welcome foreign investors.

Let me repeat, my friends, what I said some time ago. Let us stop fighting today's battles with yesterday's weapons. The argument that we should be afraid of foreign capital because it would deprive us of our liberty no longer holds true today. It is America that we should trust because she has pledged to send here surplus properties and to help us develop our own nation. My friends, I place before you a glowing vista of the future of the country. It is a future that can be ours if we have the courage to strive for it. If we can induce the United States to continue to look upon us with understanding and friendship as I know it is her desire to do; if we do not create suspicion in the hearts of the Americans; if the Filipinos will apply themselves to their present tasks, unafraid to work and to sacrifice: in ten years this country will be one of the wealthiest and most prosperous in the world and the one bright spot in the Far East. It may become a leader in democracy and in liberty. It will become a leader in the social program of the enlightened peoples of the world. It will be inhabited by free and contented Filipinos, Who will be able to raise their

heads high, proud that they are Filipinos, proud that this is their country, and proud that they can consider themselves a friend of the United States.

Christmas Message of President Roxas to the Filipino people

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Filipino people
As we celebrate Christmas Day

[Released on December 25, 1946]

Christmas comes again this year with its magic aura of cheer and gladness. Its ancient message of peace and goodwill evokes a welcome response in the eager and yearning hearts of men everywhere. Peace, following the years of strife, has become the one great passion of war-weary mankind.

In the universal search for peace and the good life, the spirit that infuses men, women and children, young and old, rich and poor, on Christmas Day, should light the way. True Christian fellowship, brotherhood, goodwill and kindness—these are Christmas. And these—not arrogance, nor selfishness, nor greed, nor conceit, nor avarice—can lead humanity to its long-cherished goal of peace and happiness.

I wish our people the Merriest Christmas and a truly happy New Year. May the spirit of the season linger long in all hearts and homes.

Speech of President Roxas on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Dr. Jose Rizal

Speech
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Dr. Jose Rizal

[Delivered at Luneta, December 30, 1946]

On this hallowed spot, scene of tragedy and glory, we hail the immortal spirit of Jose Rizal. Fifty years ago today this patriot sage joined the ranks of liberty's martyrs. Fifty years ago, the brilliant flame of his life was violently snuffed out by imperial minions who did not comprehend the truth that men may be killed, but ideas are indestructible.

On this same spot, six months ago, our nation became a free Republic. That monumental event Rizal foresaw. It was fitting that the symbolic ceremonial of independence should have been performed on the ground consecrated by the blood of the great leader and prophet.

It is not without significance that Rizal, peering into the inscrutable mists of the future, predicted that one day the American Republic, in his time still untested as a world power, would play a major rôle in the history of his homeland. True to his prophesy, it was America who bestowed the boon of freedom, Rizal's greatest dream, upon the people and land he loved so well.

In the half century since his death, Rizal has dominated our national consciousness more completely than any other figure of our history. We pay our tributes to a long and swelling rank of heroes from Gat Pulintang to Bonifacio to Abad Santos and Quezon, but Rizal towers over them all, as he inspired all who came after him.

Distilled from a turbulent ever-searching spirit, Rizal's writings whether in prose or in verse, are lyric truths, sounding every note of our national character, our national dreams, our national needs. He did not neglect to touch, nor to examine the frailties and faults of his countrymen. Who among us will not still wince at some of the truths which shine forth undimmed from the immortal pages of *Noli Me Tangere?* Who will not still quail and blush at his diatribes against the proneness of some of our people to place conceit and dignity above our nation's good?

In a major measure, his words are as true today when they were written. They express a basic fault of our national character and underlie many of our vexing problems. Yet Rizal understood with crystal clarity, and exalted in immemorable prose and verse, our national glories, the shining virtues of our race . . . the courage, the loyalty, the patience, the tenacity and endurance . . . the love of music and the love of noble glory, the sensitivity and the innate graciousness of our people.

His philosophic understanding of the problems of his day, and of the problems of the generations that were to come after him are profound and prophetic. He examined, with fierce and pitiless disinterest, all the axioms and assumptions of his time. Those he found false in the glaring light of fact and experience he rejected and stripped of sanctity. With equal fervor he embraced the great ethical concepts of Liberalism and Humanity, the concepts of Mankind's Greatest Martyr, Jesus Christ. Human dignity and individual worth . . . human equality before God and Government . . . those were the revolutionary banners carried by Jose Rizal.

The proposition of racial superiority Rizal abhorred and confounded. The corollary that some men are made to rule and Others to be enslaved he denounced with acidic irony. As to the gross apology of the Spanish rulers, who claimed superior rights over Filipinos because the latter were brown skinned and wide of nostril, Rizal thundered, "Law knows no color of skin, nor does reason differentiate between nostrils." That was blasphemy in his day. Rizal dared to blaspheme. He feared neither King nor clergy. He was first to acknowledge the reasonable authority of government; but he would neither bend the knee nor bow his head to what he called "the false pretensions and petty

persecutions of sham gods." He sharply attacked the shibboleths of "prestige" and of "face." "The prestige of a nation," Rizal wrote, "is preferable to that of a few individuals."

Heroically he demanded a free press, and assaulted every reason put forward against it. With his mind and heart full of the liberal traditions of the western world, Rizal clamored for a removal of the iron restraints on freedom of thought and expression imposed by petty tyrants who greatly feared the light of truth and knowledge. Solemnly, he warned the colonial rulers . . . "History shows that uprising and revolutions have always occurred in countries where tyranny rules, in countries where human thought and the human heart have been forced to remain silent." It is in his tradition, which is also the tradition of Voltaire and Peter Zenger and Thomas Paine, that we maintain today and will defend with all our vigor full freedom of mind and speech. That is the essential distinction, the touchestone which Rizal well knew, spelling the difference between dictatorship and democracy, between freedom and slavery. Where men are free to speak their minds, to air their dreams, to petition their government, to assemble peacefully, to discuss their grievances, fancied or real . . . there true freedom dwells. Where these rights are not implicit, and are not guaranteed to the people, that is not freedom's realm, whatever the name, whatever the form.

Jose Rizal was not an advocate of revolution nor of violence. Yet in the absence of essential reforms, he clearly saw the inevitability of revolution and uprising. Because he understood this alternative and stated his belief without subterfuge or evasion, he was pilloried, exiled, persecuted, tortured, and then destroyed. This great mind recognized that education and peaceful progress toward the lofty goals of freedom are preferable to strife, death, and bloodshed. But when the light of truth was arrogantly challenged, when men were refused the right to worship God in a manner of their own choosing, when his countrymen were denied the opportunity to learn and to be taught, when official injustice and cruelty went unchecked and unpunished, when he perceived the gathering storms of hate and fury in the hearts of his people, he issued a clear and certain warning, documented by history, that liberty would prevail in the end against tyranny.

Rizal found his country prostrated, exploited and oppressed, its mind and soul smothered by polical intolerance and religious bigotry. He endeavored to lift up the spirit of the common man and make him aware of his dignity. He taught his countrymen their rights as well as their obligations. He tore from their eyes the veil of impotence, and showed them, with measured logic, that a people united against oppression, is irresistible; and that there is no punitive power sufficiently great to keep forever chained an aroused nation armed with a love of liberty and justice.

Rizal struck the shackles from the people's minds; he led them to the realms of unfettered thought. Freedom and justice were depicted by Rizal as the noblest aspiration of a nation. With skilled and steady hands, unshaken by fear of reprisal, Jose Rizal forged the solidarity of our people. He scourged with bitter invective the petty divisions of province against province which permitted the masters to rule by setting one group against another. Not his province, but his country, "gem of the Orient Sea," he said, was inhabited by one people, one nation, a nation which he acclaimed as indestructible by tyranny or terror.

"Dream of my life, my living and burning desire,
All hail," he cried.
"And sweet it is, for thee to expire,
"To die for thy sake, that thou may'st aspire."

Those flaming words fused the soul of the Filipino people. By their passion and beauty, Rizal's farewell verses became a seal of brotherhood by which the Filipinos recognized their affinity, one with another; the land from an archipelago, became a nation.

This poet, statesman, dreamer-seer held high the torch of freedom when the night was darkest. When some despaired of liberation, confronted with the entrenched power and might of Imperial Spain, Rizal fastened his smiling hopes upon his nation's youth, turning to those who still today hold the promise of our future glories.

"Hold high the brow serene, O youth
Where now you stand.
Let the bright sheen

Of your grace be seen,
Fair hope of my fatherland."

A youth himself, he died, his golden pen laid to rest, his restless intellect destroyed, his brilliant talents suspended at their full. But they killed only Rizal's body. They found out too late that his unvanquished spirit led his people on.

The poet Cecilio Apostol, spoke thus to the martyred Rizal:

"Your brain was stilled by a bullet's thrust,
But your spirit soars o'er an empire's dust."

Jose Rizal sealed with his young life our compact with destiny.

Whatever our difficulties today, however impoverished we are by war, we are rich in our heritage of Rizal's patriotism and wisdom. It is a constant spur to our national endeavors to merit, in our daily lives, our claim to his sacrifice.

There are no better guides to national glory and worth than the precepts which this great soul set forth for our people. He distilled them from his deep knowledge of our past and his bright hopes for our future. We would do well to steep ourselves in the wisdom he taught us. I am not one of those who would mortgage the living future to the claims of the dead past. Yet in Rizal, we have a man whose wisdom was universal, whose thoughts were true not only for his time, but for ours. There are few geniuses of any age of whom that can be truly said.

William Tell, hero of Switzerland, died a soldier's death, but he left no living truths to guide his country across the future years. Napoleon was a winner of battles and even a giver of laws, but he did not give lasting inspiration to his country, nor was he a prophet of peace. Savonarola died for his beliefs, but his was a martyrdom of faith rather than of patriotism. England has had her great statesmen and soldiers, but no single one of them combined the vaulting love of his people with the transcendental wisdom which gives Rizal his eternal fame. The only parallel of history who comes immediately to mind is that patient, brooding spirit, Abraham Lincoln, like Rizal, a martyr to human freedom.

Today we need men of Rizal's mold. The cause of liberty cries for new recruits. The heavy hand of oppression casts its shadow over much of the earth. A new philosophy opposes our own, one which would substitute the promise of bread for the reality of freedom. While proposing to free men from economic thralldom, it imposes upon them a mental serfdom, an intellectual regimentation which denies selection and inquiry.

Economic injustice and oppression are hateful and destructive of the individual. Freedom from want and freedom from economic slavery must be achieved. We must never rest until we have established the opportunity of all men to live in comfort and security. But must we, to gain our ends, place our necks in the yoke of dictatorship, whatever its excuses? Must we accept the tablets of law and wisdom from self-anointed leaders claiming to represent a single economic class and imprison our minds and our children's minds in hoops of sacrosanct doctrine? That is too heavy a price for the promise of economic equality. Power is too intoxicating a wine to be entrusted, without the people's check, to a single party or oligarchy, or despot.

No, we will work in the pervading light of day, and expose our intellectual wares in the free market-place of democracy, and let the people choose. When they have chosen, we will use the powers of constitutional government, with unstinted vigor, to lead the people to security and prosperity. But the people must be free to approve or reject their leaders, after the constitutional term of stewardship, and to express their views, through the press and other media, to compel officials of high or low rank to answer for their deeds in the public plaza of free sentiment, freely expressed.

That is our credo, that is our basic principle. That is the teaching of Jose Rizal. He was no absolutist. He did not fight and die to substitute a Filipino master for the Spaniard. He was full of trust in the basic wisdom of his people.

A people have the government that they deserve, he said. Through education and the spread of knowledge, through full and free inquiry into ideologies and beliefs, through public discussion and debate, truth is established; men are made free. He hated tyranny. But tyranny he knew, is possible for any length of time only when there are men who will accept tyranny. "There can be no tyrants without slaves," was his injunction to his people. And today in the Philippines, there can be no tyrants, because there are none who would accept slavery or oppression.

As long as we love freedom, we shall honor Rizal. When this nation turns its back upon liberty, and chooses the degrading road of dictatorship, we shall have to exalt another hero, certainly not Rizal, the Apostle of liberty's sacred creed.

How happy and proud we can be as we say to him today: Your faith has been vindicated; your dreams have come true. The seeds of liberty you showed flower everywhere in your native land. Here democracy rules. Here the voice of the people prevails. Here freedom reigns. And it will ever be so. Here freedom will abide, protected and defended by your countrymen who, in unshakeable loyalty to your memory, cannot conceive of life without liberty.

How can we be sufficiently grateful to the immortal soul of the man who passed on to us this noble heritage? How can we pay him adequate tribute, or do him proper honor? We can only say, as it was said of another deathless champion of his country:

"Your nation's heart, your grave will be,
Your monument, a nation free."

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). At the memorial services held at the Luneta in the morning of December 30, 1946, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Dr. Jose Rizal, President Roxas delivered the following speech.*Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(12)*, 3252-3257.

New Year's Day Message of President Roxas

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the people of the Philippines
As we celebrate New Year's Day

[Released on January 1, 1947]

I extend my heartiest greetings to the people of the Philippines and to all men for a successful, prosperous, peaceful and useful New Year.

This New Year finds us in the most important phase of our national existence. As 1946 was for us the year of crisis, 1947 is our year of action and decision.

During the past year we realized our historic destiny of independence. That realization was achieved in the midst of a crisis of unprecedented severity. There were grave doubts in some minds that the crisis could be successfully endured. The very foundations of our society were in question; our ability to survive was at historic issue. We have passed through that crisis, or at least the major portion of it. Our directions have been established. The governmental machinery for rehabilitation and reconstruction has been improvised and made available.

This New Year will determine whether we can successfully use the implements which are at hand to achieve our national salvation. The decisions which we will make during the coming year will determine our national fate for generations to come. We must pray for wisdom, for sober judgment and for divine guidance in the formation of those decisions and in the performance of our national duties.

As fearfully involved as we are with our own problems at home, we cannot forget that we are but one part of mankind; that we are but one nation in a world beset with one master problem. The problem is the achievement of peace, security and world justice.

In wishing for a successful New Year for our people, we must join with that wish a prayer for progress toward the goal of a more unified and understanding world—a world of peace, a world in which individual peoples may cooperatively work out the problems of individual freedom and well-being.

In our own country, we must attain single-mindedness in our devotion to the people's welfare. Ancient grievances must be solved with progressive action. Harmony and unity of purpose must guide our efforts. The ties of brotherhood must be confirmed; charity and forgiveness must ease the bitter wounds of war.

Our land is still mottled with the litter of destruction. The road before us, rough-hewn, is heaped with desperate obstacles. The nation is seriously convalescing; yet the national heart-beat is strong. Vigor and courage, our eternal birthright, urge as forward to our tasks.

May the New Year, through all its months and days, bring good cheer and fruitful blessings to our people to all the people of the earth.

Message of President Roxas to the World Affairs Institute in Cleveland, Ohio, January 9, 1947

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the World Affairs Institute in Cleveland, Ohio

(Read by Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo in behalf of the President)

[*January 9, 1947*]

We see the world today as a molten sphere of many active and reactive components. The internal tension in each part is adjusted to the sum of the various parts. The tensions accumulate; the conflicting dynamic forces threaten inevitable addition to an explosive total. Danger, disaster, and chaos hang in the balance.

This concept is no idle flight of fancy. It is real and true. Most of the leaders of the world know it in their minds, as most of the people of the world know it in their hearts. Listen, and hear the rattling of sabers, the same old war cries that have frightened and aroused mankind for centuries. Headlines recount ultimatums, weigh the military power of one nation or group of nations against another, talk of military alliances, and of spheres of influence. We hear advocacy of a 'tough' attitude and of a 'soft' attitude, and of a war 'to settle things once for all'. There are proud and tired voices which say, 'it is none of our business, or none of your business, what is done in the Balkans, in the Middle East, in Malaysia, or in China'.

But we know one thing today, and know it with the certainty of death and suffering. It is this: there can be no piecemeal settlement of world problems. Disaster or aggression at one latitude surges into another as surely as the Kurishowa current forces its way from one sea to another, affecting all in its sweep, and, lateralizing its effects over all the earth.

Why must statesmen and the press still use the old symbols, the outmoded shibboleths, the discredited passions of a past and tragic age? Why must we heed the covert language of diplomacy, rather than the full-throated voices of the peoples of the earth, who cry for bread, justice and freedom, who desire not loot, plunder, or aggression, but to be at peace, and to enjoy plenty? We have but yesterday defeated the atavists who drew from the savage and barbaric past a glorification of war and death as the ideal of mankind; still the loathsome miasma of their philosophy lingers in some chancelleries of the world. It is true that some nations hold to social and political formulas quite at variance with ours. But variance need not mean conflict unless we choose it so. As long as all acknowledge the same goals, let us respect the right of each nation to work out its destiny in a manner of its own choosing. Surely there is today no essential conflict of peoples' purposes. True, there are conflicts of national interest in terms of security, of accessibility to raw materials, of trade and colonial prerogatives. These again are mere concepts of interest, banners of national advancement which are more symbol than fact. They are so illusory and unreal as any of the fancies and superstitions of a by-gone day. When we understand that war is the alternative to peaceful solution of these fancied conflicts, we must shrink with horror from a foolish choice. We must unite—all the peoples of the world must unite—in a solid resolve to spare neither pride nor effort to attain in peaceful ways the goals of all men. These ends reached, the illusions of conflicting interests will disappear.

The last war consumed in four flaming years the wealth and substance of generations of mankind's toil and sacrifice. Where is the profit to any nation in such a struggle? How can that cost be weighed against the value of Trieste, of Singapore, or of the Kuriles? Who can now recover for the enjoyment of men the billions of tons of the world's resources wasted, lost, dispersed, consumed in war? What nation benefited, what people benefited, from that tragedy? While the United States and the Soviet Union emerged from that war enhanced in power and prestige, this power and prestige are of no value, unless they are used for the happiness of men and women. I think we know now beyond question that the people of one nation cannot long enjoy happiness while the shadow of misery hangs heavily over other parts of the earth. We recognize the indivisibility of prosperity as well as of peace.

The economic interdependence of the peoples of the world is too intimate to give comfort to a dream of prosperity for one people while neighbors live in a nightmare of privation. Desperation is a constant companion of misery. People, who are hungry, dispossessed and without hope may see little merit in established order. Those who have little to risk will risk life in the gamble for death of gain. Freedom is the greatest blessing of mankind, the highest prize of civilization. But the hungry and the under-privileged, deprived of hope, may stake everything, even their freedom, on the desperate adventures of war, conquest or upheaval.

Prestige and power must then be used to insure not only peace, but plenty for mankind, to assist in the orderly and progressive development of the world's resources and in the promotion of the health, security and freedom of all men of all nations.

Nations may well strive to outstrip each other in wealth, power, and prosperity. A free competition in attainment is much to be desired; but the competition must be organized, the rules of the game must be universal and fair handicaps must be allowed. Each people must be permitted—yes, encouraged and assisted—to develop its particular genius, to pursue its particular type of economy, and to promote its development to its maximum level. Trade barriers must be gradually eliminated. Access to raw materials must be unhindered. Each nation must be free of the threat of interference in its internal affairs, of domination or exploitation. No people and no nation must be forced to support the economy of another. Colonialism must disappear from the face of the earth. The people of each nation must be free to pursue their national ways without hindrance when those national ways are freely chosen. I do not believe that we should permit fascism or totalitarianism to thrive in a any part of the globe; no people willingly abdicates its freedom. Where a particular government has been imposed upon a people by whatever means, I deem it most proper that the conscience of mankind should take cognizance and act to protect the priceless virtue of liberty.

I know I have described a utopia—a utopia more visionary perhaps than that which Thomas More depicted a century ago. But as men are not frightened by heaven, but love and aspire to it, so men must not be frightened by prospects of perfection, but must strive toward it. Possibly we will find new goals, new obstacles to conquer after we have achieved the one we see now. Nor can we forget the alternative—if we do not move surely and passionately in the direction of peace, if we do not strive for the highest peak of plenty, we will find ourselves wandering off into the destructive morass of another war. I do not know whether civilization can emerge from another such diversion.

Where is the leadership, the Moses who will lead us to this Promised Land? Surely we must be led, because in the present confusion, strong voices must be heard to point the way, to hew with strength, courage, and idealism the difficult roads we must follow. I can think of no leadership other than that of the United States. I can think of no nation better equipped for the magnificent role than America. Here is a nation and people who have been chosen by providence for such a task. Their geographical position gives them detachment, their wealth and numbers give them power, their experience gives them wisdom, their history hands them the banner of freedom. The magic techniques of science are nowhere mastered as in America. American technology has unlocked the secret of atomic energy and has harnessed it to the awesome destructiveness of the bomb. That same technology is now at work applying that atomic secret in the service of all mankind.

America has no selfish interest to exploit in any part of the globe. American hands would not hold the chains of oppression and tyranny, which she knows bind master as well as slave. America has the greatest production potential of any nation on earth, of any combination of nations. What an array of weapons for the great battle of peace! If America was the arsenal of democracy in war, so America now faces its destiny of becoming the arsenal of freedom for peace. With the weapons I have just described, a victorious battle can be fought, a conquering effort can be made. I do not expect the American nation and people by themselves to support the world, or to divide their substance with the world. But America, above all other nations, has learned that prosperous people make better customers and better neighbors, better democrats, and better freemen.

America can organize a battle for peace and prosperity just as she organized the world's forces for war. In every nation of the earth there are solid phalanxes of men and women who cry out for leadership, who implore guidance on the road to peace, freedom and well-being. These men and women have willing hands and anxious minds. They pray for an end to confusion and conflict, an end to fear and want. They are eager to work for world order, peace, freedom and plenty for all men. America, speak to them! They are there by the millions and billions, waiting to be

shown the road to a dynamic peace. The common masses of men in every land have faith in you. A billion prayers ride upon your inspired leadership. Yours is a sacred mission, a holy crusade, a challenge to achieve the people's peace.

Message of President Roxas to the reunion of the Philippine Ex-political Prisoners' Association

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the reunion of the Philippine ex-political Prisoners' Association

[Released on January 26, 1947]

My heartfelt greetings to the gallant Filipinos happily assembled in today's reunion! As bravely and as heroically as men who fought and suffered on the battlefields and in many cases more so, you, my friends, endured the fiendish inquisition of the Japanese, their tortures and brutalities, in your devotion to your country and to your country's principles. You deserve full honor and recognition for your heroism. Yet in a larger sense your own conscience is your true reward. Imprisonment in Fort Santiago and in the other torture chambers of the Japanese is today a badge of high honor among the Filipino people. By having survived those terrible trials, you must know, all of you, in your hearts the glory and satisfaction of having been the object of hate and suspicion by the temporary tyrants of this land. Not for pay, not for profit, but for principle, you were imprisoned and suffered, I can think of no nobler accolade, no finer decoration. The only orders you followed were the orders of your conscience and of your patriotism. The whole world is in your debt.

On this day, you have gathered to pay tribute to the great military symbol of redemption and of liberation, General Douglas MacArthur. I know of no better way to honor the man whom you honor today on his birthday, than to greet you who were his civilian rear guards, who kept green during the dark years the hallowed memory of liberty, which General MacArthur as the leader of the forces of freedom, was eventually to restore to its due place in our land.

To you and, through you, to him, I send my thanks and my best wishes on this signal occasion.

Address of President Roxas on behalf of the 1948 Red Cross Fund Drive

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On behalf of the 1948 Red Cross Fund Drive

[Delivered on January 30, 1948]

"CHARITY IS THE GREATEST OF ALL VIRTUES"

Today the Philippine National Red Cross starts its yearly drive to raise funds to cover its estimated expenditures for the current year. It calls on every inhabitant of the Philippines to give his ardent and whole-hearted support to the humanitarian purposes for which the organization has been established. I am sure that the people in general realize that the Red Cross is giving them invaluable service.

Since its creation as an independent organization, our Red Cross has been able to render succor to the helpless and unfortunate victims of national disasters—thanks to the funds contributed by our people.

During the past year, the Philippines has been lashed by six destructive typhoons, leaving in their wake enormous loss of property and crops. Many lives were lost in these calamities. The Philippine Red Cross, always ready to help the distressed, distributed relief and succor in the form of food, clothing and medicine to a total of 248,674 persons. It also handled the distribution of government relief. In inundated places, as in the several towns of Isabela where 3,000 persons were isolated by the swelling rivers, Red Cross relief workers cooperated with government agents to rescue the victims by using amphibian trucks, landing barges and bancas to remove them to places of safety.

Fire, too, took its heavy toll. Several fires broke out in various parts of the Philippines, the biggest of which were in Cebu City and in Tarlac. In the former, 2,383 persons were immediately given assistance through the Red Cross and in the latter, 2,902 people were aided.

When the Mayon Volcano in Albay erupted in early January, last year, the Red Cross evacuated the people living at the foot of the volcano to places of comparative security and provided them with food and medicines.

But the Philippine National Red Cross does not confine its humanitarian service only to disaster-stricken thousands in times of grave calamity. Even during normal times the Red Cross carried on its mission of relief and assistance to those in need of them. In 1947 it aided no less than 165,000 families belonging to different nationalities in the form of consultation, guidance and information regarding legislation and government benefits: like the actual preparation of claims for government benefits, the procuring of necessary documentary evidences, and assistance in referring persons in need to the proper welfare agencies.

The Military Welfare Service of the National Red Cross, with its representatives in different military camps and hospitals, provided consultation and guidance to those in the service, assisted in filing claims for government benefits for those being discharged, gave hospital and social service to patients, and provided wholesome recreational activities for the sick and the able-bodied. More than 9,000 soldiers and their families were thus aided up to last December. This same branch supplied 2,635 athletic and vocational articles to various army units.

To promote a safer and healthier way of life, the Safety Service department of the organization trained 22,600 men, women and children in first aid, water safety, and accident prevention. Approximately 14,000 men and women were given home nursing instruction by the Nursing Service department, the training consisting chiefly in the care of the sick, the prevention of diseases, and the proper care of mother and child after childbirth. This department enrolled about 2,000 registered nurses.

Because of these continuous acts of humanitarian service, and as a matter of national pride, we should support the National Red Cross. For many years our Red Cross was a mere chapter of the American Red Cross. As such, we were almost entirely dependent on the financial support of the mother organization. Naturally, we did not enjoy the right to control its policies. But now, because of our adherence to the Treaty of Geneva on February 14, 1947, the Philippine National Red Cross has become independent and must carve its own destiny. It must establish its own prestige through its initiative, resourcefulness and painstaking devotion. As a Philippine organization, it deserves our moral and financial support.

Every peso contributed to the Philippine National Red Cross goes to humanitarian service. Let us not forget that food, medicines, supplies and clothes entail large outlays from the funds of the organization. Men and women, self-sacrificing to a fault, must be employed and paid in order that the program of assistance to the victims of inevitable catastrophes may be carried on without interruption whenever and wherever help is needed.

We must, therefore, get together and give the Red Cross as large a contribution as we can afford. We must lend it a helping hand that it may the better carry on its noble functions. We should spare no effort to make of this organization which is truly national in scope and universal in function, an entity worthy of our pride, our honor, and our prestige as a people.

In normal times we do not think so much of the Red Cross. We take its functions for granted. We feel that it is not our concern that it should carry on. But when catastrophes strike, such as the last typhoon or the recent earthquakes which disrupted public utilities and deprived thousands of our people of their homes and gravely affected their means of livelihood, the first thought that occurs to us is, "Notify the Red Cross." But the Red Cross needs no prodding. The Red Cross is on the job night and day, taking great risks to save lives, to restore property and to spread comfort to as many areas as can possibly be covered under adverse circumstances.

Now that the Red Cross needs our help, we must not let it down. We would be recreant to our civic duties were we to turn a deaf ear to the pleas of the Red Cross. The direction and control of this humanitarian entity is in capable and honest hands. Mrs. Aurora Quezon, the Chairman of the Board, called upon to direct its policies, is zealously and disinterestedly working to expand the service of the Red Cross. The nation owes her a great debt of gratitude. Solicitor General Manuel Lim, Mrs. Pilar Hidalgo-Lim and many others who are assisting in the management and administration of the Red Cross, deserve likewise the full-hearted acknowledgment of the people. They are a constant inspiration to the great unsung number of hardworking doctors, nurses, and operatives that patiently execute the various programs and projects of the Red Cross.

This unselfish organization merits the full confidence of the people. Whatever support we give to this organization will go out in multiplied benefits to the millions of our under-privileged masses who, by the strange irony of fate, always suffer the most when national catastrophes strike us.

I appeal to the entire nation and to every individual to give, and to give unstintedly—so that the Philippine National Red Cross may truly be national in ideal as well as in service. Contribute all you can to this worthy cause. However little it might be, it will help to save a life, or give shelter, food or clothing to the victims of disaster.

Charity is the greatest of all virtues. Here you have an opportunity to exercise that virtue. Give generously to the Red Cross!

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NOTE.—The President started the campaign for Red Cross fund with a contribution of P1,000.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas at the Convention of the Liberal Party, January 31, 1947

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel A. Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the convention of the liberal party

[*January 31, 1947*]

FELLOW LIBERALS:

I am happy to greet you today, you who were the architects of the political victory achieved, in the face of so many obstacles, last April. I have not had a previous occasion to salute you publicly. I do so now. I think you deserve not only my thanks, but the thanks of the entire Filipino people.

The record of achievements in the past eight months fully entitles you to be proud of the work you did during the campaign and of the program with which you appealed to the people. I am glad to say that the platform of the Liberal Party in the last campaign is being carried out. The promises made to the people of the Philippines are being fulfilled. It is an old political saying that political platforms are made to run on but not to stand on. I think we can stand on our platform today and in the future.

Last Monday,[1] I reviewed in comprehensive detail the progress made by the nation under the leadership of the Liberal Party and of the minority parties allied with us in the last election. It is a record with which we can be justly satisfied. Thus far we have faithfully discharged our stewardship. A late American politician, Al Smith,[2] made famous the statement "Let's look at the record." Let us today look briefly at the record in the Philippines. We have pulled the nation out of the doldrums of despair. Food, work, and hope have been given to millions. I do not mean given in the ordinary sense. They have been earned; but they have been earned under this administration's constructive leadership. We have pointed the way; the people have followed.

We promised that aid would be obtained from the United States. We have received aid from the United States and will continue to receive aid from that country in sufficient amounts. I think I recall a prominent leader of the opposition who made the claim that if Roxas were elected President, the Philippines would not receive a centavo of assistance from America. Attempts were made to stampede the Filipino people with such goblins of fear. Somehow that ghost, like other ghosts, failed to materialize. Now the same political voices are crying that we are accepting too much aid from the United States, and that we should be more self-reliant and depend upon the mysterious thing called natural economic forces to feed, clothe, and rehabilitate us. I do not think we should pay any more attention to these voices now than we did a year ago.

Prices are lower, food is more plentiful, government is more honest and efficient, rehabilitation is actually under way, and we have a plan for the future. That is our achievement; that, and the preservation of our free, independent and democratic way of life.

Membership in our party, the Liberal Party and our allied parties—the Democrata Party, the Frente Popular , the Young Philippines and the Laborite Party—is a badge of honor which I am proud to wear. I am happy to be known as a member of this Party, and as a liberal. I know those within the hearing of my voice are proud of that label too. Yet the word "liberal" is probably the most misused, abused, and misunderstood word of any language. Liberals and liberalism are under attack from many quarters in the world. From the extreme right comes the scathing charge that liberals are visionary, utopian, impractical, dreamers, and without good common sense. From the extreme left comes the accusation that liberals are vacillating, incapable of action, weak, full of doubts, compromisers, and insincere. True liberals are proud of their enemies. The charges hurled from both extremes inspire liberals with confidence and hope. The liberal way is the progressive way, the way of understanding, the way of intelligence, the way of wisdom. A man is known not only by the friends he has, but by the enemies he makes. So a liberal is comforted by the fact that he is disliked by both reactionaries and communists.

Still it is necessary that there be some more positive definition of a liberal, some clearer definition than merely by the enemies he inspires. Political and social liberalism has been a crusading creed throughout modern history. It is, I believe, the finest product of modern political thought.

I would define a liberal as one who fights hard for what he believes in, but concedes to those who disagree with him, the right to fight in a like manner, as long as they fight fair.

The true liberal believes that there is such a thing as truth, and that it can best be determined in a free and open contest for the allegiance of men's minds.

The true liberal believes that while the people may not always be right, they are *usually* right, and that in the end, if the people are given free rein to choose and to select, righteousness, truth, and justice will prevail.

The true liberal concedes that he *may* be wrong, but will fight like fury to prove that he is *not* wrong.

The true liberal believes in progress toward the goals of peace, justice, and freedom. He believes in the greatest good for the greatest number. He believes that men can be led to happiness and to prosperity, but neither terrorized nor driven toward those goals.

The true liberal believes in reason and enlightenment rather than in fear or superstition; in judgment rather than in passion; in debate rather than in intrigue.

The liberal believes that the poor must not be oppressed nor must the rich be persecuted. Production for social usefulness rather than for selfish profit is his creed. Each man should be paid in accordance with his contribution; but each is entitled to a decent livelihood. Each man, woman and child must have an equal opportunity to succeed in life, regardless of sex, or of the social or economic status of his parents.

The liberal does not believe that the common masses should be condemned to a life of poverty or suffering, nor does he grant that any of us is endowed by the Creator with superior rights to rule or to prevail. He does not believe that one class should rule and another class be ruled. He believes that government should represent all the people; that while the majority should prevail, the rights of the minority must at all costs be defended. The minority today may be the majority of tomorrow.

I have gone on at this length to define liberalism and liberals because I should like to see this party, our party, become the true vehicle of that political philosophy. I should like every principle we hold, every program, every project we favor or advocate subjected to the test of this definition. Demagoguery has no place in the Liberal Party. Dumb and blind obedience to leadership should be entirely alien to the Liberal Party. Politics for the sake of politics must be repugnant to the liberal.

A political organization should be the vehicle carrying out a program, rather than be an end in itself. To the Liberal the means are as important as the end. The end never justifies the means.

That is why this administration, despite all the bitter accusations made against it, for political reasons, by the opposition, despite the fact that both the extreme leftists and alien ideologists and the extreme rightists and reactionaries hurl their bitterest epithets against us, have slandered and denounced us, have ridiculed and lied about us, still defends their right to express themselves freely. We are sure, we are confident, that the people will not be misled by untruth. If we have but an equal opportunity to present what we know is the truth, we will in the end prevail.

We do not seek the extinction of the opposition. We do not wish to crush them out of existence nor to deny them the legitimate rights of an opposition party. I believe firmly in the two-party system. I believe that as long as we are an independent republic, as long as we are a democracy, we cannot dispense with an opposition loyal to the country. In times of emergency, and for purposes of national need, we may ask the cooperation of the political opposition. We

may ask that they do not indulge in petty politics but dedicate themselves to the nation's welfare. We may ask that they do not erect obstacles, merely for the sake of political maneuver. But we do not, we will not deny them the right to exist or even to flourish. Their contribution to the nation is to help us maintain our vigilance, our integrity, and our sensitivity to the public will. In that respect, they are invaluable. I wish the Filipino people always to have the right of choice. They should always have the right to choose between the party in power and the party out of power. Only in this way can the people return a verdict on the manner in which the government is discharging its responsibility.

Our party organization should be not only national, but local in scope and purpose. We must be liberals in matters of local as well as national concern. I should like to see each provincial and municipal branch of our party have its own local program, its own local platform based upon the particular needs and issues in the local scene. The people of every locality and every province must be convinced that the local party organization represents them and is working for them in local as well as national matters. The significance of the Liberal Party must be brought home to every barrio, every municipality, and every province. People must have confidence that the party organization is working for their welfare; otherwise the people have the right, as they have the duty, to repudiate that organization.

Politics is the art of government. It is the art of getting things done by effective leadership of the people and by effective appeal to the people to follow responsible leadership. That is the right kind of politics. It is also right that there be an honest, above-board, and straight-forward political organization which maintains its integrity by being at all times responsive and responsible to the popular will. Such a political organization maintains its inner strength by organic unity. It maintains its power by carrying out the wishes of the people.

The role of an opposition party is easy. It is always simple to find fault, to attack, to demand investigations, to make unfounded charges of bribery, graft, and corruption, and to charge the party in power with inefficiency and stupidity.

The opposition predicts chaos and revolution if the administration is inaugurated and holds office; if, instead, government authority is established and enhanced, they accuse the administration of terrorism in the reestablishment of peace and order.

If there is a dry spell and the harvest is poor, they blame the administration. If it rains too much and there is flood, they blame the administration. If there is an earthquake and there is disaster, they blame the administration. If times are bad and there is unemployment, of course, they blame the administration.

If times are good, if people are prosperous and employed, and if progress is being made toward rehabilitation, they say it is in spite of the administration. If surplus property is sold, they make an outcry about graft. If it is not sold, they complain about inefficiency and say the surplus property is a white elephant or just plain junk.

If the Government takes the people into its confidence and announces everything that it is doing, they cry "propaganda". If the Government does not make such announcements, they attack the Government for operating behind closed doors and keeping secrets from the people.

If the administration appoints an official who is a member of the administration party, they cry "politics". If the administration appoints an official who is a member of the opposition party, they protest that the Government is trying to buy off the opposition.

The easiest way to build up a political reputation is to be in the opposition. The oppositionist poses as the people's champion, a knight in shining white armor, the defender of the people's rights. But in the end, the people know the truth.

To have the responsibility of government is, however, another thing. Then we must weigh not only the effects of our actions on the press and on popular sentiment, but also on the program we have promised to carry out. We must think of the effects of our remarks abroad, and the verdict which history will render on what we do at home. We must maintain silence in the face of slanderous attacks. We must endure calumny and libel until we are justified by events. We must maintain dignity and tolerance, or we will be accused of being fascists or demagogues.

The Liberal Party has gone through this experience in the past eight months. I think we have gone through it successfully. I must congratulate you all and, through you, all our adherents in every part of the Philippines for the success that we have achieved. As the party in charge of government, we have always had to remember that the Government represents not only our political party but all the people of the Philippines.

Many of you have had to be disappointed on numerous occasions. Appointments have been denied you. Your recommendations have been turned down. Many of you, I know have actually had to make financial sacrifices because you were prominent members of the party, lest it be said that the Government was favoring political leaders in financial dealings. But this is necessary, it is an obligation of an upright party in power.

Today I urge you to explore every possible means of coalescing into a single, strong and vigorous party, the various political groups and parties which joined us in common battle last April. Such a union would be consistent with our agreements before the election and our pledges to the people. We must fear, as perdition itself, division into political sects and splinter parties. European countries have had the bitter experience, and are still having the bitter experience, of governments by coalition and political blocs. Bloc governments are unstable, insecure, and undermine the people's confidence in democracy. That way lies government by continual compromise. Responsibility to the people is transformed into responsibility to political parties. The people never know whom to credit and whom to blame.

No, let us cling fast to the two-party system, to two strong and responsible parties, representing distinct programs and policies, so that the people may have a free and untrammeled choice between them. Let us, who believe in the same general program, have one strong and dynamic political organization. Let us not quibble over name, tradition, or prestige. Our party is big enough to hold shades and variations of views, and contests as to leadership in the various localities. The main thing, the only thing must be our principles. Let that be the divining rod to distinguish oil from water, to separate the sheep from the goats. Our party must be built not around leaders, nor personalities, but around purposes and principles. I should like to leave entirely behind us the ancient and moribund system of the *cacique*. Political bosses, however benevolent, however well-meaning, are inconsistent with true democracy. The allegiance of our people must be first of all to principles, and second, to the men who personify those principles, who lead the fight for those principles. No man is great or good enough to hold a mortgage on other people's minds, to think for them and decide what is best for them.

We must develop a nation of independent voters, who will vote for us, who will belong to our party, who will support our party, because we stand for freedom, progress and justice, and for no other reason. We must cease to make our political calculations around persons and leaders. We must build our party around ideas rather than around men.

True, we need leaders, but they must lead through their advocacy of ideas and integrity of character; we must not expect to prevail because of the leaders whom we can induce to join us. I think the Filipino is far too sophisticated today, too patriotic, and too intensely interested in the welfare of his country to follow leaders blindly, regardless of their program. Let us recognize that fact and act accordingly.

I trust, then, that you will forget factional differences based on personal leadership or past party labels, and will unite with one will, one accord and one organization to further the high purposes for which we have so bitterly and successfully contested these past eight months.

Ours is the party of liberalism, of freedom, of equal opportunity. It is the party that battles for the enduring welfare of all men, of all classes and creeds. We have faith in our future; we believe in democracy and the ways of democracy. We are determined to preserve our liberties, to insure the welfare of our fellow citizens and to enhance our prestige throughout the world.

The forces of reaction are continuously obstructing our progress in every direction. We shall overcome them. We shall not quail before threats or demagogic appeals to passion. The forces of vested privilege and of selfish and narrow interests take on many forms and guises. They are at the same time the public friends of the poor and the private defenders of the rich, supernationalists and internationalists, paragons of honesty and tolerators of

pettifoggery. They are all things to all men. But most of all and most truly, they are obstacles in the path of progress, men who try to confound us with glib half-truths and misrepresentations in order to win for themselves power to work their reactionary will upon us.

Our party has thus far an enviable record of accomplishments. But our program has just begun. We have only had the first taste of success. We have only taken the first steps on the road on which we must lead the nation if it is to grow strong, robust and virile, and take its rightful place among the world's fortresses of freedom and prosperity.

We have old wounds of social injustice which weaken our people. These must be healed. We must strive to build a great middle class, a home-owning, land-owning, freedom- loving middle class, patriotic not only by emotional inspiration, but also by virtue of sharing in the best products of national life and economic endeavor. There are selfish elements in our population, small elements to be sure, but powerful, who are content with our society as it is. Possessing luxury, wealth and power, they are positive that this is the best of all possible worlds, and that to disturb it is to disturb the natural order of things. The poor are happier in their poverty, these people say. Let the poor continue to lead their simple, unlettered lives between carabao and nipa hut, their unmarked lives between baptism and funeral: it is better for them that way.

We, as liberals, must denounce that viewpoint. We must fight it. We must lead the crusade for the improvement of the lot of our fellow men, for the elevation of their social status, for the greater answering of their needs, for the increase of their rightful appetites and enjoyments, for the granting of greater opportunities to their sons and daughters. Let us tear asunder any incipient stratification of society in this country. There must be no aristocracy of wealth, no being to privilege born. We must narrow the gap between wealth and poverty by raising the status of the lowly.

This is our program, this and the great economic development of our potentials, so that this land will flower like the garden it is. And in it our people will thrive and grow, their eyes opened up to new glories, their bodies sound and healthy, their minds expanded and quickened by knowledge, consciousness and culture, their children strong, self-reliant, and tough-minded . . . vigorous and happy citizens of our great Republic and equal members in the greatest fraternity of all time, the fraternity of free men.

President Roxas' address delivered at the Far Eastern University

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the observance of the Role of Science

[Delivered at the Far Eastern University, Manila on February 1, 1947]

"THE ROLE OF SCIENCE IS THE PRESENT CONCERN OF MANKIND"

I am happy to participate in this observance at Far Eastern University, this great institution which is endeavoring to quench the growing thirst of our youth for higher education. The atmosphere of a university always invites serious and constructive thought. For that reason I have chosen for my subject what I consider the most dynamic fact of the post-war world and the present age . . . "The Role of Science is the Present Concern of Mankind." In the course of my remarks today I shall wander into many fields. I will attempt to analyze our world situation, and to probe into the center of the problems which all men face together today. I hope that you, and all who hear my words, will consider this a university seminar in which we are discussing truth, without regard for consequences.

The past century has witnessed three great revolutions, worldwide in scope. The first revolution was political and resulted in the recognition of the people's right to rule their own national affairs. Today, it is everywhere acknowledged, even where in fact it is temporarily denied, that the ultimate sovereignty of every nation resides in the people of that nation. The doctrine of the divinity of rulers has been dethroned.

The second revolution was the industrial revolution which established the machine and thereby the factory and the mill as the economic foundation of modern civilization. With the development of the machine and of industry, new social concepts have grown in the minds of men, and the first organized movements for the welfare of the people have occurred. But these developments have lagged far behind the swift strides of economic changes.

The third revolution, and the most recent, has exalted science and technology as the movers and arbiters not only of economy but of international welfare and politics. To a large part of the world, including our country, this latest development has not yet been fully recognized. By and large, we have not yet oriented our thinking and our concepts to this tremendous upheaval which has occurred without our truly realizing it. Yet it is perhaps more significant and dynamic than either of the two previous revolutions, and in fact encompasses the elements of both previous developments.

I am happy to be able to discuss this subject with you, with the youth of the Philippines. It is you who either stand to profit the most from this cataclysmic change, or be destroyed by it.

It took centuries and ages to demonstrate that implements and weapons of iron were superior to those of stone; more centuries for steel to replace iron; and for gun powder to show that a tiny bit of metal, propelled at high velocity, could pierce the finest armor a man could wear. It took long centuries to develop rifles, pistols, machine guns, mortars and bombs to replace swords and arrows.

The cave as a dwelling place gave way to the structure of wood, or stone and finally of reinforced concrete and steel. The Taj Mahal and the pyramids are wonders of beauty; but they are ancient art, compared to the miracle of the skyscraper, towering a mile into the air.

Man learned that more energy could be gotten out of coal fire than out of wood, and then learned to master the rivers, the waterfalls, and the rain to produce power for his machines. He learned to store electrical energy in great condensers and then to transport that energy across hundreds of miles by power lines to do work, to give light, and

to provide conveniences. Man learned to unlock the latent energy in steam, in gasoline, then in crude oil, in gas and in super-heated steam.

All these discoveries by the unceasing search of science have lightened the burdens of mankind and made the earth capable of feeding and bringing prosperity to a population many times what could have been supported even three centuries ago. Men have populated regions once thought to be uninhabitable and have conquered diseases thought to be incurable. Men have built great cities more populous than entire nations. Heavy back-breaking labors have been eliminated and machines have been contrived to do the work of many hands. In these and many other ways, men have mastered the elemental environments in which the human species lives.

All these were accomplished by the advances and applications of science. Men also learned, although much more slowly, that government should be required to insure a fair and adequate distribution of the newly available good things of life. This realization led to the fuller acceptance by government of the responsibility for the people's welfare.

But lately science has unlocked what seems to be the final secret—the secret of the atom. This latest bit of knowledge seems to cap the arch of man's capacity to master his environment, to master matter, and to make matter serve him. But this discovery holds also the possibility of completely destroying mankind, of wiping humanity off the face of the earth and of returning it again to its primeval chaos. We have discovered how to unleash the energy which millions of ages have locked in the elements of matter. This vast energy which, according to scientific theory, once permeated the earth when it was a blazing and molten sphere of gas, was gradually imprisoned in the formation of the complex elements of substances, and thus was rendered capable of supporting life.

Now, at last, the way has been found to turn back the ages and to unleash that energy, that fearsome, consuming energy, whose sum total would make this planet equivalent to a flaming ball of fire.

The final question given us now is this: Will we use this energy to enrich ourselves or to destroy ourselves? Have we achieved the revolution which will make us at last masters of all the latent powers of the earth? Or have we unleashed the monster which will destroy mankind and the work and sacrifices of the ages?

The world faces this predicament because our social and political skills and concepts have not kept pace with our developments in the physical sciences.

While we live in the age of jet planes, of the atom bomb, the ultra high frequency radio wave, and the photo electric cell, most of us still think, when it comes to political and international concepts, in terms of the hand-plow and the wheel-cart. We think in the same political terms and harbor the same international prejudices that our forefathers did in the days of the galleon and the chariot. Yet the fact of science, the fact of speed and power, of speed in communications, and of the vast power in production and destruction, has made most of our ancient political concepts as outworn as our carromata. When I say "we", I do not refer primarily to the Philippines; I am referring to the entire modern world. In all nations, the press and even the leaders of government are prone to use out-dated symbols and concepts of a by-gone past in the consideration of our present pressing problems.

We still think in terms of "balance of power", of "lines of communication", of "spheres of influence", of "buffer states", of "economic satellites", of "neutrality" and of "alliances". We still compare this nation's army with that nation's navy, the number of troops and arms, the number of ships, the number of airplanes. We still measure distances in terms of miles and calculate defenses in terms of men. We still weigh the resources of one country against those of another. We listen gravely to generals, admirals, and colonels speak of a quick war or sudden attack. We think in terms of armies marching with banners flying, of ships steaming across the seas, of air fleets filling the sky with glory and destruction.

But we live in a world in which an airplane can travel from Manila to the United States in less than a day. A rocket, speeding at the rate of 2,400 miles an hour, can be launched in Tokyo and fall in Manila 30 minutes later. We live in a world in which one kilo of matter can yield energy of 25,000,000 kilowatt hours. One pound of fissionable uranium can be made to yield the equivalent in energy of 3,080,000 pounds of coal, an energy multiplied three

million times over the most commonly used source of energy. These are not theories or dreams; these are facts. These are things that men have done and men have measured.

During the last part of the war, the German V-2 rocket, against which no defenses were ever devised, rose 60 miles in the air and covered a ground distance of 200 miles in five minutes and deposited one ton of TNT in London. Forty-six feet long and powered by 7,500 pounds of alcohol fuel and 11,000 pounds of liquid oxygen, the V-2 bomb wreaked horrible destruction in England. But if instead of one ton of TNT, that rocket had carried a few pounds of destructive atomic energy, London would have been no more, London would have ceased to exist.

Scientists tell us that destruction should now be measured by the square mile. With the atomic bomb, it will cost less than $500,000 to completely devastate a square mile of enemy territory. It is the cheapest form of wholesale destruction ever invented.

Why should men still think of "balance of power" and weigh nation against nation when we have devised such instruments of terror as these? Should atomic war come to the world, industrialized nations could, with ease, wipe out in a day all the leading cities of their enemies. There is no defense, no barrier, known to man today, which could be put up. Each nation could destroy the other. The destruction of one could not prevent the destruction of the other.

What use is it then to cling to the old concepts whose inevitable conclusion is this? Is man so stupid and so blind as to be unable to see that he has created the instruments of self-obliteration? Is it impossible for mankind, which has been able to unlock the innermost secrets of nature, likewise to discover the formula for peace and well-being?

It seems obvious to me that we must start our thinking all over again. We must start with the simple and obvious determination that there must be no war, that there must never again be war. Contests and differences between men must be settled by other methods. They must not be settled by war. That should be the basis for all world thought on the subject.

Having decided that much, we must evaluate all of our other concepts, institutions, organizations, thought patterns, and inclinations from that point of view. If nationalism leads to war, then all nations must eschew nationalism. If trade barriers lead to war, then trade barriers must be removed. If totalitarianism leads to war, totalitarianism must be throttled wherever it springs up. If differences in culture and national outlook lead to war, then differences in culture and national outlook must be reconciled. I am not saying that all of these lead to war. I am saying that we must find out if they do, and if they do, we must act accordingly. But one thing is clear. Humanity cannot outlive or survive another world war.

In the past, one nation or another sought from time to time to increase its wealth, its power, or its resources at the expense of weaker peoples. Science and the improvement in the means of destruction enabled some nations to dominate and threaten smaller ones. Spheres of influence were established, and great military powers sought, successfully to control major portions of the earth. But today we know that such developments do not confine themselves merely to the peoples involved. Every people demands its right to equality. Efforts of domination by one power over another lead inevitably to world war, and now to holocaust.

Let us look at the constructive side of the picture. The miracles of science have uncovered the vast possibility of achieving a complete mastery of nature. Through this mastery, man should, within our lifetime, be able to supply all the needs of the world's population for complete comfort and security. There will be more than enough for all; but we must consider as a common heritage of mankind all the world's resources and bring to bear upon these resources all the implements that science has devised for developing and exploiting that common property. I know that this may appear to be a dream and a Utopia, but today, with science as our servant, this dream can be realized if the peoples of the world and their governments will it.

These are the possibilities open to the world. But they are more than possibilities, they are imperatives. There is no other way. For six thousand years men and nations have lived according to the same patterns. One nation, and then another, has seized world power and then lost to a still stronger, more vigorous nation. Always there have been wars, with greater or less frequency, according to the tempo of the times. Why do we hope now, if we continue to follow

the same paths, that we will avoid war? Scientific reasoning tells us that if we use the same values, and make the same additions, we will get the same answer time and time again. So, if we use the same concepts, the same fallacies, and hold the same passions, the same greed, and the same prejudices, we will again have war.

This should require us now to discard our old conceptions and theories and start over again, in a scientific way, to build up a system of local, national and international society which will answer the vital needs of our times.

To this high task the world must bring its greatest talents, its deepest wisdom, its unceasing devotion. To this task mankind must bring to bear the best techniques of thought and reason. Men must banish from their minds outworn symbols and fallacious logic. We cannot solve the problems of peace and war by syllogism. We must not accept as truths assumptions which in the past have led to war. Yet that, exactly, is the fallacy in the world's thinking on political and international subjects. We accept too many assumptions and axioms which have accumulated through the years. One such axiom is this: "All people are divided into nations, and between nations there are inevitable conflicts of interest." That is the assumption most of the statesmen of the world are acting under, though not professing, today. It is an assumption which underlies some of the procedures of even the United Nations, such as the veto power.

Yet that assumption cannot bear critical and exhaustive scientific analysis. If it were subjected to such a test through empiric reasoning, we would find that the fundamental interests of all peoples are complementary rather than competitive and conflicting.

Even science revises its assumptions. Once men thought that the four elements of matter were water, earth, fire and sky. If we still held to those axioms, there would have been little progress in the physical sciences. But men studied, experimented and analyzed. They found that all substances found in nature were chemical combinations of many elements, of hydrogen, oxygen, carbon, sulphur, phosphorus, copper, nitrogen, and many others. But having discovered these elements, scientists went further. In fairly recent times, it had been the assumption that the element was the smallest possible division of basic matter and the atom was the smallest possible particle of the element. But this, too, was made subject to further investigation and analysis. Soon it was found that the atom is composed of parts, of a nucleus and of electrons. And later still it became possible to analyze the electrons, and the nucleus of atoms. In the nucleus there were found smaller particles, the proton and the neutron. And finally, a method was discovered for splitting the atom, for breaking up the nucleus, for changing the arrangement of electrons, and so to change one element into another element, a development which scientists had once thought impossible.

We must bring this same method of inquiry to bear upon our present world problems. While the scientific method has been used in investigations of things and substances, we have failed to use this method in matters which involve the very existence of mankind.

Our present generation may find it hard to change entirely its habits of thought, developed over the centuries. That is why I am speaking of these things to you, the students and the youth of my country. You are the hope of the Philippines and, together with the young men and women of other nations, the hope of the world. In your eager minds there are, as yet, few passions, prejudices or preconceptions which you are not willing to change. Your energies, still unexpended, carry the embryos of tomorrow. You and the millions of your age will shape the destiny of mankind. Yet the time allotted is short. Atomic scientists tell us that a full-scale development of atomic weapons is but five to ten years off. That is so little time. We have that time to accomplish the miracle of an enduring peace. You have the supreme urgency to join, even to lead in achieving it.

The furious advances of scientific knowledge mean two things to us in the Philippines. It means, first, that we must devote all our energies and our statecraft to strengthen the world movements for peace. We would be among the first sacrificial victims of any war. Whoever would win, the people would lose. This is the situation we face today. Therefore we cannot abandon our emphasis on security, our defense arrangements or other provisions for the preservation of our Republic. We must strengthen them. Until the world acts radically and constructively against the enormity of the danger confronting mankind, we must take all possible measures to insure the strength and power of the progressive and righteous forces in world affairs. We cannot stand alone. Nor can we place our trust in international chivalry, nor in the vague hope that in a war between great powers, we would be spared.

The second thing we must do is to place unlimited emphasis upon science and scientific methods in our economic endeavors. Our entire youth must become science-minded. Technological training must receive the emphasis which, in past days, was given to the professions and the arts. We must produce a generation of scientists, engineers and technical men. They will be the heroes of tomorrow. I call upon our universities and colleges to furnish the facilities for this training and equipment of our youth. There is no greater national necessity. This nation must take its place among the technologically- advanced countries of the earth, or we will be condemned to perpetual backwardness. There is no time to lose.

I have discussed the scientific advances of mankind today because of my desire to impress upon you and upon our people the need for catching up with the swift pace of progress in other lands. We must borrow all the assistance necessary, at whatever cost, for this purpose. Our people will be the beneficiaries of this move. We must try to obtain in our time, for our generation, as many of the facilities of scientific progress as we can. Only in this way can prosperity and plenty be brought to the great masses of our people. Partly for this reason I have advocated the approval of the parity amendment, to bring science, scientists and scientific methods to the Philippines. With them we can become a strong and prosperous free Republic. Without them, we face the dark prospects of economic and social stagnation.

Should we fail, we will fail our country. The crusade I have described especially beckons and demands you, the young men and women of the Philippines. This nation can and should become a land of overflowing plenty, where all our people may dream and achieve their dreams and where well-being, plenty and security will be the inalienable prerogatives of all. Yours is a mission of emancipation. Yours is a task of freeing your countrymen from want and insecurity. I bid you Godspeed in your holy task.

Message of President Roxas to the Editor of the "Public Servant"

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Editor of the "Public Servant"

[Released on February 2, 1947]

The Editor
PUBLIC SERVANT
Baguio City

Sir:

In greeting the PUBLIC SERVANT on the occasion of its first appearance in the field of Philippine journalism, I deem this an excellent opportunity to reiterate what I have already told the Congress of the Philippines regarding government service.

The government must be the model of incorruptible integrity, an example to the nation. We must do our best to eliminate and to punish all laxity in the government. There is no need more imperative than the healing of the purulent disease of dishonesty in government which has appeared in our national blood-stream.

I realize that many of our government employees are underpaid. I realize that the standard of wages and salaries is considerably lower than that available today in some branches of business and industry. The government is helpless to do anything at this time to raise the general standard of wages and salaries, but we are doing our best to remedy the situation. All I ask all government employees at this critical period, is to be patient and to make whatever sacrifices are necessary.

Wishing the PUBLIC SERVANT every success, I am

Yours very truly,

MANUEL ROXAS

President of the Philippines

Address of President Roxas at the Convention of the Confederation of Filipino Veterans, February 5, 1947

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Delivered at the Convention of the Confederation of Legions
of Filipino Veterans

[*February 5, 1947*]

I am grateful to the N. S. Chinese Volunteers for inviting me to this gathering today, for sponsoring this fine and distinguished assemblage. The Chinese Guerrillas, known during the war for their daring and courage, for their patriotism and fearless love of freedom, prove today to be happy hosts as well. I think guerrilla banquets and luncheons are a delightful institution. Probably because they ate so little and so infrequently during the trying days of war, guerrillas make up for it now in the days of peace. I imagine a feast like this is what many guerrillas dreamt about in the long days and nights in the jungles and mountains. I am happy to be present at one of the occasions when dreams come true.

I think it most proper that the Chinese Guerrillas Association should be the host of the entire Guerrilla Confederation. It dramatizes the extraordinary and undying unity of men of good faith and goodwill in the holy cause of liberty and freedom. The guerrilla movement was a union of all men and women who loved liberty, and who loved the Philippines. I know that the Confederation of Legions of Filipino Veterans is actuated by that same unity, love, and devotion today.

A year ago I stood before this very organization, then in its birth pains, and invited your cooperation in the great task of national awakening and rehabilitation. I urged you then to complete your organization, and to grow strong and exert your influence in the shaping of your country's destiny. I told you that no group had a greater right to be heard in the decisions regarding the future of our country and people.

You who had fought to preserve our homeland and to redeem it from the evil grip of the enemy; you who sacrificed comfort and security, who risked life and fortune in the uncertain scales of military decision; you who wagered your all on the victory of freedom; you who suffered the indescribable privations of Bataan, Corregidor, and Mindanao, and the heroic struggles of the occupation years; and you who joined in the liberation, who marched Up glory's road, side by side with the long-awaited forces of redemption, and cleared this land of the darkening blight of Japanese rule . . . you had and have the right, the privilege and the obligation to participate in a major way in voicing the will of the Filipino people.

So I was happy a year ago to welcome this organization into existence. Today, under slightly different circumstances, I am proud to hail your organization and your members. As President of the Philippines, I welcome you. As a fellow veteran, I salute you. The year that has passed has been an eventful one for you, for me, and for us. You have achieved progress in the growth and influence of your organization. A number of your demands and requests to the Government have been redeemed by my Administration. Your Government is doing everything in its power to help you, to encourage you, to promote your well-being and grant recognition to the legitimate services and needs of your members.

When I addressed your organization a year ago, I promised that if I were elected President, I would do my best to see enacted into law a Philippine G. I. Bill of Rights. I have fulfilled that promise. A bill of veterans' rights has been enacted. It forms the pattern of your country's gratitude to you. Pensions for widows, orphans and the disabled are provided. Priorities in government employment and in other government-sponsored undertakings are established. The financial benefits are limited by the precarious fiscal condition of your Government. We look to the United States Government to undertake the main financial responsibility for the care of veterans. But we are doing for our own veterans everything we can afford. We would do more if we could. I propose to grant for veterans' benefits for the coming year an appropriation at least as large as that for the current one.

The chief significance of the legislation we enacted, however, is not the size of the appropriation we were able to provide, but rather this: we enacted into the law of the land the proposition that those who had fought and risked all in their nation's name are entitled to the first consideration of the Government, if special favors are to be granted to any group or class of citizens. Thus in the sale of surplus property, in the granting of homesites, in resettlement projects and in government employment, duly recognized veterans have priority. That does not mean, as some of you unfortunately think, that regardless of all other considerations, veterans have the right to buy the surplus property, or to settle on government land, or to acquire homesites. It does not mean that among any group of Filipinos who make a similar offer for surplus property, veterans are to receive a preference. It means that when lands are opened up for general resettlement, veterans will receive a preference, provided the veterans are equipped and willing properly to use the lands for essential national purposes.

Some of our procedures in this respect remain to be worked out. Some of them are faulty. I trust that your organization will be continuously vigilant in bringing to the attention of the appropriate officials of the Government, and to my attention, any departures from the law of the land, in this or in any other respect. That is one of the purposes of the existence of your organization. I promise you that in every case, I will give careful attention to the representation made to me, and will cause a thorough investigation to be made. I am determined that, with all due consideration for the overall national welfare, our veterans should receive the honor and the consideration that the nation properly owes them.

In specific reference to the Davao lands, regarding which, I understand, some of you are concerned, we are now hard at work on the plans for the distribution of these lands and for the granting of preferences to guerrillas. But some of the lands have not yet been officially turned over to us. All of the lands must be carefully surveyed according to law. All of this takes time. I must ask your patriotic cooperation in the necessary delays.

I have referred to a part of what the Administration has done and is doing, in law and practice, for the veterans. I shall continue that recital.

Under the law, a Veterans' Board was established. I appointed to that Board no politicians or bureaucrats. I asked no recommendations from party leaders or political advisors. I gave the responsibility for the administration of the veterans' law to the men in whom you, yourselves, had reposed confidence. I appointed your officers and your leaders as the administrators of veterans' benefits. I gave them free and unchecked rein to cut every corner, to dispense with every dispensable red tape. And I wish to tell you, as I told the Philippine Congress a week ago, that I am proud of the manner in which Administrator Peralta and his colleagues have set up their organization and have proceeded to function. They have established a high water mark for speed, efficiency, and, I hope, justice. You are to be congratulated.

I have also, as you know, made every effort to speed the effectuation by the United States Government of its program of assistance to Filipino veterans. I have worked in earnest cooperation with your friend and my friend, Ambassador Paul V. McNutt, in his continuing efforts to secure the broadest possible program of benefits for you, and to effectuate that program through speedy and efficient administration. I have been in direct contact with President Harry S. Truman on this matter. It was as a result of an appeal that I directed to President Truman, an appeal fully and lengthily endorsed by Ambassador McNutt, that the current review of United States policies in connection with our veterans was begun. President Truman assured me . . . and I fully honor and am grateful for that assurance . . . that he will do his best to make sure that the American Government does justice to the Filipino veterans. This means that widows, orphans, and the disabled will certainly be cared for. Hospitalization, I think, will be provided. Some educational and vocational aids are now under study.

Payment of back pay to guerrillas has been completed in some areas, and is well under way in others. Everything is being done to expedite these payments. A U. S. Army Claims Commission has sent teams all over the Philippines to receive the claims of Filipinos holding vouchers or receipts from recognized guerrilla units for supplies and equipment. These claims are being paid as rapidly as possible.

We have worked closely with the U. S. Veterans Administration office here, and through conferences, have succeeded in eliminating many problems, or in easing them. We have the sympathetic support of the Veterans

Administration office here, for instance, in the move to extend the expiration date of filing for insurance claims. In this and in similar matters, we try to be continually alert to your needs.

You all know the status of our efforts to redeem guerrilla currency. We now have, from the United States Government, P30,000,000 as a redemption fund for that currency. The currency is now in process of being registered. I urge you to expedite that registration in all your respective provinces and municipalities. Be sure that every legitimate holder turns in his guerrilla currency and receives in return a legitimate receipt. That receipt, and not the currency, will be redeemed. The currency must be registered, so that Congress will know how much of it is outstanding in the various islands, and how it is distributed, so that a formula can be considered for redemption. Counterfeits must be detected and located. Until registration is completed, Congress cannot intelligently begin a detailed consideration of this complex and difficult problem. I have urged Congress, however, to begin public hearings on guerrilla currency at the earliest practical date. I urge you to make all the facts you know concerning this situation available to the congressional committee. Congress will be interested in knowing all the uses…and misuses…to which the guerrilla currency has been and is being put. Congress will want to know about the chiselers and the speculators, as well as about those patriotic and loyal folks who have kept their guerrilla currency, and who have every right to be given adequate consideration. But speculators must not be permitted to profit by one centavo in this recognition of patriotism and loyalty.

In a rather brief but rambling way, I have reported to you on what has been done for the veterans in the past year, or rather in the past eight months since I took office. But what I have reported is not all that has been done. It is far from all. It is, in fact, only the direct measures. The other and much more important measures, are those which have benefited, not you as guerrillas, not you as veterans, but you as Filipinos. This country, as you know, has taken long and swift strides forward during the past year. A year ago when I stood before you, predictions of anarchy and revolution were on many lips. There were many both here and abroad who doubted, who were convinced that our efforts to become free and independent would be swallowed up in the flames of chaos and upheaval. Many of you, then in arms, were reluctant to surrender your arms or to be demobilized, because you feared that the prevalent disorders of a year ago would assume total proportions once we were independent.

We have given the lie to all those doubts and fears. We have reestablished order. We have firmed up the authority of government. There is no doubt anywhere in the world, and least of all in our own country, that this glorious and independent Republic, the Republic of the Philippines, for which you sacrificed so much, for which you risked so much, for which the thousands of your absent comrades clasped the white cloak of eternity, is here, and here to stay, for now and for all time.

This we have done for you. And more.

We have formulated and begun to execute plans for the rehabilitation of our country. Look about you. The sound of the saw and the hammer is everywhere throughout this land. New buildings are springing up. Old buildings are being reconstructed. Roads are being repaired. New companies are springing up like mushrooms. Old companies are resuming operations. Jobs are opening up to replace curtailed employment in the service of the U. S. Army and Navy. Confidence has been restored. Two of our prime products, copra and abaca, are being sold at premium prices in the world markets, and the producers are enjoying a comparative measure of prosperity.

We have formulated and laid plans for the economic expansion of our country. A program of agrarian reform has been enacted into law, and projected into the future, restricted only by our fiscal capacities. Power development projects and land development and resettlement projects are under study. Vast new areas of corn and rice lands are soon to be opened to cultivation. Agricultural methods are being progressively modernized. A plan for the industrialization of our country is being pushed. A Rehabilitation Finance Corporation has been established, with authority to loan millions for rehabilitation and reconstruction projects.

All our government corporations and instrumentalities have been mobilized for this great work. As far as it is within my power and the power of the Government, no effort will be spared to turn faster and faster the wheels of our national economy, so that eventually the hum of our national enterprise will drown out completely every echo of destruction and despair. This country and all our people will be partners in a vast undertaking, unlimited in scope,

whose immediate objective is multiplied production, production for consumption and production for export, and whose final objective is the happiness and prosperity, the well-being and security of every single Filipino. This is what we propose to do.

From such a future, you veterans stand to gain much more, many times more, than from any isolated benefits or grants or bonuses which you might receive. In such a future, in such an economy, each of you will have every opportunity, not only to prosper, but to find dynamic employment, employment that will tax your courage and your imagination in the same degree, even though not in the same way, as your heroic employment during the war.

And now I come to the central theme of my speech. What does the Philippines owe to you, to you veterans? I will tell you what I think we owe. Of course, we owe to the disabled an opportunity to be rehabilitated, to learn new vocations, and to be assisted in finding a useful role in society. That is the least we owe. For those who are tragically beyond the point of rehabilitation we owe hospitalization, and after hospitalization, a decent care. I believe that is an obligation of the Government. The United States Government has accepted that obligation for recognized guerrillas and veterans who suffered disability in line of duty during the recent conflict. Widows and orphans of those who died in action must likewise be cared for, and in the same way and degree. Our hero-dead must be assured of that much. In this, too, the United States Government has acknowledged its obligation. But in all these cases we will do our utmost to fill in the essential gaps where the United States Government cannot act swiftly, or in deserving cases for which, for one reason or another, the United States Government does not make the necessary provision. That much society certainly owes to the veterans.

But that is not all. Those who left farms, schools, businesses and homes to defend and to save their country have a much greater credit with the Government than merely the care of the wounded, the disabled, the widows and the orphans. The nation has an obligation to insure that, even though veterans suffered no permanent impairment of their physical functions, they shall have at least an equal opportunity with those who stayed at home to find a useful place, in society. This can be assured by special education, by vocational training, by priorities and preferences in employment, by priorities in obtaining homesites and farmlands, by preferences in the grant of crop-loans, by preferences in government aids or in small business. This much, too, the nation and the Government certainly owe to the veterans.

But all this is only the first bill, the first account. Beyond the direct discharge of the Government's obligations, there is a much greater obligation. There is an obligation ail on the part of all of us to make this nation a worthwhile place to live in, not only for veterans, but for their children and the generations that will come after. There is .an obligation to broaden the national vistas, the national horizons, to insure social justice and equal opportunity for all our people. There is an obligation to build our nation so that it will be perpetual monument to the sacrifices not only of the living, but of the dead.

We owe it to the memory of those who passed on and to their widows and their children, as we owe it to the living and to their children, to make every effort to see so that their sacrifices shall not have been made in vain, and that the democratic forms which they fought to retrieve will be preserved and converted into the true democratic substance of all the freedoms . . . freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of worship and expression. We, the living, must consecrate ourselves to the enhancement of that heritage of liberty, which the dead preserved for us at so great a cost to themselves.

I have said before, and I shall repeat today, and shall repeat in the future, that we fight today a two-front war, a forward campaign against physical ruin, insecurity, and social injustice, and a rear-guard action to preserve our liberties and individual rights. Victory in that two-front war is the true debt, the greatest debt that we owe to the veterans of the Philippines. That is the debt which the Government and society owe you, to continue the great efforts you made and to take from your heroism renewed determination that this Republic, in all its splendor and dignity, shall not only be preserved but advanced in the swift race of nations.

This involves, among other things I have mentioned, the making of such arrangement for our national defense as will insure, as best we can, the security of our land and of our people. Surely we have the obligation to take every precaution to make the Philippines as nearly impregnable as we can. We must never again be unprepared, certainly

not while we see the threat of conflict on the world horizon. I see no alternative to and every advantage in continuing our close and mutual ties of interest and defense with the United States of America, whose giant strength in world affairs today gives us security, and whose principles and program in international affairs run exactly parallel with our own.

You, of all our people, have every reason to cherish the unity with America, which you forged with your own blood. Our fields and cities are still drenched with the common blood of Americans and Filipinos, shed in the same cause. You, who were their comrades, can testify, I know, that the American dead who lie side by side with your own Filipino brothers-in-arms died not in a selfish cause, but for our liberation. Let us cling to that comradeship, the more so now that we are free and equal both in fact and in name. That much we owe both to the living and to the dead.

Were we to believe today the false cries of alarm over American imperialism that are heard from some political quarters, we would be conceding that your sacrifices were in vain, that your heroism was a hollow mockery, and that you were all mere stooges who could not see that the Americans came not to free but to enslave us. Will you credit such a travesty on truth? Will you give comfort to such a distortion of fact? Or will you rise up, despite some natural disappointments, and give the outright lie to such libels on the names of noble comrades, many of whom, 50,000 of whom, lie buried in our own soil?

That brings me to a subject I have frequently discussed in recent weeks, the subject of parity. I do not think that before this audience I need well on it long. There are many among you who, during the grim and desperate months of the occupation, were led by Americans. There are others who had American advisors, and American subordinates and comrades. I do not recall hearing any stories of how these Americans exploited you or oppressed you or enslaved you. Mostly I heard of how they led you, and when they fell in heroic battle, or were captured, you were able to take over and fight on, without diminution of effort. The same practice and principle applies without modification to my advocacy of the constitutional amendment for special rights for Americans. I have no foolish fear that Americans will seize, steal, or rob our natural resources, and exploit or enslave us. I have no inferiority complex with regard to Americans. A calm appraisal shows me that Americans have the capital and the technological the skills we need for our rehabilitation and industrialization. I invite them here, with every inducement I know. I am sure that when they have helped us to develop our land, the to rebuild and repair our damaged facilities, and to expand out our economy, they will also have trained many of our people to take over, to take command, to continue the work they have started.

Americans, for a peculiar but understandable reason, prefer their own homeland in the long run to ours. Contrary to what some would lead you to believe, there are few Americans who desire to come here as immigrants. There are no American laborers who desire to come here, to take away your jobs . . . Should we advertise throughout America for American citizens to come to the Philippines as common laborers, I do not think we could find one who would be willing to come at the prevailing rates of pay. I think America is the only country in the world of which we that can be said. If there is any immigration problem, it is the problem of Filipinos who wish to go to America. And so when some politicians tell you of the danger of Americans overrunning the Philippines, they are talking through their hats. American businessmen would be willing to come here. American scientists and technologists would be willing to come here. But they would come here as transients for adventure, for pioneering, and for profit. Some of the profit would be theirs. Some would make no profit at all. But the great profit, the great advantage would be ours. It would be our country which would be richer, whose productive capacity would be increased, whose mines would be opened, whose forests would be developed, whose public utilities would be established, improved and expanded; it would be our citizens who would be given jobs, who would be able to build homes; it would be our Government which would receive increased taxation and revenues. And in the end all the business and facilities established by Americans would be owned by Filipinos, in part or in whole. That is the promise of our country, its greatest prospect. And yet some of our politicians whine, cry and bleat about exploitation and imperialism. The problem of all the neighboring peoples of Malaysia today is to get their independence without driving out the business and technical men of the Occident who help make their economics function. We have our independence. Americans are willing not only to stay, but to come in conservative numbers to help us develop our land. Yet there are some Filipinos who would actually keep them out, who would refuse to let them lend us their technical knowledge, their capital, and their know-how. It would be the same thing as if you, the guerrillas, had told the Americans who were with you: “We want to win the war, we want to drive out the Japanese, but we don’t want you to fight with us,

because you might always want to stay and command us. We would rather lose the war without you than win the war with you."

Yes, these prophets of disaster cry "Wolf". They raise wild alarms over the danger of imperialism and exploitation. I tell you, who will understand me, that unless we have and retain the true friendship of America, some day we will have real occasion to cry "Wolf", and then there will be none to help us drive the real wolf away.

I hope I have not belabored too hard the fable of the boy who cried "wolf" once too often. I had wished to confined my remarks to matters of interest to you as veterans, to the obligations the nation owes to you. I think that the approval of parity, an expression of confidence in America, and an invitation to Americans to assist us in our crusade for national betterment, is one inescapable obligation the nation owes to you for helping give our nation its chance to succeed and to prosper.

I have spoken at some length regarding the debt that we owe to you. There is no debt without a balancing credit. What is the obligation which you, the veterans, owe to your country? It is true that you have served your country nobly and well. It is true that your ranks are broken with the eloquent absence of men who can make no further sacrifices. You, the living, are under a sacred obligation to insure that what you fought to preserve shall be preserved, that what you fought to save shall remain saved, that what you fought to regain shall not only be kept intact but improved and cultivated. You who know best the meaning of democracy and the meaning of freedom, you who have shown by your actions your devotion to that holy cause, I cannot now relax your energies or lay down the arms of vigilance. You must fight on and on and on. The battle for the freedoms is never ended. There are always new summits to reach, new heights to be taken, new enemies, to be dislodged. You have an unshakeable obligation to continue to be vigilant, to take a more vigorous part than ever before in the achievement of the goals for which you fought in war. As you have every right to have a full voice in the national decision, you have an obligation to use your voice and to assure the maximum role of leadership of which you are capable. No less will do.

You are a vigorous and, I hope, vigilant sector of our national population. As you were the mainspring of our greatest national glory, I trust that you will be in the future, the shock troops of our fight for national development and growth. I have a word of advice for you. Many of you have received, are receiving or will receive considerable amounts in back-pay and other emoluments. The fear has been expressed that this money will be squandered and dissipated in consumption spending, that it will increase the national inflation and add to our economic problems. That has been one of the arguments in the United States against greater benefits for you. It is a real and cogent argument. What we need today is not more purchasing power for a few, but more producing power for all. Yet it takes capital to produce. I urge you then, with all the persuasiveness and force at my command, to pool your resources and to hoard them, not for spending, not for luxuries, not for comforts, but for productive purposes. Save every centavo and invest it. Make every possible economy in your personal living, and divert all your money into productive channels. Your guerrilla units and organizations can well serve economic as well as social purposes. Establish producers' and marketing cooperatives. Go into business; buy land, and invest in farm machinery, to be shared on a cooperative basis. Establish factories, transport systems, and chains of retail stores. Some of you have been quartermasters; others have been transport and ordnance men. Use your skills and experience acquired in war for the constructive purposes of peace. Use your unity and your comradeship, your experience in organization administration, your habits of working together as a team and as a unit to undertake economic enterprises. The Government will give you every encouragement, aid and cooperation. Present concrete and specific programs, and I emphasize the words "concrete and specific", to the appropriate government agencies and if you do not get favorable action, write to me. I will give every such application, if it is concrete, specific, detailed, and practical, my sympathetic support. I want to see you, above anybody else, have a lion's share in the new land of plenty and freedom which we are building here.

NOTE.—On February 4, 1946, President Roxas, then head of the Senate and a presidential candidate, spoke before 500 delegates to the first convention of this Confederation to which all guerrilla groups may belong. On that occasion, he made the following commitment: "I will get the Philippine Congress to pass a Guerrilla Bill of Rights as a fair and just reward for the heroes of the resistance movement."

Address of President Roxas on Constitution Day

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On Constitution Day

[Delivered on February 8, 1948]

SAFEGUARDING THE CONSTITUTION IS THE TASK FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

My Fellow Citizens:

Today is Constitution Day. This day was set aside to give an opportunity to the people of this country to renew their devotion and to strengthen their faith in the Constitution of the Philippines. In a sense, this celebration honors not only the struggles for freedom that our people have waged for many, many years, but is an occasion to recall to our memory the sacrifices of men and nations that our liberties may be enjoyed by us in full measure and that freedom should spread throughout the whole world. The Constitution was not struck on the brains of men all complete and as an original task. The provisions have been culled from the thoughts and the lifework and the struggles of millions of men and women throughout the ages.

Even before recorded history, men everywhere had struggled courageously for freedom. Jesus Christ was perhaps the first man since the dawn of civilization whose lifework and whose teachings find lodgment today in the fundamental law of this land. Jesus Christ preached the common humanity and the common divinity of man. At the same time He preached and He insisted on the recognition of human dignity which, after all, is the basis for the recognition of human freedom.

In the great battle of Tours, great armies contesting for victory were not really fighting for political supremacy. They were fighting for the principle as to whether the Crescent or the Cross would be the symbol of our modern civilization.

During the First World War, the men who fought in the Argonne and in the other bloody battlefields of Europe were not fighting for national aggrandizement. They were fighting for the very principles that are inscribed in the Constitution of the Philippines as well as in their own. The men who fought so bravely at Tarawa Island in the last war, at Guadalcanal; the men who died a hero's death in the Gulf of Leyte and in the Gulf of Lingayen; the great heroes of Bataan and Corregidor, of Saipan and Iwo Jima— they were all men who were fighting for human liberty and the right of people to govern themselves. These are the very principles, my fellow citizens, that are solemnly recognized in the Constitution of our country. The Constitution is not the fountain source of your liberties. It is the result of the exercise of your sovereign rights.

The Constitution was made by our people. It was drafted by your duly elected representatives. It was submitted to you for ratification and you ratified it by an overwhelming majority. It is your handiwork. It is a great covenant, whereby the people of this country had decided that they were going to establish a government of the people, to be administered by representatives of the people, for the benefit of all the people. It is a government that you can change at will. The elected representatives who are to administer the functions and powers of that government are your representatives and they are subject to your control.

The Constitution divides the functions of government into three great parts: the legislative branch, which is charged with the function of making laws; the executive branch, which is vested with the power to execute the laws; and the judicial power, which is given the mission of interpreting the laws of our country.

When the Legislature discharges its functions in a manner that is not in accord with the wishes of the people, every four years when the legislators face the people to ask for a renewal of their confidence, the people may renew their confidence or withdraw it from them if the people are not satisfied with the manner in which they have discharged the duties of their office. The same is true with regard to the Executive. Every four years, the President must face the people to give an account of his stewardship, and the people have the privilege of either continuing him in power or rejecting his appeal for a renewal of that power and of entrusting the powers of the executive department in the hands of another man.

The Judiciary, in some sense, is the most powerful branch of the government. When the Legislative transcends its powers, the Judiciary is there standing guard to protect the Constitution, and can nullify the acts of the Legislature. When the Executive abuses his powers, when he takes actions contrary to the provisions of the Constitution and of the law, the Judiciary, likewise, stands sentinel for the preservation of constitutional government and nullifies the actions of the Executive. But there is no department of the government that can nullify the decisions or interpretations of the judicial branch with regard to the Constitution when the Judiciary interprets its provisions. Nor is there a way of submitting these decisions for revision by the people themselves. The only way is for the people to hold a constitutional convention to clarify the provisions that have been the subject of judicial interpretation.

In addition, we must recognize that the Constitution is not static. It is dynamic. It grows with the progress of the nation. Some of its important principles may be altered with the change of time. The representatives of the American colonies who met at Philadelphia to write the Constitution of the United States never dreamed at that time that they were establishing a government such as it is today. During that time, there was great reluctance on the part of the colonies to yield the powers of their local government to the national government. And yet the growth of the powers of the national government has been so great that there are many people who doubt whether the pattern as it now exists was really the pattern contemplated by the fathers of the Constitution.

But that was a necessary consequence of the principles laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States, especially those laid down by Justice Marshall. First, because Marshall recognized that the powers of government given to the United States were the powers necessary for any independent nation to have. With the recognition of that principle, from day to day, many questions have arisen as to whether certain powers of government belong to the local or to the national. And the decisions have been uniformly in favor of the national government.

I have stated that point to show that very much depends on what I call the judicial statesmanship of the members of the Supreme Court in connection with the growth and development of our constitutional law. And for more than one reason, we cannot understand or interpret properly the Constitution of the Philippines unless we understand fully the constitutional law of the United States. Every provision of our Constitution, with very few exceptions, has a history all its own. The Bill of Rights originated in the struggles of the barons of Runnymede early in the thirteenth century. It took form in 1689 as a declaration of the House of Lords and the House of Commons in England. It was developed, supplemented and perfected by those who wrote the Virginia Constitution. It contains what is called in that document the Rights of Man, in the formulation of which the great Jefferson and Madison participated. Then it was incorporated practically in the first amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Then it came to us through the first Philippine Bill approved on July 2, 1902; afterwards, in the Jones Act; and, today, it is lodged permanently in the Constitution of the Philippines.

These fundamental rights are precious to every man. They are priceless to every citizen of this country. If we are to preserve those liberties, we have to be ever watchful against their curtailment or invasion by the powers of government that we ourselves have created.

In a democracy, those freedoms are presumed to exist, even if they were not written in the Constitution. Our courts would maintain that freedom of speech reigns here; that a man is free from arrest or deprivation of his Property without due process of law; that freedom of speech should never be curtailed.

And yet the Constitution in its wisdom, following the precedent established in the Constitution of the United States, has clearly declared that these liberties are not to be invaded or curtailed, nor their exercise prevented by the government itself or by private individuals. And it is the great mission of the courts of justice to safeguard those

rights, to safeguard those rights not only against individuals but also against the abuses and usurpations by the government itself.

Soldiers who are listening to me, especially members of the Constabulary: You should acquaint yourselves fully with the individual rights of every citizen of this country; and, in the course of the discharge of your duties, you are not only not allowed but you are forbidden from invading those rights in any way.

Any man in this country has the right to appeal to the courts of the land for the preservation of his rights against any official of the government no matter how high or how powerful he might be. We, therefore, shall depend on the strictness and vigilance on the part of the courts of justice for the preservation of the individual rights so precious to our people.

In establishing the Constitution, the delegates to the national convention took pains to make the document as permanent as possible without denying to the people the right to change it at their pleasure. But it is difficult to amend the Constitution. And it is well that such a difficulty exists, because the Constitution should be a stable and firm foundation for the body politic and should not be changed for slight or transient cause. The Constitution makes amendment difficult so as to give the people full opportunity to study, consider and ponder upon the import of the changes that are proposed to be made, bearing in mind that any change in the basic structure of our government will affect the lives not only of the people of the present generation but also of our children and those who will come after them.

The Constitution can be changed only in two ways: First, through a proposal approved by joint resolution of the two houses of Congress with the requisite three-fourths of the votes of all the members of Congress, not only of the members present but of all the members of that body. After such a proposal has been made, the proposed amendment is then submitted to the people for ratification. If the people ratify it, then the proposal becomes a part of the Constitution. But the people may reject it; if so, it will not form part of the Constitution.

The other method provided by the Constitution to bring about its amendment is through a constitutional convention called expressly for the purpose of considering amendments to the Constitution. The people will elect the delegates to this convention and after the amendments have been drafted, they must be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection.

The writers of the Constitution, therefore, have made plain their intention to safeguard as much as possible, consistent with the continuing control by the people, this great charter of government, by a strict procedure of proposing amendments to it.

Our Constitution is a good constitution. It is probably the most advanced Constitution, barring none, among those that exist today. It is advanced in this sense:

First, it is the only Constitution in the world that by express provision renounces war as an instrument of national policy. By the express and definite mandate of the Constitution, the Government of this Republic is enjoined not to wage war for the purpose of conquest or offense or aggression. We can only wage war if it is necessary to defend the integrity of our territory and to preserve the sovereignty of our country.

Second, the Philippine Constitution is probably the only Constitution in the world that formally recognizes international law—international law as accepted by common consent of the majority of the powers of the world—as part of the law of the land. This government, therefore, is prohibited by the Constitution from passing any law or taking any action contrary to the recognized or accepted principles of international law.

Third, recognizing the inability of democracies to take prompt and adequate action in cases of national emergency, the Philippine Constitution expressly authorizes the Congress of the Philippines to grant to the President all powers of government including a delegation of legislative powers to carry out the declared national policy. This, however, is only applicable in case of war or of a great national emergency. In other words, this Republic can function and will function as a constitutional democracy in normal times. When an emergency should arise and the Congress

should recognize the need of placing stronger powers or more powers in the hands of the Executive so that he may be able to deal with the emergency situation as effectively as the nation's safety demands, it can delegate to the President legislative powers and increase his executive powers.

Fourth, the right of eminent domain which exists in practically all governments and which is recognized in the Constitution of the United States provides in ours more extensive powers. In other countries, private property may be expropriated only for public use. And by public use, according to the courts, the Constitution means that the property expropriated will be for the use of the general public for the benefit of all the people and not for certain groups or classes of people. Here, in order to solve some of our peculiar problems and as a concession to the people who have been longing for solution of those problems, the Government of the Philippines has been given the right to expropriate private property not only for public use but also for the purpose of subdividing great estates of agricultural land and homesites, and also to expropriate public utilities to be operated for the benefit of all the people in case that should be found necessary.

Fifth, it has long been an issue in the United States throughout the many years that the courts have been asked to define the boundary of power and authority exercised by the different branches of government—as to whether the Supreme Court should be given the right to declare laws unconstitutional. It was only by a great and memorable decision rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States more than one hundred years ago that the question was settled, and I hope settled definitely, because the decision was wise: that the Federal Supreme Court, or court of last resort, has the right to declare laws unconstitutional.

But in the course of years, with the many intricate questions that have been submitted to the Supreme Court since then, the liberals of America have repeatedly asked the question whether the nine members of the Supreme Court should be permitted to interpret freely the provisions of the Constitution; whether by their dictum they can prevent the execution of programs for the social benefit of the people of the country by merely citing a provision of the Constitution which would preclude, in their opinion, such an act.

In the Philippines, after studying that question with great attention, the Constitutional Convention arrived at a com promise. We recognize expressly in the Constitution the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional.

There is no such provision in the Constitution of the United States or in other constitutions. As a matter of fact, in many jurisdictions under similar provisions, the Supreme Courts of many countries have denied their right to declare laws unconstitutional.

In the Philippines, I repeat, we have compromised on that point in response to the demands of orderly and wise government and the requirements of social progress. In the Philippines, the Constitution authorizes the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional provided two-thirds of its members concur in that decision. The members of the Supreme Court cannot, in the Philippines, by a simple majority vote, declare a law unconstitutional. I feel very strongly that that is a wise provision.

Importance and recognition should also be given to the good judgment and patriotism of the members of the Congress and of the Executive that approve the law. Likewise, the need of cooperating with the legislative branch of government in the solution of urgent problems rests upon the Executive and the people who must look after the welfare of the public.

Fellow citizens, the Constitution, therefore, is a document that merits your unconditional and unswerving support. I promise you and I pledge my every effort and all my energy to defend the integrity of that document. And may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I ever say anything or do anything in the discharge of my functions which in any way might violate any provision of that great instrument of our people. (*Applause*.)

But you, my fellow citizens, have to do your part. I, alone, though I am the President of the Philippines, cannot safeguard that fundamental law of our country. I, alone, cannot, without your cooperation and your self-sacrificing vigilance, preserve the integrity of our institutions established in that document. I, alone, cannot defend that instrument and the government that it has established from subversive elements who are trying to undermine the

very foundations of our established institutions. This is the task not only for the government but for all the people—for each and everyone of you. You cannot remain indifferent while the government that you have established is being attacked from within or when it is endangered by attacks from without. The greatest defense of the Constitution and the liberties on which it is founded and the freedoms it safeguards must, in the last analysis, be lodged in the hearts and the sinews of the people of the Philippines.

It is very easy to say, "In time of war we are willing to die for our country and for our liberty." The hardest thing to say is, "In time of peace we are willing to live for our liberty, for the preservation of our freedoms, and for the permanence of our public institutions." (*Applause*.)

And that is the message, my fellow citizens, that I wish to convey to you today, especially to the young men and young women who are here coming from many provinces of our nation, to live for the preservation of your liberty, to live for the preservation of your government, to live and work for the honor and glory and greatness of this great Republic that we all love. (*Applause*.)

NOTE.—This appeal was delivered before a big crowd of 40,000 persons who gathered at the Rizal Memorial Stadium for the patriotic occasion.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas on the Parity Amendment to the Constitution (Extracts) Address of His Excellency Manuel Roxas President of the Philippines On the Parity Amendment to the Constitution (Extracts)

[Delivered on March 10, 1947]

Opponents of parity, in a final effort to confuse the public mind on the eve of the vote on the constitutional amendment, have come forth with the proposal that as an alternative to parity, the Government borrow money from the World Reconstruction Bank, and undertake, with such borrowed money, the entire task of rehabilitation and reconstruction. I do not think that the Filipino people will take such a proposal with any great degree of seriousness. Nevertheless, I should like to explain carefully the false and casuistic nature of such a plan, if it is seriously suggested as an alternative to the master program of which the parity proposal is an essential part.

In the first place, the advocates of this proposed plan of borrowing from the World Bank, assume without question that the loan would be granted. In the second place, they would have you believe that such a loan could take the place of private capital, initiative, and enterprise. In the third place, they carefully pass over the fact that the parity proposal is not merely a means for getting capital into the Philippines, but is the keystone of an entire economic program, of which new investment capital is but a part, a program that would collapse without the approval of this amendment.

Rejection of this amendment will mean, first of all, the denunciation of the Executive Trade Agreement, and the loss of our free trade and preferential trade relations with the United States. It would mean, in the second place, the loss, or at least the indefinite delay, of a large and vital portion of private war damage payments. It would mean the end of the rehabilitation of the sugar industry, of the coconut oil industry, of the cordage industry, of the embroidery industry, of the pearl button industry, of the cigar and tobacco industries, and in a short time, the crippling of the coconut industry. It would mean the end of our hopes for an early end to all unemployment . . . it would mean the drying up of all major sources of government revenue, it would mean the blasting of all hopes for a progressive and steady increase of our present sources of government revenue. It would mean the destruction of our plans for an increasingly larger national income in the immediate months and years ahead.

And finally it would mean that we would be required to reexamine our essential relations with the United States. It would mean an end to the very special economic relations which we now have with that country, relations which are the pride and greatest asset of the Philippines, and the envy of the rest of the world.

We do not urge the approval of the constitutional amendment merely to induce capital to invest in the Philippines. Capital unaccompanied by any other ingredient would not meet ail our needs by any means. We need, in addition to capital, technological skills, and managerial know-how . . . the ability to make, to process, to manufacture, to package., and to market all the varied products which can be made from our natural resources. That scientific skill, background and experience will come here with American capital. It could not be induced to come here, in any amount, in any other possible way. Countries all over the world are bidding today for American technological knowledge and methods. We can get them free, accompanied with investment capital . . . by approving this amendment. Yet there are those who profess to be afraid of this capital and this scientific skill. They would rather prefer that we continue to have here an agricultural economy built around long hours of work at low pay . . . the typical colonial economy, whether in an independent country or not.

But let us for a moment return to the matter of the World Bank, and examine that proposal, entirely on its merits, without considering whether it is an adequate substitute for the entire parity program, which obviously it is not.

A leading opponent of parity, in a last and apparently desperate effort to impugn the sincerity of the Administration's advocacy of the parity formula for rehabilitation has come up with the simple suggestion that instead of depending on American capital, the Government should borrow the necessary money from the World

Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Bank. Of course this suggestion does not jibe with previous declarations by other opponents of parity that we do need American capital, but that the approval of the constitutional amendment is unnecessary to attract such capital. Nevertheless I should like to reply to this suggestion on its own merits.

It was the whole plan of a casuist and not of a sincere thinker. Every informed man knows that the World Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Bank has not yet begun to lend money, and probably will not be in a position to do so for a long, long time. There is a great debate going on among the principal supporters of this Bank as to the policy to be followed, whether its loans shall be political or strictly business. That policy must be determined before the Bank can begin to function. No one knows yet what conditions will be laid down by this Bank as a prerequisite for the granting of loans. No one knows what efforts will be required, what data will be required, what pledges will be required, what political support will be necessary before this Bank, so exemplary in principle and concept, can lend a nation like the Philippines any considerable amount of money.

The United States has subscribed one third of the capital of the Bank. The United States will have a powerful voice in the loans to be made. The International Bank is not a disembodied organ, acting independently of the nations which comprise its support, any more than the United Nations, itself, is. There are those here who say, why don't we depend on the United Nations for our national defense? Even the most simple minded must know that the strength of the United Nations today is the strength of the United States, and of its allies; the great search in the world today is for a formula to reconcile the fundamental aims of the Great Powers, so as to give substantial support to the will of the United Nations. Without that formula and it has not yet been found . . . our security depends upon the United States. To depend for our security on the United Nations, would be to depend upon a vision of unity which we are all striving to attain, but which is still today a goal to be achieved, rather than a positive force in itself.

Every country in the world, with the exception of the United States itself, is looking for loans. Russia, Britian, France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, China, Siam, Holland . . I could run through the whole list with but isolated exceptions. Why should we believe that we have any better chance than any other country to obtain any considerable share of the available loans?

To adjudicate between the applications of all these countries will take time. The natural disposition will be to lend money to deserving countries, but only to deserving countries which have no chance to rehabilitate themselves in any other way. Should we reject parity, would we stand a better chance to obtain a loan from the World Bank? Exactly the opposite is true. It will be said that we turned down a chance to obtain aid from private American enterprise. Only one bloc of countries might cheer our action. That group would be pleased to see us rebuff American private enterprise. But I doubt whether we would want to depend on that group for either financial support or our security.

Moreover, with a capital of ten billion dollars, that Bank, facing applications from forty or fifty countries, could not make more than a small contribution to what we think are our needs.

We must remember that although our land was bitterly devastated by war—as devastated as any in the world—our prospects today are better than those of most other similarly war-torn lands. Alone of all the war-ravaged countries of the world, our currency is a standard by which all the other currencies are measured. We have no lack of foreign exchange. Every peso in circulation has its counterpart in the United States Treasury of the strongest foreign exchange the world knows today. All other nations of the world must scrimp and save and devise plans for obtaining dollar exchange. For day-to-day operations we have all that we need. Not a single one of our neighbors in this part of the world can make such a statement. Very few nations in the Orient can boast of such economic strength. Almost all the nations of the world are beset with frantic worry over markets for their exports and over compensation for their exports. We have an exclusively privileged position in the only 100 per cent cash market on earth—the United States. Whereas other nations of the world must seek loans with which to pay for the means of economic reconstruction and even of sustenance, we receive a full and relatively unimpeded flow of most of our import necessities. Whereas most of the nations of the earth face starvation and famine, our warehouses are glutted with flour and we face no critical emergency in our supply of rice. Our physical equipment, our houses, our machinery are largely in ruins; but we are far ahead of most of the other devastated areas of the earth. Any application for loans from the World Bank which we would make would necessarily receive far less urgent attention than applications from other more hard-pressed nations.

We must remember also that our favorable situation today is largely a result of our favored position with regard to the United States—the vast amounts of money that America has spent and is spending, the assurance that more will be spent, and our preferential trade relations with the United States. Should that situation cease to exist, as it might through the rejection of this amendment, our entire economic picture would undergo a drastic change. We cannot separate the parity proposal from the rest of the economic aids which the United States is giving us. It is a part of the plan; it is an essential part of the plan. If we reject it, we reject the entire plan and must submit another in its place. The proposal to obtain a loan from the World Bank would be but a feeble gesture, when what we need are giant efforts. I do not dismiss by any means the proposal to secure such a loan. That has long been under consideration by the Government. When the necessary information becomes available and the bank's operations are clarified, we might very well seek a loan from that organization. But to pin all our hopes for economic reconstruction and development on that organization is to lean on a weak reed indeed. It is to abandon a ship in favor of a raft whose seaworthiness has yet to be proved, when the only reason for abandoning the ship is unreasoning fear.

Of course the whole notion of the loan from the World Bank in place of encouraging private enterprise is a defeatist one. I do not like to see the Government get too deeply involved in business. I believe firmly that the Government which governs least governs best. Naturally the definition of what is "least" in any particular situation varies from time to time. Democracy is based upon free enterprise and a great and expanding middle class. Government ownership of all business is both economically unsound and socially undesirable. I distrust bureaucracy. Bureaucracy must be tolerated only insofar as it is absolutely essential. I would not like to see this country turn to state socialism. Dictatorship lies in that direction. Only under a system of free enterprise does the individual remain free, can labor aspire to legitimate strength, and the Government remain the arbiter of the destinies of the people rather than their ruler.

I consider primary initiative by the Government in economic matters financially unsound. Private enterprise can take risks, can speculate and venture. The Government, properly conducted, cannot. Public money is a public trust. No speculation with such money is permissible.

I should like to discuss at this point and in this connection the mining industry. During the course of the public debate on the constitutional amendment, reference to natural resources always brought to the minds of the people our vast mineral resources. Opponents of the amendment have consistently drawn a dramatic picture of the Americans robbing us of the riches which, in the form of minerals, abound in our good earth. This has been a telling argument. Many sincere fears have been expressed. Yet there has been little attempt to examine this question factually on the basis of information readily available. I say to you today that the mining industry furnishes one of the most impelling reasons for the approval of the constitutional amendment. Opponents of this amendment suggest that the Government should exploit our mineral resources, instead of permitting private foreign capital to do so. I disagree with that statement I should like to explain why. My reasons are based on facts and not on fears.

Between 1907 and 1941, P583,000,000 worth of minerals were extracted in the Philippines. Of that total P512,000,000 worth of minerals were extracted in the 10 years between 1932 and 1941. In all the other years only P70,000,000 worth of minerals were produced in the Philippines. The reason was simple. No capital was invested. Between 1929 and 1941, 615 mining companies were organized in the Philippines with a total capitalization of P215,000,000. In 1941 only 79 of those were in operation with a total capitalization of P133,000,000. More than P100,000,000 in capitalization was lost because those mining ventures did not prove sound—almost 50 per cent of the entire total. Of the 79 mining companies in operation, only 57 were in actual production. Of those 57, only 23 paid dividends—only 23 out of 615 companies. Is that a business for the Government to undertake? The Government would not be justified in risking public funds in such a highly speculative business. Mining is the most speculative business in the world. The mining industry of the world reports that out of 100 mines, 85 fail, go into bankruptcy and cease to exist. It is an axiom in the mining industry that it takes one gold mine to start another. In other words, a huge accumulation of capital must be risked in order to establish one profitable mine. Yet, every mine operation, whether it succeeds or it fails, brings work to the people, builds houses and pays taxes. In 1941, the mining industry in the Philippines had net earnings of approximately P100,000,000. Thirty per cent of that amount went for labor, 8 per cent to the Government in the form of taxes, and 54 per cent went for supplies, materials, and construction. Only 8 per cent was net profit. I ask you, is it not worthwhile to invite foreign capital to develop our mines and our mineral resources? If only 8 per cent of the total income is profit and 92 per cent is distributed to the people and to the Government, the Government itself surely should not undertake such an operation. In any specific

mining venture, the Government would stand a better than 5 to 1 chance of losing its investment. That is not a proper use of government funds. It would be much preferable to have private enterprise risk and speculate in the hope of profit, paying in every case a proper dividend to the Government and a major share of whatever expenditures are made to the people. That is the genius of the free enterprise system. That is the heart of economic democracy.

In all the 283 years of which we have record in the Philippines claims have been filed to 1,709,000 hectares of potential mining lands out of the 29,000,000 hectares of land area in the Philippines. Out of the total of 1,709,000 hectares to which claims have been filed, only 4,000 hectares have ever been developed. Our mineral resources have scarcely been scratched. We have millions and millions of tons of iron, chromite, manganese, copper, and possibly petroleum in the earth. We have only begun to develop these resources. But to develop them will take not only millions but hundreds of millions of pesos, perhaps billions. This money cannot come from the Government; it must be attracted from outside our borders. I can think of no better capital than American capital for this purpose.

The mining industry is one of the best for economic development. Our coal and iron and chromite and manganese and copper can be utilized for our own industrialization, as well as exported overseas. But they cannot be used for this purpose if they are still in the earth, if the mines are undeveloped, if there are no means of transportation to bring the ores to the factories and mills. We do not wish these minerals to be used merely to meet the requirements of the industries of other nations. We wish to use them ourselves to industrialize and to manufacture. This can only be done in an expanding and dynamic economy, the kind of economy we propose to build here, provided the parity amendment is approved.

In 1941, 51,000 people were employed in the mining industry. Today there are less than 4,000. Even these 4,000 are employed in the expectation of major capital investment. The mining industry will not be revived unless great capital investments are made. Our generation will pass away, and the next generation . . . and still our mineral deposits will be undeveloped, just as they have been in the past 400 years. The only way by which this heritage of ours can bring happiness to any is through its early development and use.

I have referred in the past to the possibility that new scientific developments may modify completely the value of our mineral resources. Already scientists have found a way of changing lead into gold. As yet that process is not commercially feasible; but should a commercial way be found for such transmutation, our gold deposits will become virtually worthless, as even gold, itself, will change radically in value. The same can be said of petroleum and of coal.

Once upon a time many centuries ago, deposits of magnetized iron found in few areas of the earth were considered the most precious deposits of metal in the world. Then a method was developed to magnetize iron artificially. Now magnetic iron is no more valuable than any other kind of iron.

I have cited these examples to indicate how essential it is for us to develop our natural resources today and not leave the job to a future generation. I venture to say that future generations will not bless us if we shirk our responsibilities today. The mining industry requires great investments. It will pay great dividends, but the greatest dividends will be to our people rather than to the investors.

Because of our very proper concern in the preservation of our natural resources, the Government, even under American sovereignty, or rather especially under American sovereignty, established a great group of legal safeguards to protect the people's interests in their resources. Thus mineral rights are never transferred outright, but are merely leased for a maximum of 25 years. The Government may at any time expropriate them, or modify the lease, or increase the royalties. Vast areas of lands believed to possess natural mineral resources are reserved to the Government and cannot be utilized by private interests except as permitted by Congress or by the President. There are hundreds of other legal safeguards. I will not enumerate them all. I will only say that your Government has now and will always have, I hope, full freedom of action to protect the essential interests of the nation.

To develop and utilize fully our present mineral resources, it will take us 100 years, with parity, according to mining experts. I should judge that without parity, we will have only scratched the surface in 5,000 years.

Let us take another industry, the lumber industry. Before the war we were producing lumber at the rate of 1,639,000 board feet daily. Today we are producing 150,000,000 board feet annually. We have in our commercial forest reserves today 550 billion board feet of timber. At the pre-war rate of production, it would take 904 years to exhaust our present resources, without even figuring new timber growth or replanting. Experts tell me that at the pre-war rate of production, it will take 30 years to produce all the lumber that we need today, this minute, for the rehabilitation of our destroyed homes and factories . . . and remember that we are only producing today at 30 per cent of our pre-war rate. The inference is obvious. We must expand, even multiply many times our present production rate if we would catch up with our needs. There is not the remotest chance that we will exhaust our resources. We have much more than enough. Let us then invite American capital and know-how to help us use these God-given resources for our present needs, and to develop new industries utilizing those resources. If we refuse to do that, we break faith with the Divine Providence who gave us such potential riches. We would starve in the midst of plenty, like the biblical jackass which starved to death between two equal stacks of hay.

There are those who say that should we permit foreign capital to be invested in the Philippines, this capital will control the country. They say that such capital will exert undue influence on the Government and will sway the votes of the people. How little faith such a view shows in democracy. It has been our experience, our own experience, that our people vote their own interests and convictions, regardless of their employment. It has been shown elsewhere in the world that an enlightened people, a prosperous people, and an industrialized people is the most alert and vigorous in the defense of the people's rights. A backward and truly agricultural land is always the least politically enlightened, the least free, the least democratic.

We have today our one big chance to convert our native land into an ideal democracy. Our one chance is to grow and industrialize to reach the first rank of the nations of the world. We have this chance because of the heroism we displayed in the war; we have this chance because we have demonstrated by deed our love for freedom. We have earned the gratitude of mankind. We can and will show tomorrow that we deserve that gratitude by plunging courageously ahead in the great tasks we face.

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NOTE.—This address was delivered from a platform on Plaza Miranda fronting the Quiapo Church, Manila. The President had just finished this speech when a hand grenade was thrown in his direction and landed a scant three yards from his seat. Senator, Avelino, president of the Senate, who was standing nearby kicked it away; and General Castañeda gave it another boot and it fell to the ground.

The grenade was intended for the President; but fortunately for him, it already rolled under the platform when it exploded, unluckily wounding the Malacañan official photographer and killing one person in the audience.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Message of President Roxas to the Filipino People urging approval of the Parity Amendment to the Constitution at the Plebiscite of March 11, 1947

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Filipino People urging approval of the Parity Amendment to the Constitution at the Plebiscite of March 11, 1947

[Released on March 6, 1947]

MY COUNTRYMEN:

I address this final message to you on the subject of the so-called parity amendment. I wish to summarize my views as briefly and concisely as possible. My purpose is to review the true nature of the issue at stake.

I will not today enter into a lengthy explanation of the various phases of this problem. I wish merely to synthesize the discussion on the eve of a decision which holds the entire future of our nation in its grasp.

I cannot conceive of an alternative to the overwhelming approval of this proposition. I cannot understand how any impartial, fair-minded, and patriotic Filipino can, in good conscience, oppose this amendment. I concede that there are apparently plausible arguments against its approval. There are two sides to every question. But the man of impartial mind must weigh all arguments in favor and all arguments against any proposition. The fact that there are points against a proposition must not prevail if there are more powerful arguments in favor. The sum total of the reasons in favor of the approval of this amendment is so overwhelming and the arguments against it are so completely short of the mark that I cannot see how the Filipino people can do otherwise than to give the Constitutional amendment a resounding vote of endorsement.

THE PEOPLE CANNOT BE FOOLED

Often I stand back and ask myself how it is possible for a single issue such as this one to become so confused and so obscured with selfish and partisan considerations; never has a simple issue been subject to so many distortions and misrepresentations, many of them wilful and deliberate. I am reassured only by the knowledge that the people, in the long run, cannot be fooled or misled by lies and hall-truths. They lose faith in continued appeals to passion and prejudice. In this is the great strength and virtue of democracy.

That is why today, although victory for the amendment is certain, I wish to talk to my countrymen, to set the record straight, and to clarify the discussion which has been so thoroughly beclouded by emotional appeals and political harangues.

What is it that we are proposing to do? We propose to amend our Constitution. Is there anything essentially wrong in that? We have amended our Constitution before. We might find occasion to amend it in the future. A nation which is alive and growing, which is vital and dynamic, adjusts itself to situations as they develop. The Constitution is a notable document drawn by men of vision and of understanding. They did not pretend to be able to foresee all the exigencies and emergencies of the future. They did not pretend to be omniscient. For that reason machinery was provided for amendments to the Constitution. We are using that machinery now. There is nothing sacrilegious in that. It is the democratic way of meeting new needs and requirements. Because men may make errors, erasers were invented, and the way is provided to amend laws, and to amend even the Constitution.

PROCEEDING CAUTIOUSLY

Yet we do not, in this case, propose to amend the Constitution permanently. We amend the Constitution for 28 years. After 28 years, this amendment will automatically become null and void. It will cease entirely to have force and effect. But if we find sooner than 28 years that we have made a mistake in this amendment, and that it is not working out to our best interests, we can cancel this amendment, on six months' notice, or on five years' notice. There is nothing irrevocable about it. There is nothing astounding about it. The opponents of this amendment would have us think that we are stepping off a tall cliff and dashing ourselves to destruction on the rocks below. What a melodrama of the imagination! Actually we are proceeding cautiously with our eyes wide open, moving forward to explore the future, and to take advantage of opportunities suddenly and unexpectedly offered us to escape from a destruction which had suddenly been visited upon us. The opponents of this proposal would paralyze this nation with fear, and have us remain frozen in the wake of the typhoon which has swept over us, and in the path of another which is heading our way. The storm which passed over us and which wrought such destruction here was war; the typhoon which now threatens us is economic disaster. Yet we can easily avoid disaster. We are avoiding it, and, moving on to heights of greater prosperity and glory than we ever knew before. The war brought us misery and devastation but it also brought us a golden opportunity. Shall we stand still in our tracks and look fearfully behind us, or shall we move courageously forward, and achieve by our own actions our salvation? The opponents of this amendment offer no alternative. They suggest no better course of action. They merely fill the air with cries of alarm, and try to stampede us with fear. I am happy that they have not succeeded.

WHAT IS PARITY?

Now what is the actual issue on which we will vote? What is its substance? What are its implications? What is parity? The proposed constitutional amendment would grant to Americans, for a period of 28 years, the privilege of equality with Filipinos in certain fields of economic endeavor, namely the development of natural resources and the ownership and operation of public utilities. Those fields are now reserved to Filipinos.

Is this true parity? Of course it isn't. Americans will have no political rights. They will be unable to vote, hold public office, or obtain employment in the regular government service. They will be ineligible to represent our government in diplomatic posts abroad or to participate in any of the deliberations by which this nation makes its sovereign decisions. In our laws, there are hundreds of economic preferences for Filipino citizens: in the practice of the professions, in the distribution of government lands, and eligibility for government contracts. Those preferences will remain unmodified, except as we may, from time to time choose to amend them. That is not parity. That is not equal rights. That is merely the extension, by our own volition, of certain special rights to American citizens. That extension of rights is provisional and temporary. We can recall it at any time we choose. In any event, those rights will expire in 28 years. Is that an abridgment of sovereignty? Of course not. It is an exercise of sovereignty, by the Filipino people, for good and sufficient reasons of national policy.

NO REASON TO FEAR

It is true that our Constitution in its present form reserves to Filipinos alone the special privileges we now propose to grant to Americans. They were so reserved because we rightly feared in the past that if Americans became too deeply involved in the economic life of the Philippines, it would prejudice our struggle for independence. But we now have our independence. And the greatest supporter of our independence and of our freedom today is the United States of America. We have absolutely no reason to fear that the United States Government will in any way modify or diminish her earnest desire that we succeed as an independent and democratic Republic.

We had a recent instance in which an American. General Ernest Burt, undertook to buy some church lands which the Government itself desired to acquire for the benefit of the people. The Government took steps to cancel this sale. The United States Government uttered not a single word of complaint, but rather supported us in our program. Is this the kind of Government to fear? Of course, there are unscrupulous individuals of every nationality, who will seek unfairly to seize every opportunity for the sake of profit, regardless of the public interest. The Government is and will be constantly alert against all such efforts by persons of any nationality. In the case of Americans, you can count on your Government, and we can count on the American Government, to consider the welfare of the Philippine Republic above the interest of any selfish individual.

TO HELP US REBUILD

The United States, as a nation, has gained the greatest glory for its grant of independence to the Philippines. The success of the Philippine experiment in democracy is the brightest jewel in the crown of American policy in the Far East. Does any Filipino believe for a moment that the United States Government would tarnish that jewel for the sake of the few pesos of profit? It is so ridiculous a thought that it is not worthy of serious discussion. But the opponents of parity lean most heavily on this fear, this completely unwarranted supposition. They appeal to your nationalistic aspirations and ask you to believe that the United States, which spent billions and billions of dollars for our liberation, which is spending hundreds of millions of dollars for our rehabilitation, which spent the lives of fifty thousand Americans on this very soil to bring us freedom and finally independence, is now going to rob and exploit us. Such a supposition is denied by every obvious fact. It is as if you were asked to believe that your own fathers and mothers, who raised and tended you throughout your lives, should now be locked out of your homes in their old age because of the fear that they might suddenly steal your possessions from you. The American people, with but few exceptions, look upon us as their offspring, offspring no longer dependent, who must stand on our own feet as soon as possible, but who will retain the love and care of our former guardians as long as we shall live. Any individual American who abuses the hospitality of the Philippines is as much a trespasser against the principles of his own government as against the Philippines. Our special hospitality is extended to Americans for one purpose—to enable Americans to help us rebuild our country, to make of it a richer and more fruitful land. It is true that some Americans will make a profit out of this undertaking. That is only right. But in order to make a profit, they will be required to contribute in a much greater measure to the profit of the Philippines. They will give jobs to the people; they will build houses and roads; they will provide electric light and power and buy goods and pay taxes to the Government. Is that a danger to us?

If an American should set up a lumber mill in Mindanao and import machinery from America and hire laborers, and build houses, if he should produce in his lumber mill plywood, and timber, and doors, and sashes, and tooth picks, and boxes, and telegraph poles, and prefabricated houses, would that be robbing the Philippines of anything? Or would it be adding to our national wealth?

If an American explored some of our vast unexplored territory and found chromium ore, and sunk a mine, and established a railroad line to transport that chromium ore, and gave jobs to hundreds of our people digging up the ore and paid hundreds of our laborers to transport it, and paid out of his income thousands of dollars to the Government for the support of schools and for the building of roads and hospitals and community facilities, would we be richer or poorer?

If an American went to any of the cities or municipalities where there are today no buses, electric lights, telephone service, or gas, and established a public utility providing one of these services, employing our people, building plants and facilities, wouldn't we be better off? Yet these are the very things that the opponents of parity are afraid of. These are the things they would keep out of the Philippines.

WE HAVE THE PRIVILEGE

Filipinos, of course, have the privilege, they have always had the privilege, of doing exactly the same thing as we now propose to permit Americans to do. The trouble is that there are not enough Filipinos who have the capital or who have the knowledge, experience and technical means to do these things now. The Government, itself, has not and can not possibly obtain the money to do all these things. Only private capital can do them. The Government will do everything it can. In areas where private capital will not venture, the Government will take the initiative. But the Government will only be able to push ahead with such a program of its own, if it receives income and revenue from taxation of private enterprise, and if the national economy is broad and prosperous enough to warrant the lending of money to your Government.

It should be remembered that the Government has the right, under our laws, to expropriate at any time, with proper compensation, public utilities, if expropriation is deemed by the Government to be in the national interest. The Government is also authorized, under the Constitution, to acquire landed estates and agricultural areas, by the process of expropriation, for distribution to tenants and the people. The Government has all the power and authority

it needs to protect the public interest and to prevent selfish exploitation. There is not the remotest chance that we will be impeded in any way, at any time, in the legitimate and impartial exercise of that authority by any foreign government, to the prejudice of either our national interests, or the interests of any substantial group of our own people. We have already shown a determination in that direction. The United States Government has not, in the entire history of its relations with us, indicated any desire to the contrary.

America was sovereign here for fifty years. At the end of that period, how many American civilians were there in the Philippines? Approximately 10,000. How many of these 10,000 were laborers? I do not know of a single one. They were all businessmen and technical men, traders and engineers, foresters and teachers, bankers and industrialists. America does not export laborers; she imports them. There are fifteen times as many Filipinos in the United States as there are Americans in the Philippines. For every American who wants to come to the Philippines, there are a thousand Filipinos who want to go to America. Should we be afraid, then, that our country will be overrun with Americans?

AMERICANS WILL TRAIN US

When Americans first came to the Philippines, how many of our people were engineers, businessmen, plant managers, teachers, and scientists? Very few. The number of Filipinos who entered the managerial and professional class under the American regime was legion. That was part of the process of preparing us for independence. Have we any reason to believe that this process will be lessened now that we are independent? The Americans who come here will train us in the latest methods of technology and science and business management, just as they have been training us for the past fifty years. We should welcome them, rather than express fears, foolish and senseless fears, from their coming.

The argument is made that American capital will come to the Philippines even if we do not pass the parity amendment. That is probably true. American businessmen will come here, sooner or later, to sell automobiles, refrigerators, hardware, electric equipment, just as American businessmen go all over the world to sell these products of American factories. But that is not the kind of capital we need. We have enough traders and sellers in the Philippines. We have no objection to such American capital, but it is not the kind of capital that we are especially interested in. What we need is productive capital, capital that will be invested in manufacturing, in processing, in mining, in public utilities, in the very facilities that the Philippines needs most of all to build a richer and more plentiful economy. Such American capital will not come here unless our Constitution is amended. Such American capital would prefer to remain in the United States where there are unlimited opportunities and where there is an assurance of complete safety. Such American capital, if it is to be exported at all, will be exported to lands where special provision is made to protect and safeguard it. Such provision is being made today in many countries of the world . . . in Belgium, in Holland, in France, in China, in South America. How much more proper that such capital should come here, to a nation with which the United States is bound by unbreakable ties of friendship, common language, common principles, military cooperation, and a common history?

Shall we not show our trust and confidence in that country and thus induce its citizens to show us a preference in their financial ventures? Or shall we show America that we are suspicious and selfish and mean?

WE ARE DEFENSELESS

If we should make that kind of demonstration by rejecting the parity amendment, America will have reason to reexamine her attitude toward us. Our entire foreign policy, so firmly based on our special relationship with the United States, would have to be reoriented. We must remember, however great our pride in independence, that we are a small nation presently poor and defenseless. In a world far from stabilized, no small nation today is without its special ties with a greater or stronger power. Do we prefer to establish special ties with China, with Russia, or with France? I do not think so. History has made our decision for us and for this we must be fervently thankful. We have the privilege, for which every other nation in the world would pay in billions, of a special position in relation to the United States. That position is our greatest asset today. It is an asset which we cannot buy for any amount of money. It lends us prestige, strength, security, and economic support.

The United States is one of the world's greatest powers, perhaps the greatest. The Philippines is a small, war-devastated, and newly-arrived nation. Our total national income is less than that of the City of San Francisco. The United States treats with us as with an equal and deals with us as with an equal. But we are not actually an equal. How could we be? When the United States Congress passes a law, that law affects 150,000,000 people directly, and the entire world indirectly. When the United States makes arrangements with us, it involves her arrangements with every country of the world. Every detail and aspect of America's activities in the international field are studied intensely in every chancellery of the earth. What we do, scarcely raises a ripple. Actions taken in Washington can spread consternation over the entire earth. A concession to the Philippines sets up a clamor from a score of other nations seeking similar concessions, pointing to similar sacrifices and similar needs. Yet the United States of America maintains with us, both in form and in substance, absolute equality. In most aspects of our relationship, the lack of equality and reciprocity is in our favor, certainly in substance if not in form.

Under the Bell Trade Act, the United States grants us eight years of free trade in the American market. The United States would not grant free trade to any other country in the world, regardless of the benefits involved. It is true that American products are granted eight years of free trade in the Philippines; that is a concession which is virtually meaningless to America.

TARIFF WOULD RAISE PRICES

A tariff on U. S. goods would be a tax on Philippine consumers. America can sell her goods today and for the next ten years at her price anywhere in the world. Every automobile that is sold in the Philippines could be sold a hundred times over anywhere else, including the United States. Every refrigerator, every item of construction material, could be sold at the same price anywhere, including America's home market.

If we applied our tariff to American goods, it would not decrease the income to American exporters, but would merely increase the price to ourselves. If we applied tariffs to American construction materials and automobiles, iron, steel, refrigerators, typewriters, books and textiles our people would be able to buy less because they would be forced to pay more. Prices would go up here to the extent of the tariff. The American exporters would get just as much from us.

The Philippine Government would receive tariff revenue, but it would be revenue from taxation on our consumers and would not result in a peso of additional income for the nation. A tariff would be useless in our present situation, because of the minimum amount of competition from the other exporting nations of the world. For some years to come, a tariff applied to American goods would defeat our primary national purpose of lowering the cost of living. We already levy high consumption taxes on goods from America, as a source of government revenue. To apply tariffs to canned food, flour, and construction equipment, for instance, would further skyrocket the cost of living and would impose new hardships on the groups of our people least able to afford such an increase.

BAD POLICY

The same would be true should we apply an export tax, except that in this case, our producers would be the losers. All the commodities we ship to America enter a competitive market there. The price for which we sell our goods is established by the price for similar goods charged by American producers and by producers from other countries. If we raise the price to American importers by applying an export tax, we lose the market. The only alternative would be for our own producers to absorb the tax. That, also, is contrary to our national policy.

What we are really planning for is the day when our own home-produced goods can be sold in the Philippine market. When that day comes, we can restrict by quota or otherwise, the importation of such American goods as come into competition with our own domestic products.

That is the reason America establishes quotas on our exports to the United States. Practically every one of our commodities, with the exception of abaca, comes into competition with materials produced in the United States. If it were not for our special relationship with the United States, we would be able to export only a few commodities in any amount to America. Let us take copra as an example. Copra finds a ready market in the United States because of

a preferential processing tax in our favor. Every pound of coconut oil made from copra from sources other than the Philippines, pays a tax in the United States of two cents more than coconut oil from Philippine copra. The effect of that provision is, in ordinary times, to assure us that all the coconut oil made in the United States will be made from Philippine copra. If that preferential tax were not in effect, eventually copra from Africa and the East Indies and the Caribbean, where wages are now much lower than those in the Philippines, would flood the American market and drive much of our copra from that market.

IN FAVOR OF THE PHILIPPINES

It so happens that there is today a shortage of fats and oils in the world, and our copra is at a premium. But that shortage will not last very long. As soon as the production of fats and oils from other countries regains its pre-war level, most of our copra must be sold in the United States, or it will not be sold at all. Under the Bell Trade Act, we are guaranteed a two-cent preference for our copra for 28 years. The United States gets no such preference in the Philippine market for any American product. This is completely unreciprocal in favor of the Philippines and affects the most widespread industry in all the Philippines. There is no counterbalancing grant of privilege to the United States in the Bell Act.

If we reject the parity provision, and thus violate the Executive Trade Agreement between our two countries, we stand in early danger of losing our preferred market for copra in the United States. Before long, we would face a crisis in the copra industry. Where would we get any income from abroad? There are no cash markets anywhere in the world to take the place of the American market

Some of the spokesmen against parity have made the statement that while the Philippines gets free trade in America for only eight years, America gets free trade in the Philippines for 28 years. That is nothing but a lie. Those who make such a statement make it either out of ignorance or out of pure frantic invention. The trade provisions are exactly reciprocal for both countries—8 years of free trade and 20 years of gradually increasing tariff Moreover, in the case of coconut oil, cordage, cigars and tobacco, the Philippines is provided free trade for 28 years and not for 8 years, but on a diminishing quota basis. The quota will decrease but there will be no tariff duty whatsoever. That is because any tariff on these products would result in their exclusion from the American market. Here again the United States has made a completely unreciprocal provision in our favor. No such concession is granted to American goods coming into the Philippines; and although we have no quotas on American goods, there is nothing in the law to prevent us from establishing them. There is no reason to establish them now. Should American goods ever come into competition with our own domestically manufactured goods, we can and will establish quotas.

A GENEROUS GESTURE

In all major respects, the Bell Act is completely reciprocal; in some respects it is unreciprocal in our favor. It is unequal, but unequal to the United States rather than to the Philippines. The American Congress was not trying to make a business deal with us when they passed the Bell Act; they were trying to do something generous for us. Any country in the entire world great or small, would gladly accept the Bell Act in every particular, including the parity provision, if the United States would agree to it. But, of course, the United States Congress would never make such a grant to any other country in the world. And yet some few of us in the Philippines, instead of being grateful, are being contentious and are claiming that the United States is trying to rob us.

Representatives of the Philippine Government of the previous administration begged and implored the United States Government to grant us free trade after independence. Some of the very same people, who even opposed independence because it would cut off free trade, are now saying that free trade is bad for our economy. Permanent free trade with the United States may not be beneficial to the Philippines, but I am convinced that for the immediate rehabilitation and expansion of our economy, temporary free trade is absolutely essential. The willingness of the United States to grant us free trade and preferential trade relations for 28 years shows the generosity and great-heartedness of that country. For that we must be grateful. I believe that a great majority of the Filipino people are, and will be, eternally grateful.

GRANTS US PREFERENCES

There is another aspect of the Bell Trade Act which is not reciprocal, again in our favor. The United States grants us preferences based on the special tariff rates granted many years ago to Cuba. In other words, we not only get the same discount given to the preferred country of Cuba, but we are required to pay only a fraction of the discount price. We grant no such favor to the United States because we grant no discount to any country. We are coupled with Cuba as a favored customer and are given terms far better than Cuba for a period of 28 years.

The foolish argument is made that we would get into trouble with other countries because we propose to grant special privileges to the United States. We are granting special privileges to American citizens for our own benefit and not for the benefit of America. We are granting such privileges, in association with the tremendous concessions and grants being given us by the United States. I do not know of any other country in the world which is either capable or willing to grant us benefits similar to those coming from America, nor is there any reason for any country to do so. The Bell Act and the Tydings War Damage Act are part and parcel of the program of our economic rehabilitation and reconstruction and are based upon the special relation between our two countries, a relationship sealed with the blood of heroes of both nationalities during the recent war.

The argument is made that Americans, backed by huge combinations of capital, by Wall Street, will run all Filipinos out of business, and that Filipinos will not be able, with their small capital accumulations, to compete. This argument is another emotional appeal which does not bear up under factual examination.

Some American capital is already here, selling American products in the Philippines, and buying Philippine products for the United States. There are American banks here I have not noticed that they have driven any Filipinos out of business. And whether or not we reject the constitutional amendment does not affect the enterprise of these American firms one way or the other.

NO IMPERIALISM POSSIBLE

The really big accumulations of American capital are not especially interested in the natural resources of the Philippines. There is a very good reason for that. We have very few resources which are not present in much greater quantities in the United States. Our iron ore could not be mined for shipment to the United States. Our coal could not be dug for shipment to the United States. We raise no cotton here for American cotton mills. If American capital could be induced to come here for the development of those resources, it would be only on the basis of industries established here, steel and textile industries, not to supply factories and mills in the United States, but for the purpose of exporting to the Orient, and for the Philippine home market. Yet the very definition of imperialism is the exploitation of the resources of a small country to support the industry of a larger power. No such relationship is possible between the United States and the Philippines.

The big American companies come here to sell and not to buy. They will be unaffected by the parity amendment. The type of capital which we want to induce to come to the Philippines is productive capital for investment in manufacturing, processing, and producing. That kind of capital is small and medium-sized capital and is almost invariably accompanied by technical skill and know-how, a technical skill and know-how which we in the Philippines largely lack. How many in this country could make nylon, or plastics, or machine tools, or cotton spindles, or even lipstick? Yet those are exactly the kinds of enterprises which we most urgently need in the Philippines; those enterprises which are associated with the development of natural resources . . . of timber, iron, coal, and chemical ores. We should and must welcome Americans to help us develop such industries and undertakings.

We single out Americans, because we know and trust Americans, and because we have confidence that the American Government will not abuse the fact that American nationals are engaged in these enterprises here, and is primarily interested in the success of our democratic growth and expansion. We single out Americans, because Americans have the capital and have the know-how. There is no other nation in the world which represents such a happy combination to meet our requirements.

WE NEED TECHNICAL MEN

We want and need scientists, engineers, and technical men who, accompanied by capital for investment, would bring to the Philippines the know-how of the 20th century, to help us decrease our dependence on hand labor and help us catch up with the rest of the world in technology and modern industrial and agricultural methods.

Is there any threat that Americans will acquire vast areas of our farmland? There is no such danger. In the first place, Americans do not go abroad for agricultural purposes. Their land is rich enough at home. Moreover, we have a law against the acquisition by any individual or corporation of any agricultural area in excess of 1,024 hectares. We do not intend to repeal that law. We can even acquire any estates now in existence for distribution to the landless.

The argument is made that unless we exercise care we will become another Cuba, ruled from Wall Street. In the first place, Cuba, as Wall Street can well testify, has not for many years been ruled by American capital. Today Cuba is grateful for the assistance it has received from American capital. The same can be said of Mexico.

The American Government did not support the claims of the American oil companies when the Mexican Government expropriated their properties some years ago. The American Government merely insisted that American oil companies be paid a fair value for their properties. If American capital had not developed those oil fields, they would still be unexplored and all the wealth and all the employment that have been brought to Mexico would have been foregone

Who knows today, who can predict today, whether ten years from now oil and coal will still be essential commodities? Atomic power may replace oil and coal as sources of energy. Shall we then leave whatever oil we may have and our other minerals untouched in the ground rather than develop them today with the help of American capital? I say no, a thousand times no.

TRULY WORTHWHILE PATRIMONY

Let us use our natural wealth for the benefit of our people today, to build up our cities and develop our islands and build homes and roads and bridges and schools, so that our children may have a truly worthwhile patrimony and not merely nominal title to vast jungles and undeveloped timber and mineral deposits. Let us not pass on to our children the job that we should do ourselves. Let us not shirk the duty which history imposes upon us. Let us show that same courage that animated our forefathers in their struggles for freedom and independence. But let us direct that courage today to the new war, rather than the old—the war against want, hunger, and insecurity.

I have closely examined the arguments made by those who oppose parity. They can be reduced to a single word—”fear”—fear of progress and fear of competition. They are afraid that we cannot hold our own against such Americans as may come here. They are afraid that we cannot measure up to the standards that will be raised here by American businessmen and experts. I have no such fear. I have full confidence in our people; I have full confidence in the ability of the Government of our people to protect our essential rights and to advance our essential interests. I have full confidence that Filipinos, given the training and the know-how, will be able to take advantage of the opportunities offered and to grow with the country in its steady forward march. But those who oppose this proposed amendment are not so confident. They are not so courageous. They are not so ambitious. They would rather have you live in a narrow agricultural economy, condemned forever to a life of toil, with carabao and hand-plow, feeding the tables of others and providing income for the very rich.

THE MISLEADERS

There are those among the opponents of parity who are quite content with the present economic structure They are satisfied that this country should have a thin crust of wealth and luxury on top of a huge mass of poverty and social inequality. They are satisfied with conditions as they are.

And then there are others who are their allies in this issue. They are those of the extreme left, the super-nationalists, the communists, the demagogues and breast beaters. They would like to continue as the misleaders of the people, to prate about social injustice and do nothing about it, to recount the miseries of the poor and yet do nothing to relieve them, to describe the evils of capitalism and yet do nothing to make us all capitalists.

There is something in common between these two schools of thought. I have searched for a long time to find it, and it is this: neither of them believes in free competition nor in true democracy. Neither of them believes in the development here of a strong home-owning, land-owning middle class. One group believes in a rule by an economic aristocracy; the other believes in a dictatorship by popular demagogues. Both groups have no use for democracy, for the great middle class, for free enterprise, for freedom, liberty and the dignity of the individual. That is the basis for their alliance. One is a group that believes in rule by a monopoly of the wealthy; the other group believes in dictatorial rule by an oligarchy of political demagogues. Both distrust democracy and the common people. They see in parity a threat to their own selfish ambitions. One group would like the continuation of the status quo; the other group would like to reverse the status quo so that they themselves could have power. But neither group wishes to do anything to make this country grow and expand, to give economic and political equality to all the people, to make this nation a prosperous, thriving and free democracy.

VICIOUS ARGUMENTS

Among the arguments which are cited against parity is the one that we need not pay the price of parity in order to obtain war damages, and that since only the rich would receive war damages in excess of a thousand pesos, the common people would suffer no injury in rejecting parity. This argument is so vicious that it must be answered. The United States Congress provided four hundred million dollars for war damages to private individuals. But Congress stipulated explicitly that the first claim on war damage was to be held by the plain people of the Philippines, by those who suffered no more than P1,000 in war damages. Was this a provision made by a Congress dominated by Wall Street? No, it was a provision aimed at helping the poor and the unfortunate. Yet it was the same Congress that enacted the parity provision. We know today that four hundred million dollars will pay only a fraction of the actual war damages. The large claimants for war damages will receive but a small percentage of their claims. From the viewpoint of our national economic needs, I am not sure that this is a good provision because it would not insure the investment of this money in productive enterprise. But nevertheless it is part of the law. But if we reject parity, none of our large industries and enterprises can be rehabilitated. Sugar mills, coconut mills, and cordage factories will be unable to receive even a small down payment on the money they need to rehabilitate their enterprises. Is it a matter of disinterest to the Filipino people that these undertakings will be left destroyed and devastated? Is it not to our benefit to have our sugar industry and our coconut oil industry revived, so that they may employ our people and pay taxes to the Government? Regardless of what individuals may receive those payments, those payments will be paid in the Philippines for the rehabilitation of Philippine economy. That is another stipulation of the American law. It is short-sighted indeed, and vicious, to say that the Filipino people will lose nothing if these larger payments which may represent only a small fraction of the whole, are not made. To those who would make such an argument, I advise you to turn a deaf ear. They are nothing but misleaders of the people. They do not have the interests of the nation at heart.

UNLIMITED FUTURE

Let us think this matter out clearly. Let us put passion, prejudice and fear behind us. Let us face boldly our unlimited future. Let us not echo the prophets of disaster who say that since we survived under the Japanese, we can certainly survive today without the Americans. How many of us would like to return to those dark and evil days? Did we not think during those days that it would be better to die than to continue to live under those conditions? Did we not survive merely by clinging to the hope that America would return and would liberate us?

It is only some of the rich and the unprincipled who fared well under the Japanese. They are the very same people who today are urging you to defeat parity. Do not heed them; do not listen to them. They are the archangels of fear. They are the spokesmen of chaos. They are the adherents of the paganism of eternal poverty, strife, and disorder. They are the extreme revolutionaries and the extreme reactionaries who basically distrust democracy. I know the Filipino people will not follow those voices.

There is no alternative to the approval of this amendment. Those who urge its rejection are either blind or recklessly irresponsible. Should this amendment be defeated, we face much more than the immediate loss of certain benefits and payments from the United States Government. That is only the smallest loss we will suffer. Our real loss, the real catastrophe would be the wreckage of the only possible plan we could have for the early rehabilitation and immediate development of our national potentialities. Science is on the march everywhere in the world. Every

people is pressing forward to industrialize, to mechanize, to harness the natural elements through the machine, and to master the machine to serve man.

LONG STRIDES

At the same time the warning has been served, by horrible international example, that those people who give up freedom in order to permit the Government to take entirely the place of private enterprise end up as slaves of the very machine which they set up to serve them. There is no need to choose between the serfdom of backwardness and slavery to the state. We can guide and regulate private enterprise and, at the same time, take long strides in the direction of social justice and well-being for all.

Approval of this amendment will clear the way for a forward surge toward our goals. We remain the masters of our destiny. We remain free men in a free land. We invite the assistance of those in whom we have confidence and who have the ability to help us. We share some of our potentialities in order that they may be transformed into the fruits of well-being for our people. Let us sow the land with loving labor that it may grow rich and fertile with use. The tangled undergrowth, the majestic waterfall, and the earth rich with minerals are misers riches unless they are used to bring happiness to men. The people must have work and wages, opportunities for saving and the accumulation of wealth, education and enlightenment and all proper government services. The people must also have freedom from want and from fear.

THE GLORIOUS FUTURE

Look up, my countrymen, and see the glorious future which beckons us. The Philippines is destined to be a strong and prosperous nation. But we must strive to merit that destiny. The approval of parity is but a step on the long road to national well-being. But as one step follows another, the first must be taken. We can make of the Philippines the glory and the pride of democratic peoples throughout the earth. And we may thus pass on to our children and the generations which will come after them the priceless patrimony of a rich and prosperous nation, dedicated to freedom and consecrated to the proposition that opportunity is the privilege of all Filipinos. Let us strive to be able to say that we of our generation discharged in our day the responsibility of our times and did not hesitate to act in the best conscience, with the guidance of Almighty God, in the best interests of our noble people.

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Note.—This radio address summarizing the President's views on the need of amending the Constitution took him one hour and a half to deliver. This indicates that the President, as shown also by his other speeches since November, 1946, was taking no chances of failure. He displayed energy and firm purpose in the campaign that turned out to be an educational venture—a mass appeal that struck deep in the feelings of the people.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas on the occasion of the Establishment of an Independent Philippine National Red Cross

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the Establishment of
an Independent Philippine National Red Cross

[Released on April 15, 1947]

LADIES ANG GENTLEMEN:

This glorious day sees the beautiful consummation of a long cherished dream. At long last the Philippine Red Cross is on its own—it has attained its independence from the American Red Cross. It will now chart its own course for the attainment of its great humanitarian aims.

The activities of the Red Cross in the Philippines, heretofore. had been conducted through the Philippine Chapter of the American Red Cross. This local chapter rendered invaluable service to our people in times of both peace and war. The calamities to which the Philippines has been often subjected, such as floods, fires, storms and epidemics, found the Red Cross ever ready to provide assistance to sufferers. It is of record that the answer to the call for mercy and help was always immediate and efficient. To the lasting honor of this great organization, the world can bear witness that it has never been remiss in its humanitarian mission.

This work has been carried out in a spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism. Red Cross workers have been known to brave the winds of a storm, to breast the waves of a surging sea, to meet the terrors of a conflagration, to dare the deadly menace of infection in order to be able to bring relief to the injured and the sick. In this manner suffering has been minimized, comfort has been spread, and the growth of disease has been arrested.

This humanitarian program, which is only a continuation of the labor of love so beautifully and self-effacingly exemplified by Florence Nightingale, and given organized initiation by J. Henry Dunant, should now be carried on here with even greater enterprise and broader popular support by the Philippine Red Cross. Its cooperation can be counted upon to stamp out disease, to raise the standard of public sanitation, to educate the masses in the ways of healthful and useful living, and to contribute in making our country a land of happy citizens.

I trust that it will continue to fulfill its noble program of humanitarian aid in the forms of HOME SERVICE to assist veterans, war widows and orphans, and all those in distress; SAFETY SERVICES to assist the people in training on first aid, life saving, and accident prevention; NURSING SERVICE to instruct the citizenry in the care of the sick members of the family; the JUNIOR RED CROSS to carry on a youth program supplementing the Philippine educational system; and MILITARY WELFARE SERVICE to assist Filipino soldiers in camp and hospital.

The Government has always supported the worthy cause of the Red Cross. We have given all the aid possible to this organization whenever and wherever such aid was requested. The annual campaign for funds has met with the people's approval: they have always contributed generously. The Philippine Red Cross is an entity to which government and private citizens have never shown indifference. This organization may continue to rely upon the unstinted support of the Government and people of this Republic.

The independence of the Philippine Red Cross does not in any way mean that it shall be divested of international responsibility and prerogatives. We are a signatory to the Geneva International Red Cross Convention and as such we owe certain international obligations. For this reason, while taking justifiable pride in being able to serve the greatest interests of our people in a completely independent status, we should never be oblivious of the fact that we have international commitments to observe and adhere to. Knowledge of these international obligations together with our own natural impulses gives us the necessary urge to participate actively in all activities looking to relieve

suffering everywhere. Mercy, like charity, should begin at home but it must spread its blessings whenever possible without regard to national borders.

I cannot stress too strongly the mission and functions of the Philippine National Red Cross in our daily lives. I trust that it shall gather strength and inspiration from the ideals of helpfulness and charity established by the pioneers of the Red Cross movement.

The men and women, therefore, who work for the Red Cross, volunteer workers and regular personnel alike, should be imbued with the spirit of self-abnegation. They must discharge their tasks not for personal and material advantage but for the highly commendable and spiritually enriching motive: service. Their calling is a sublime apostleship which demands unremitting perseverance, heroic patience, unquestioning selflessness.

The Government of the Philippines will continue to rely upon the abiding humanity and peerless service of the Red Cross. I trust that the Philippine Red Cross will, on this date of its independence, resolve to keep this lofty tradition pure, unblemished, and that it will merit, as in the past, the gratitude and blessings of the Filipino people. I have no doubt that under the inspired and heroic leadership of its present chairman, Mrs. Manuel L. Quezon, it will render even greater service to the people of this war-devastated land.

Mother of Mercy, Godspeed!

NOTE.—Republic Act No. 95, approved on March 22, 1947, gave corporate existence to the Red Cross, which is a voluntary organization, officially designating it to assist the Government in discharging the obligations of the Republic toward the Geneva Red Cross Convention to which it adhered on February 14, 1947.

After the passage of the incorporating law, the Philippine National Red Cross applied to the International Red Cross for recognition as an independent society. In the cablegram granting the recognition, the Vice-Chairman of the International Red Cross Committee conveyed the "warmest congratulations of the International Red Cross to the members, volunteers and professionals of the PNRC staff on their joining the family of IRC organizations."

Mrs. Aurora A. Quezon, the first Chairman, in commenting on this recognition, said: "The independent status of Philcross is, for us, a matter of both personal and national pride."

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Address of President Roxas at the Radio Program of the U.P. Alumni Association on the Eve of its Annual Homecoming

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the Radio Program of the U. P. Alumni
Association on the Eve of its Annual Homecoming

[Delivered on April 19, 1947]

THE ROLE OF THE ALUMNI OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Once a year, in this season, members of the increasing family of graduates of our beloved Alma Mater foregather for one big fiesta of fellowship. One such big occasion is due tomorrow afternoon and I would urge all who can, to come and join in the reunion. This is an excellent custom which we do well to preserve to secure and enjoy the periodic renewal of inspiration and faith at our Alma Mater's bosom.

An alumni reunion is more than a mere opportunity for intimate exchange of affecting memories of personal and common experiences—refreshing and pleasurable as that is. It is more than an opportunity for checking up on the loose threads of our lives, of our associations and friendships, dating from our student days, and tying them together again where we can—touching and profitable as that is.

More important than all these, the alumni homecoming should provide occasion for an annual accounting of our individual and collective stewardship as citizens of our Republic and as members of that other broader association formed by devotees of art, science, and letters. It is a time to take stock of ourselves as individuals and as a group, a time to reckon with the "talents" we were certified to have upon graduation and take measure of how we have used them, what we have done with them, since we took our pledge as graduates to be loyal to our University and to serve our fellowmen. An alumni reunion is also an opportunity to revisit our University and see in what way we can be of service in promoting its welfare and advancement. This latter concern is particularly important at this time when our Alma Mater is struggling so hard to reestablish its facilities and standards and when we are planning to improve and expand its physical plant and curricular activities.

Our University is not the oldest institution of its kind in our country. But because it is the institution of higher learning of the Government, it must assume a special role of cultural leadership in this Republic. It has lived directly on the resources provided by our people; it is the people's university devoted to the service of the people. It has a continuing tradition of accomplishment set against this special background.

It is important that we bear this in mind as we find occasion to take a critical glance at the individual roles we have played as private citizens. The idea is not so much to find basis for self-congratulation as to determine whether we have measured up to our responsibility and how much more we can exert ourselves to fulfill what is expected of us.

The immediate question before us concerns our specific obligation to our University, to our respective communities, and to our country as a whole; and this must be viewed in the light of the devastation and disorganization visited upon us all by the last war. I realize that we have our individual problems of rehabilitation to think about. Our efforts, however, in this direction acquire significance and distinction according as they are tied up with and related to the rehabilitation of things bigger than each of us individually, things that transcend our individual selves in scope and importance.

Our University is one of these big things. Its present state of disrepair is a stupendous challenge to the breadth and depth of our loyalty, of our creative spirit, of our constructive abilities. What can we, what have we, to offer in organized effort, as a measure of our loyalty, our affection, our sense of obligation—what have we to offer our Alma Mater to help restore her to her accustomed position of beneficent power and prestige as a nursery for national leadership?

This question calls for more than mere systematic articulation at stated times of our love for our University. It calls for more than formal pious resolutions of good intentions. It requires positive and concrete effort on an organized basis of the members and leaders of the U P Alumni Association. It involves sitting down and taking thought of a program of action. It imposes definite knowledge of the problems of our University to determine which are within the scope of our Alumni Association and what definitely we can contribute to solve them. It demands a steadily broadening appreciation of the mission our University plays in the life of our country and the part which pertains to us as loyal alumni to help our Alma Mater discharge that mission.

I should like to see as a result of our periodic reunions the formulation of a schedule of concrete objectives worthy of every alumnus' militant adherence and participation. I should like such a schedule drawn up in response to the crying needs of our University and as dramatically brought into focus by the devastation it has suffered. I see no better way of enlisting the potentialities for constructive cooperation of our alumni in the service of the great institution which has made us what we are. And nothing can be more effective in fulfilling the basis for alumni solidarity and for lasting satisfaction in the hearts of all alumni who wish to be continually identified with this institution and its noble traditions.

What is expected of us in relation to our Alma Mater conflicts in no way with our obligations to our respective communities. As members of alumni circles and chapters in our respective provinces and municipalities, we constitute a privileged, distinguished group of responsible citizens imbued with certain noble principles and traditions. On occasions such as the present one, let us pause to appraise what we have done to date in our communities to discharge our obligations as individuals and to reflect honor on our great University. Let us ask: What problems—social, economic, or cultural—beset our neighborhood and what leadership have we to contribute towards their solution? What legitimate vision of better things to come do we or can we provide our fellow citizens as a high point around which to rally their interest, enthusiasm and direct cooperation to the end that the promise of the democratic life can be increasingly fulfilled for all our people?

What is true in respect of our immediate neighborhood may be enlarged to comprehend our country at large today. It is a question of expanding the sphere of our thought and action according as we succeed in discharging our responsibility in a limited field.

Our world is moving much too fast to make us happy as mere bystanders and spectators. Either we are active, constructive participants or we are splintered entities that may be crushed by circumstance into impotence and futility. In the state of flux in which our world presently is, we must support the forces that advance and build, and offer our every ounce of energy against the forces that subvert and destroy. We cannot remain watchers too long without forfeiting our hard-won rights and liberties and being destroyed ourselves.

In urging my fellow-alumni to join and act together in a movement to facilitate our country's reconstruction, I would ask you to get rid of the notion that all you need is a government job to get going. We cannot all be on the government payroll. Many of the constructive forces at work today in this country are outside the Government, and their rewards are often greater. But to whatever responsibility we are called, inside or outside the Government, let us make the most of our opportunities; let us create them where they do not exist, and affirm our capacity to shape our country's destiny and master our own.

I would not pretend that this privilege is restricted to the alumni of the University of the Philippines. It is the privilege, the opportunity, of every Filipino whatever the institution that has nurtured him. But I must say that greater things are expected of our U. P. alumni because they have been given greater facilities and more opportunities to prepare and qualify them for leadership.

> Let me take this occasion to voice my abiding hope that the alumni of the University of the Philippines will continue to acquit themselves most creditably in their stewardship of the light, the inspiration, and the faith which their Alma Mater has given them. They have been given much, and they must give more in return. This way lies the fulfillment of the University's mission and of the promise of enduring freedom and happiness for all our people.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas at the Inaugural Meeting of the USAFFE Veterans Association

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the Inaugural Meeting of the USAFFE Veterans Association

[Delivered on April 20, 1947]

COLONEL TUASON, GENERAL MOORE, FELLOW VETERANS:

I am very happy to have been asked to attend this inaugural meeting of the USAFFE Veterans Association. I see here this morning many of the men with whom I had been associated during the war. Probably the most important of those who are here is a man whom the veterans of the Philippines have learned to love and to admire not only because of his admirable record during the war but because of his abiding interest in the welfare of the Filipino veterans and of the Philippine Republic. I refer, my friends, to that great American, that great hero of Corregidor, one of the greatest friends of the Filipino people, our comrade, General Moore. (*Long applause*.)

I also see here this morning men who recall to my mind soul-stirring incidents during the dark days of the war, men who, during the most trying difficulties, had shown a devotion and a loyalty to their country and the principles for which our country and the United States fought, that can hardly be equalled. I see all of you, men who composed the backbone of the USAFFE in the Philippines, insofar as the Philippine Army was concerned, men who in that war rendered a priceless service to our nation and to the cause of liberty, and, because of their heroic sacrifices, have covered the Philippines and the Filipino race with glory for all time to come. (*Long applause*.)

I am sure that our great commander-in-chief during those days, the peerless soldier whose name is a by-word of patriotism and loyalty in the Philippines today, the man who, I am sure, will continue showing his interest in the welfare of this country and of the Filipino veterans, would have wished to be present at this reunion. I refer to General Douglas MacArthur, whom we all love—the man whose heroism brought honor to his country and ours and made possible the participation of the Filipinos in the epic Battle of the Philippines. (*Long applause*.)

Every member of this association has every reason to be proud that he is such a member. It was your privilege to fight for your country during that critical period of our history. That privilege was vouchsafed to you not only by the course of events but by Almighty God, and you should be grateful as I am grateful for that opportunity. But that privilege imposes upon you and upon me solemn obligations—the obligation to continue fighting for the principles for which we fought, the obligation to continue devoting our utmost to the service of our country, the obligation to labor now in this time of peace for the same things and for the priceless opportunities for which you risked your lives in that bitter war.

And I trust that this association that you have organized is motivated and inspired by no selfish aims. Whatever may be some of your goals, your principal aim should be service to your people and to your country.

The Filipinos fought in the last war without any mercenary motive. We do not commercialize patriotism in the Philippines. We do not put a dollar mark upon it. There are things that are more priceless and closer to our hearts than dollars and cents.

I trust that the organization of this association is not for the purpose of dividing the war veterans into USAFFE Veterans and Guerrilla Veterans. I trust that the only reason why the USAFFE Veterans have organized separately from the Guerrilla Veterans and vice versa is for the purpose of maintaining fraternal associations which are valuable to the morale of the men that compose each of those organizations.

But on fundamental matters, matters affecting our country, in matters affecting the interests of all the veterans— all the members of the USAFFE and of the Guerrillas can all be united, and you must be united if you want to succeed in your present and future undertakings. (*Long applause*.)

One of the important questions, which probably is in the mind of this convention and it is in my mind too, is the question of the proper recognition of the USAFFE veterans by the Government of the United States. That is a question which involves not merely dollars and cents. It is a question which involves the historical integration of the Philippine-American forces in the Philippines, the American Army and the members of the Philippine Army that were inducted into the service of the United States.

I remember distinctly that day in July, 1941, when the President of the United States, in accordance with the powers granted to him by our Constitution, called the Philippine Army into the service of the forces of the United States. You, who were members of the Philippine Army at that time, and the reserve personnel who were later on called to the colors, were so inducted. The question now arises whether that action taken by the President of the United States and given effect by the President of the Commonwealth in a proclamation, made the Philippine Army part and parcel of the Army of the United States.

For practical purposes, it was so considered. It was so considered by General MacArthur not only at the time when that order was promulgated but even as late as 1943. We fought together. We fought for the same principles. We fought under the same flags. We were nationals of the same country and it was our understanding at that time that we owed a double loyalty not only to our people and to our Government but also to the Government and the people of the United States of America. And the sacrifices and the heroism exhibited by Filipino soldiers during that war were unsurpassed, and their loyalty unquestioning. There was in the heart and in the soul of every Filipino soldier in the front lines, a full devotion to the cause of liberty, a devotion to the flag of our country, to the glorious flag of the United States of America. I am certain that no Filipino at that time ever made a distinction as to his loyalty to the United States or to the Philippines. His loyalty to the Philippines was identical with his loyalty to the United States and his loyalty to the United States was identical with his loyalty to the Philippines; and, I am sure the Filipinos would have fought with the same valor and with the same loyalty if they had fought only for the American flag instead of fighting under the blended shadow of the American and the Filipino flags. (*Applause*.)

Peoples in other parts of the world would have difficulty in understanding this loyalty; but not we in the Philippines.

We have lived under the American flag for over 40 years. Practically all of us who formed the Philippine Army were the product of the great experiment in democracy and altruism inaugurated by the United States in the Philippines. We were all educated in the public schools opened by American soldiers who first came here in 1898. We were imbued with the principles and traditions of America. We were taught and we learned to love liberty and democracy. We were conscious of the noble things that America had done for our country, not only in the field of idealism but likewise in material progress. We felt a deep gratitude and affection for the United States, and had a great confidence in her aims in the world. We knew that America was not a predatory power; that America had no ambitions for territorial expansion; that America did not seek to dominate either the actions or the consciences of the peoples of the world; that America did not seek to implant her sovereignty over the lands of others. We knew, because we had drunk deep from the great fountain-source of American liberty and traditions, that America was fighting for the same things which the Filipinos had learned it was their duty to die for—liberty, justice, and democracy. That is why we gave our devotion without stint to the great people of the United States. And we fought.

Many of our comrades fell on the wayside. Many of them died in the fields of battle and others in concentration camps.

I believe I can state without fear of contradiction that there is not a single army of any nation of the world, without any exception, which has shown greater patriotism and devotion and eagerness to fight, and has suffered more casualties, than the USAFFE in the Philippines. (*Long applause*.)

Human action is susceptible of practical demonstration when it relates to things of the spirit and of the heart; human devotion and loyalty can be measured by the sacrifices made to prove that loyalty. Because the USAFFE in the

Philippines has lost approximately 50 per cent of all its contingents, I repeat, there is no army in the world that had shown greater devotion and greater loyalty than the USAFFE. (*Long applause*.)

Now, the war is over. It is the duty of governments to recognize the services of their fighting men, not only because it is just and fair that they be given material compensation for their sacrifices, but also because it is proper that governments do everything within their power to prove that they value these services, so that when a new emergency should occur men would come and join the colors with enthusiasm and with confidence that their Government will take care of them after the war and will take care of their widows and orphans.

The United States Government, conscious of this obligation, inasmuch as you were a part of the United States forces, at first considered Filipino war veterans, members of the USAFFE and recognized guerrillas, entitled to the same privileges, compensations and gratuities as other veterans of the United States Army. Such was the interpretation of the Missing Persons Act when it was enacted, I believe in 1942. And that was not only the belief of the veterans and the guerrillas fighting in the Philippines, but also the understanding and interpretation of many officers who were in command of the American Army at that time.

During the campaign for liberation that understanding continued. Nothing was said in the Philippines during those hectic days concerning conditions and restrictions, or doubts that have later been expressed as to the rights of members of the USAFFE and other veterans to receive compensation, gratuities, allowances or arrears in pay, granted to all veterans of that war under the Missing Persons Act.

The first intimation received by the Filipinos that this question would be raised was when the Rescission Act of 1946 was approved in February of that year. I am not informed what understanding the Government of the Commonwealth at that time or its representatives had, if they had any with the Government of the United States, concerning the effect of the provisions of this Rescission Act. I believe, however, that our Government should have opposed the passage of that Rescission Act with all the energy and firmness at its command.

That Rescission Act provides in substance, as interpreted by the Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, that all the gratuities and privileges and compensations authorized by the Missing Persons Act for members of the United States forces are not applicable—are not applicable, I repeat—to veterans of the Philippines, except in two particulars: first, with regard to insurance, and the other exception, with regard to disability and death benefits.

The question of arrears in pay was not expressly touched upon in that act. No provision was made for hospitalization for disabled and sick veterans. No provision was made for educational benefits and for economic aid as are provided in the American GI Bill of Rights.

The first thing that I did soon after my inauguration, conscious as I was of the importance of this matter and determined as I was and as I still am to see that justice be done to Filipino veterans, was to send General Duque with a small staff to the United States for the purpose of presenting this matter before the Secretary of War and other officials of the United States. The position of the Filipino veterans and of the Philippine Government on this matter was ably presented by General Duque.

After that, I wrote a personal letter to President Truman referring to this problem and pleading especially for proper provisions for hospitalization service for disabled veterans, for the care of widows and orphans and for educational benefits. As a result of my letter, President Truman appointed an Inter-Departmental committee to study all these questions. That Inter-Departmental committee submitted a progress report which was included in a bill submitted to the Congress in its last session but which failed of approval because it did not come for consideration until the last day of the session and unanimous consent was necessary in order to obtain its consideration by the House.

The bill provides for hospitalization and for funeral expenses. I have been promised that the Inter-Departmental committee is going to continue considering the question of educational benefits and economic aid. But the question of arrears in pay has developed in such a way that I understand it has greatly disturbed the minds of the USAFFE veterans and, I believe, justly so.

It is not true, as many believe, that the War Department cannot pay arrears in pay to USAFFE veterans. The ruling of the Attorney General and of the Judge Advocate General of the United States Army is that the American Army can continue to pay subject to the rules and regulations established by the War Department.

The great question before us is first, one of principle. The other, is a question of fairness of the so-called regulation under which arrears in pay may be authorized. The question of principle involved is this: "Is it right, is it just that Filipinos who have served and have fought under the American flag with the same motives and the same loyalty as other members of the United States forces, should be subjected to a double standard of compensation or gratuities, or proof of appreciation by the American Government for those services, by treating them differently from their American comrades?"

I believe it is our right not only to ourselves but also for the honor of the organization to which you belong to respectfully submit to the Government and the Congress of the United States that the USAFFE of the Philippines, Americans as well as Filipinos, be accorded the same treatment because they were a part of the same force, because they fought for the same things, because when Japanese bullets were hurled against them, these bullets did not inquire whether the person who was to be shot down was an American or a Filipino, and because we were loyal to the same institutions and the same flag. It is our right to expect that we be given the same evidences of the recognition of appreciation by the people and the Government of America. (*Long applause*.)

That, my friends, is probably a matter of sentiment. It may not have practical effects; nevertheless sentiment in this world is of great importance. Sentiment comes from the souls of men, from the hearts of men, the same source from which patriotism and devotion to principles and to country emanate. And I believe that this association can very properly submit to the Government and the Congress of the United States and the people of America our desire, our great ambition that there be no distinction between Americans and Filipinos as far as the USAFFE is concerned.

The other question concerns a more practical subject—the back-pay. A better understanding of conditions obtaining in the Philippines during the occupation by the officials whose duty it is to decide what particular men in the USAFFE are entitled to arrears in pay and other privileges is absolutely necessary. I have read the regulations of the War Department. They provide that anybody who has been released from a prison camp and returned to his home and lived (the regulation says) "a practically normal life", will not be entitled to arrears in pay from the date of his release from the prison camp.

Anyone who had been in the Philippines at that time knows and, if he doesn't, he should know, that 90 per cent if not more of the men who were imprisoned in Capas and other prison camps were sick, that they could not lead a normal life. They had to go home for several reasons: first, because that was the order of the Japanese military authorities; second, because they needed the care of their families in order to nurse them back to health; and third, they could not themselves make a living. (*Long applause*.)

It is unfair by general rule to provide that just because a man went back home immediately after his release, he is not entitled to arrears in pay. These men were subjected to impositions and constant vigilance by the Japanese who did not permit their leading a normal life.

Two or three months ago, I came across the order of the Japanese military command to the people who were paroled from prison camps: they were ordered on pain of very severe penalties that they go home; that they were to report periodically to the military police as to their whereabouts and activities; that they were to report if they obtained employment; that they were to report if they changed their domicile; that they were to report if they were to leave the province or municipality; and that they were to report if they died. (*Long applause*.) That is no joke. It is so stated in that Order.

I object and object strenuously to the other regulation which says that a man who accepted employment under the Japanese government or the puppet government is *ipso facto* barred from receiving arrears in pay, and I say that I am very strongly opposed to that because I know that some of you who are here today, obtained employment in order to spy upon or to watch other people who were employed in the Japanese government. If that rule were to be imposed, one of the greatest heroes of this war among the Filipinos, a man who was made a colonel in our forces and was

commissioned directly by General Douglas MacArthur, because he was employed in the Amusement Service of the Government, could not receive arrears in pay. And he was shot by the Japanese because of his work for our forces. I refer to Colonel Jose Ozamis.

Colonel Castaneda, who is here today (*Long applause*), would not be entitled to arrears in pay because under my instructions he accepted the position of Governor of Cavite because I ordered him to consolidate the guerrillas of Cavite and to prepare for the landing of the Americans. (*Long applause*.)

Manuel del Villar, a gallant officer of the guerrillas, could not now receive arrears in pay because he was working in the Customs House.

And the brave pilots whom we employed, whom we asked to obtain employment in the Port of Manila, in order to watch the movement of Japanese ships and to report them to the coast watchers in Mindoro and other places so that American submarines might waylay the ships, such as Mañosa and others, could not now receive arrears in pay. There are thousands of others.

The people whom we enlisted in the Constabulary for the purpose of maintaining the loyalty of that organization on the condition that upon our indication they would desert and join the guerrilla forces, which they did—they, too, would not be able to receive arrears in pay. (*Long applause*.)

My friends, I am sure that there is no desire on the part of the United States Government to do any injustice to any man or to place the least blot on the great name of the USAFFE. I am not going to discuss with more detail the other items of those regulations. I will only say this: That I agree fully and completely with one of its provisions—that any member of the USAFFE or any other veteran of the Philippines who is proven to have been disloyal to his country or to the United States should not only be denied arrears in pay but also every other compensation, gratuity or benefit provided for veterans. (*Long applause*.)

But unless that proof is established, unless a man who seeks compensation or gratuities accorded to him by law can be disqualified on that ground, and I believe on that ground alone, he should be entitled to receive the compensation and gratuities fixed in the law.

I assure you, my friends, that your Government is doing everything within its power to advocate action in settlement of these problems with speed and fairness both to you and to the Government of the United States, and with proper regard of the great fundamental principle of justice which, I am sure, will always inspire the policies of the American Government. It is necessary, however, that all these questions and facts be laid squarely and clearly before the people of America and before the officials of America whose duty it is to pass upon them.

The American Ambassador in Washington is also doing everything within his power with the assistance of a prominent veteran, Colonel Velasquez, to obtain favorable consideration of our petitions. Brigadier General Romulo is actively cooperating to enlist the help of the veterans associations of the United States.

Nevertheless, if this association believes that the questions are not being presented completely, that there are other facts that should be considered, I would welcome the organization by you of a small committee composed of not more than three men who could go to the United States upon your responsibility, to cooperate with our representatives there for the proper presentation of this question to the American Government. I believe this mission could be very helpful. (*Long applause*.)

I advise and I counsel that there should be no impatience shown in the advocacy of your petition, that there should be no bitterness expressed. It would be unnecessary. It would be unfair. It would react unfavorably to your cause. Have confidence, as I have always had and I still have confidence, that America will always do right by us, by our country, and by our people. Prove to the Government and Congress of the United States that by justice and by right we are entitled to certain things, and you can be sure that justice will not be denied to you. Action may be delayed, it may take a few months and probably a year or two but I am confident, judging from our past experience with

America, that in the end, justice will be done to us if we know how to present our case with dignity and perseverance. (*Long applause*.)

And so, my friends, I wish to thank you again for inviting me to this inaugural convention. Let me reiterate my profound interest in the great name of the USAFFE and in the individual welfare of all veterans. But, as we think of the interests of those who are living, let us not forget the widows and orphans of our dead comrades. Our first obligation is to them, and I assure you that I will never let them down. (*Long applause . . . Cries of "MABUHAY"*.)

NOTE.—On July 27, 1941, President F. D. Roosevelt ordered the Philippine Army and Constabulary including 150,000 reservists to be available for duty with the armed forces of the U. S. At the same time he called back to duty General Douglas MacArthur, with the rank of Lieutenant General, and placed him in command of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE).

This presidential address enumerates the reasons why the USAFFE veterans organized themselves.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

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OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

ATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Address of President Roxas at the 40th Convention of the Philippine Medical Association

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the 40th Convention of the Philippine Medical Association

[Delivered on May 7, 1947]

Mr. CHAIRMAN, YOUR GRACE, MEMBERS OF THE
PHILIPPINE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, MY FRIENDS:

I believe that I would have been able to obtain more benefits and the country would have been able to obtain better advantages after this session if I had been invited only to listen to the remarks made by your Chairman and Dr. Del Mundo of certain things which the government might do to help the health program of the Philippines and to assist in some way in improving the present situation of the members of the medical profession. To the views expressed here, I am in deep assent and I wish right now to state that I am recommending to the Secretary of Health the careful consideration of the suggestions and views expressed here.

As I gazed upon this gathering this morning upon my arrival, my heart was filled with a certain amount of pardonable envy. Right after finishing my high school, I tried to study law but I could find no place where I could study law in English. The college of law of the University of the Philippines had not been opened at that time, and so I compromised with myself and my own ambition and started studying medicine.

I am very much interested in those preparatory studies and I wish to impart to you a feeling that now possesses my heart. I believe I have made a mistake in changing later on from medicine to law.

As I see your very calm and apparently settled faces, if I had studied medicine I would be sitting in one of those chairs the same as you, I am sure, with less silver in my hair and less wrinkles in my face, and certainly with more worldly possession than I have today.

I have a great respect for the medical profession. If the preservation of the human resources of a nation is of prime importance, for no nation can exist without the population that composes it and no nation can be healthy and strong without a strong population, we can conclude that the future happiness and welfare of the nation depends in a great measure on the health of its population and the health of the population depends not only on the Government but particularly on the members of the medical profession.

I believe our nation has learned to appreciate the services of the doctors in our country. I can say without fear of contradiction that I believe that the doctors are the only members of a profession that have not profiteered during these extraordinary times. There are, of course, some exceptions of people who have profiteered with medical supplies. In other words, they are making as much money as the Chinese at the corner. But, by and large, I believe that every medical practitioner in the Philippines can be proud of the part he played during the darkest hours of our time.

I studied medicine about two months and I assure you, I have not learned a single thing of value. But very often, we lawyers, for example, learn more from listening to a man who is not a lawyer than to a member of our profession.

When a lawyer talks to me I think there is nothing he can teach me, but when a doctor talks to me, I open my ears and listen to him because everything that he imparts is something new to me.

There is nothing I can tell you about the medical profession, but I can tell you what the government is doing to restore our country to health. We are appropriating today for the Department of Health a much larger amount than we were appropriating before the war. During the current fiscal year we appropriated P7,000,000 for the Department of Health and Public Welfare. I have asked for P8,000,000 for the next fiscal year. This appropriation will be supplemented by an appropriation amounting to P16,000,000 coming from the U. S. Government. This P16,000,000 will be spent during the next three or four years. This amount, however, is going to be spent for public health purposes; but in some respects, it will also be spent to help the medical profession generally.

I believe you have a right to be congratulated because of your success in preventing epidemics from breaking out here as a consequence of the war. In practically every country in the world that has been a battleground, epidemics broke out. Probably, the Philippines is the only part of the earth where actual fighting occurred, a country that was occupied by the enemy for over three and a half years, in which the health of the population in general was not neglected. We have to thank Almighty God and our own efforts and the cooperation of all the members of the medical profession for its success up to now and I hope that it will continue to prevent the outbreak of epidemics in this country.

Tuberculosis is still one of our most important problems. The incidence of tuberculosis is still the largest in the Philippines. Malaria is only second to tuberculosis. I have studied this question and discussed it with my medical advisers and they say that hospitalization and segregation alone will not solve the problem of tuberculosis.

The problem of malaria is being fought right at the very source by malaria control units that our own Department of Health is establishing and other units established by the United States Health Service.

Now with respect to all these matters: tuberculosis and beri-beri and other diseases, there arise the problems of preventive medicine in which I bespeak your cooperation—problems as to better living conditions, better houses, better sewer system; problems affecting a more intelligent method of living not by a few but by all our people, by the masses, through health education.

Finally, we have the great and fundamental problem of nutrition. Nutrition is one of the basic and most urgent problems not only in this country but also in practically every country of the world today. But the problem presents itself differently in each country. In devastated countries in Europe, the problem is undernourishment. People have to be satisfied with 2,500 calories a day. I believe in the Philippines that is not our problem. The problem is not that we do not have enough to eat. The problem is that we do not eat intelligently. We do not balance our diet. Take rice. For a long time I have reached the conclusion that Filipinos eat too much rice which is not good for them. They could exchange part of the rice that they eat with other food that contains more protein and fats and other materials of greater food value.

Despite the fact that in the Philippines, almost anywhere, even m Manila, on the sidewalks, you can grow certain very important vegetables of great food value, the value of these different kinds of vegetables has not been propagated enough, and it seems to me there is an impression among Filipinos that when a man eats too much vegetable, he is not keeping up with the standard of his social position; that if a man eats camote he is a man below the standard.

I do not advocate that we must substitute all the rice that we eat with camote, but I remember that during the Japanese occupation in areas about which I obtained information—areas that ate yellow camote—there was practically no beriberi. And this is the information that should be gathered, and that should be propagated: a dietary program for the masses of the population should be formulated and demonstration stations should be established to teach the Filipinos what to eat and how to eat.

Other peoples in other countries were able to build up physical prowess with less food than Filipinos use or consume in the Philippines. Because I have been very much concerned about this problem, I have asked the Department of

Health as soon as possible to set up an institute of nutrition. I want your collaboration, your cooperation in expediting the organization of this institute. I should like every medical practitioner from anywhere in the country to give information to this institute as to his observations concerning the result and the physical condition of the people in his locality that are consuming certain forms of diet, that we may compare this information with others.

I should like to have a complete inventory of all the materials that could be produced in the Philippines that would be useful for the diet of our people.

There are many food materials produced in some places in our country that are unknown in other parts, which could probably be produced in those parts as well. I wish we could have the cooperation of every civic-minded citizen in this program. We will not only bring down the cost of living; we will not only reach self-sufficiency in rice much sooner; but we are going to help in building up the health of our population and thereby increase their resistance to disease.

Fight tuberculosis by teaching every individual to live under the most healthful condition and how to feed himself properly, how to breathe, how to take exercise, rather than spend millions and millions every year taking care of people whose hope for recovery is indeed very small.

I should like to emphasize the activities of the government with the cooperation of the members of the medical profession, in the field of preventive medicine, and I trust, my friends, that you will afford your cooperation to the government.

With regard to hospitals, we are still struggling with the problem of restoring our pre-war hospitals and the opening of new ones. We have a certain amount of equipment—too much of certain things, too little or probably none of the others.

We do not have buildings. We do not even have beds. We have to restore these facilities gradually. We do not have funds in many cases. The cost of operating these hospitals has increased enormously. Formerly, I believe, we used to spend thirty centavos per day for every free patient in the Philippine General Hospital. Today, I think we are spending more than P1 and I do not believe we are feeding those men as they should be fed.

I want to increase the salaries of medical employees in the government but this is a matter of arithmetic and arithmetic has no heart and cannot be manipulated no matter how you look at it. Five plus five is ten and if you put ten for expenditures and ten for income they balance, but if you put twelve for expenditures and ten for income, you have a deficit of two and you cannot wave it aside and say “Forget it”.

Let me tell you, gentlemen, that we are now paying a living bonus to employees receiving salaries up to P200 a month and that item alone in our appropriation amounts to P38 million a year. Just by providing a living bonus for employees receiving up to P200 a month, the government is spending P38 million. And, do you know what P38 million means compared to the total expenditures of the government before the war? It is 35% of the appropriation of the government before the war.

For teachers alone—let me express my satisfaction here to be able to report that before the war we had less than 2 million students and now we have 3,200,000—we have now 56,000 school teachers and we are spending approximately P60 million for schools alone, more than twice what we spent before the war.

I want to help the medical practitioners but I cannot provide them with a living wage without providing the same compensation to other employees of the government. Take the pharmacists, for instance. Take the engineers, the mechanics. They have as much right to old age pension as the medical practitioners.

So, my friends, if the government is not able to help you in those respects, I urge you to have a little patience. Let us build up this country’s economy and wait for larger revenues. Then we could be of more assistance to the medical practitioners.

Another thing I would like to ask this association is to take an earnest and constant interest in our medical schools, their courses of instruction, and the standard they are maintaining. I should like this association to have some power to discipline its own members. You will have the fullest cooperation of the government insofar as the use by them, or by private practitioners for that matter, of the facilities in the clinics and hospitals under its control is concerned.

I would like to help you if you will undertake the organization of a great medical center here. I promise you every assistance, financial or otherwise. But you have to take the initiative and assume the responsibility. The Philippines needs a great medical center, a center that could be considered the home of every medical man and a place where he can go to read about the progress of science and scientific investigations and consult his colleagues in certain cases that he may have. Let it be something that will serve and continue to serve and will permit the growth of the members of the medical profession and the enlargement of their sources of information.

I have talked to several doctors on that subject. I told them that if the members of the medical profession come together and decide to organize a medical center, I am going to help them so that they may be able to get a good location for their building that will house their laboratories and offices and help them finance in erecting the building. I believe the medical profession will never acquire the proper consciousness of its members as to its responsibility to the public as a whole and to the nation unless there is a center of activity, the source of assistance and information that you, I am sure, need for the proper practice of your profession.

Let me express my great gratitude because of the fact that you are meeting periodically to discuss problems and to learn of experiments and investigations that some of the members have conducted and all information about the progress of the science of medicine achieved in other lands of which you have a right to be informed.

If there is anything that the government can do to assist you, I trust you will communicate with the Secretary of Health and Public Welfare and I assure you that the limited resources of our government will be at your disposal.

I thank you.

NOTE.—The views expressed by the other speakers in the opening session of the convention, to which the President refers, concerned (*a*) the need for living bonus and old age pension for physicians in the public health service; (*b*) close coordination of the activities of private practitioners and those of the public physicians; (*c*) setting up of a program to give selected medical graduates a continued training beyond internship; (*d*) separation of the technical from the administrative service in the hospitals; and (*e*) making medical service available to all.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas before a Convention of Lawyers

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Before a Convention of Lawyers

[Delivered on May 18, 1947]

CHAIRMAN, FELLOW LAWYERS:

As I rise to respond to the call of the chair to address this convention, I must say in jest that this assemblage looks more like a bankers' convention than a lawyers' convention. That is the impression I gather as I gaze upon the members of this profession not only because of the outward manifestation of hopefulness which you carry but because of the look of seriousness and earnestness that I see in your faces.

It seems that lawyers all over the Philippines recognize that something should be done by them not only to raise the standard of their noble profession but to give their unstinted cooperation to the government in order to preserve and safeguard at all times not only the independence of the judiciary but the improvement of the administration of justice.

As a lawyer, probably as much as President of the Philippines, I have felt that, too. During these days when the world is in a state of flux, when concepts of justice and of equity flicker in the brains of men, and because people try to secure that which they believe are their rights as members of the legal profession, I feel that I have a great duty to perform.

We are confronted not only with the material and physical problems that face a war-torn country, but likewise, with a need for rededicating our own selves to the realm of ethics and morals. There has been a great degeneration in the moral fiber of the people, although this is true not only in our country but probably in every other country in the world.

When the administration of justice is very deeply and directly concerned with the maintenance of those inhibitions alone can we protect the moral fiber, the moral concept of the nation? Humanity at large is bewildered.

Peoples of all nations are happy because the war has ended. They are happy because we have peace. But in their eagerness for the enjoyment of those precious and priceless things which peace alone can give, they look around and find that there is no peace. Every country in the world is trying to answer this very vital question which the people of all parts of the world are asking, "What have we won?"

Equity and fairness in dealing among men as well as in dealing among nations, are concepts which seem to have no place in the minds of men called upon to decide this vital question. All the nations in international conferences speak of rights as they see without opening their eyes to the rights claimed by other peoples. There does not seem to be a regard for the absolute necessity that so long as the international situation is such, and so long as no organization has yet been established to enforce justice, men must be guided by fairness and equity. But we must see every side of the situation in order that conflicts may be avoided, and that is true in the social systems of the different nations of the world, particularly in our own.

Labor clamors for justice. Capital seeks justice. The members of different professions demand justice. Some professional men want certain things. The engineers and others demand other things. Even some members of that profession, called chemical engineers, the number of the members of which I ignore, demand attention. I only know there is not a single university that grants that degree in the Philippines, yet I notice that a law has been passed by Congress requiring that no factory in the Philippines may be opened, established or operated unless they employ one

chemical engineer. I fear there are not enough chemical engineers in the Philippines to go around. An industrial chemist is not enough, whatever might be the difference between the chemical engineer and the industrial chemist. Sugar centrals before the war used to employ ordinary chemists or industrial chemists, but this condition will not obtain when the law is approved. Sugar centrals, all factories—soap factories or even candle factories—cannot be opened unless they employ chemical engineers.

It seems that every group of men is no longer satisfied with the general principles of fairness and equity but the members thereof must band themselves together in order to insure the protection of that particular group.

When I advocated some months ago before a gathering of lawyers the need of organizing a bar association, I had in mind not the protection of the particular selfish interests of lawyers as a group. I had in mind the creation of an organization representing the lawyers of the Philippines which should be instrumental in helping the government establish in this country a judicial system of which we can all be proud, an organization that will really insure the selection of the ablest and most honest members of the bar for positions in the judiciary, an organization which the government might call on to consult on these important appointments, an organization representative enough and composed of high-minded, honest, fearless men who can be relied upon by the government and by me particularly for sound and good advice.

I proposed that association in order that we might establish a body that can cooperate with the Supreme Court in taking disciplinary action against members of the profession, members that may dishonor rather than glorify that profession. I proposed that organization because I desire the cooperation of every lawyer to see to it that all the courts in this country, not only the high courts, not only the courts of first instance, but also the municipal courts and justice of the peace courts as well, might at all times be instruments of justice in the defense of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to every individual member and might be respected by the people of the different communities which they serve.

I have been told that it is impossible for the lawyers in the Philippines to organize a national bar association unless they are compelled or coerced to do so by law. I do not believe it. As a lawyer, I would be the first one to rebel against any proposal to compel me to join an association if I thought I should not join that association. Compulsory methods are hateful to the members of our profession.

I believe there is enough civic spirit and patriotism and intelligence in every lawyer in the Philippines to realize without compulsion the need for the organization of a national bar association—a bar association not only national in name but national in truth—with which all the members of the profession, practically all members of the profession, may be affiliated. That can be done, and will be done.

There are many things that interest the lawyers of this country, which very soon will attract your attention. I wish to tell you this confidentially, my friends, and when I say confidentially I mean confidentially, because I wish to take members of the profession into my confidence on this matter. Every time Secretary Ozaeta approaches me with the information that there is a vacancy in the judiciary, I do not eat for three days. I know how difficult it is to decide in the selection of men who should be appointed. I assure you that I do my best to select the best men that I know for these positions. But I may make mistakes, probably I have already made some mistakes.

When a man from the provinces is proposed for appointment as a judge, I cannot go to the individual lawyers and ask them what they think of the appointment. Sometimes, I do not even know the man. I have to content myself with gathering information about him. I ask the judge of first instance and find that in many cases his information is very superficial because his stay in the given province has not been long enough for him to be acquainted with the private life or the professional ability of the nominee. I inquire about the nominee from lawyers. However, in this case I find a number of conflicting pieces of information about the man. If a friend is asked, he is all for him. He praises him to the skies. If the man asked happens to be a man who has his own ambition or a man belonging to the opposite party, or is not very friendly to that particular individual, I find his information so diametrically opposite to that supplied by friends of the nominee that I find myself asking the question whether men are so devoid of the power of observation that an exceptionally intelligent and honest man living with his friends can at the same time be a saint and a devil.

But if we have a national bar association, I could come to your committee and ask you about any given individual, and if the members of the committee do not know him, they can communicate with the chapters in the different provinces and obtain from them the consensus of opinion among the members of the legal profession concerning that individual and his particular ability. There is one thing, however, that I will not do. I am not going to ask the representatives of the national bar association to initiate appointments. I mean, I do not want the national committee of the bar association to come to me in case vacancies exist, with a long list of candidates for those vacancies. I would be very happy to have a list of lawyers who, in the opinion of the national committee, may be considered for appointment; but I would very much dislike to have the members of the national committee act to promote the appointment of particular friends or associates of these different men. I have thought of that rule for the protection of the members of the bar association's national committee themselves; otherwise, we may find that members of the national committee will be prompted by requests of particular lawyers from some parts of the country asking for appointment to one position or another and before long we will find members of the national bar association committee having as their main function merely to obtain appointment for the men who are their friends or more intimate associates as members of the judiciary.

I should like to have an arrangement whereby I can go to members of the bar association and ask their opinion on appointments that I am considering. I want their answers, "yes" or "no". Their opinion may not be always definitive to me but I assure you their opinion will have great weight in my judgment.

With regard to the civil code, I desire to say that we are doing everything we can to expedite the work of the committee. I have received assurances at this time that the work will be undertaken with earnestness and efficiency. I have received assurances that early next year, I am going to receive a report of the committee on the civil code. I should like to have an organization of the bar association to which I could indorse copies of this proposed civil code and give it ample time to distribute the copies among its members and receive suggestions thereon so that it will be of really great importance to everyone when it is submitted to Congress for consideration. The code will then carry with it the name and the representation of the members of the national bar association of the Philippines.

You may have to create several committees to study the different portions of this code. I should like you to devote some hours to that matter. The government is eager to receive your cooperation. As a matter of fact, I believe your cooperation is absolutely necessary. I do not believe it will be radically different from the present civil code; but there will be some important changes and I trust that the government, particularly the Congress, will be able to count with the cooperation of the members of the national bar association.

And now, my friends, I wish to ask you when you return to your different provinces to feel that, as private practitioners, you are not only in theory but in fact part and parcel of the judicial system of the Philippines. Under the law and jurisprudence, lawyers are officers of the court. That should not only be a theory but it should be a concept accepted by every lawyer together with a consciousness of the obligations that his relations with the courts impose upon him.

And, I should like you to communicate with the Department of Justice anything that in your opinion may help to improve the judicial system of the Philippines. That imposes upon you the duty of formulating complaints, of giving information to the Department of Justice and the courts of first instance as to the conduct of each judge and the other officers of the court and of the provincial fiscal, whether they are acting with absolute loyalty to their offices and are doing their duty as the law expects them to do their duty, or whether they are neglecting those duties and in some cases flagrantly violating them. That, at least, the government and your people have the right to expect from you.

But in the performance of that duty, I trust that the lawyers of the Philippines will so establish their prestige for honest dealing with the government in this matter that it may be justified in giving full importance, full credit and importance, to information received from lawyers from different parts of the country.

I trust you will not be swayed by selfish considerations, by partisan motives, or motives of purely personal nature. You are, after all, together with the judges and other officers of the country the tripod upon which is established the administration of justice in our country. Justice, to me, is something more than the moral intangible concept of giving to everyone his due and punishing those that are guilty of violating the law. Justice must be pure. It must be

practical. It must be fair. It must be prompt. It must be fierce. A mere lip service to justice does not establish justice in our land. Justice must take form; it must take substance. Justice must affect the life of every individual.

And I assure you that this country would be an important, a better country even during these critical days, if we have a bar and courts of justice that are fearless, that cannot be swayed from duty by political or other extraneous influence, if we have a fearless bar composed of members of the profession that think first of duty to God and to Country before their own particular interest.

And so, my friends, I invite you to take stock of your responsibilities to your profession, to your country, and to your fellow-citizens. We cannot do that alone. Discharge the obligations that we owe to our people under the courts and under the laws. We need your cooperation. We must have your cooperation.

I trust that each one in his own heart make the pledge to do his duty in that respect as we do.

I thank you.

NOTE.—In this address he reiterated what he said on October 12 1946 before the Philippine Bar Association that such an organization is justified if it can become "a useful and organic adjunct to the judicial system". See No. 37.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Address of President Roxas on Memorial Day

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On Memorial Day

[Delivered on May 30, 1947]

"THEY GAVE THEIR LIVES THAT OTHER NATIONS
MIGHT SHARE THE BLESSINGS OF FREEDOM
AND DEMOCRACY"

COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

Today America honors her soldiers dead. In a thousand places all over that land and overseas, Americans gather on hallowed ground to pay tribute to their memory. The people of the Philippines participate in the ceremonies held in this country because these dead are as much the heroes of this Republic as they are of America. The soldiers who fought and died at Lexington and Concord, at Valley Forge and Appomatox, at the Argonne and Belleau Woods, at Midway and the Coral Sea, at Leyte Gulf and Carigara, at Lingayen and Manila, at Bataan and Corregidor, in order that the people of America might enjoy the freedoms and liberties that they cherish, have served our nation as much as their own. For the Philippines is free because America is free! The world at large is indebted to these heroes of peace and justice for all mankind.

To those who died on Philippine soil, first, to defend our nation against treacherous aggression and, later, to liberate our land from the clutches of a cruel enemy, the Filipino people are particularly indebted. We shall never forget them! We shall treasure their memory as an eloquent expression of the love of America for our people and of the community of ideals which bind our two nations and inspired the youth of both to battle side by side and die in the same trenches under the shadow of our two flags.

On a day like this, however, while we recall particular individuals who were our friends or who fell around us in the same ranks, our minds irresistibly grasp at a broader view of the events that brought about their heroic sacrifices. We ponder the significance of the conflict in which they were engaged and the cause for which they fought. They gave their lives that other nations might share the blessings of freedom and democracy, of justice and peace, of equal opportunity for all, which we treasure. In the last two world wars, we Americans and Filipinos fought to preserve these blessings not only for ourselves but for all the peoples of the earth. The cause was noble, heroic. It was predicated on the assumption that all men, that all races and creeds, were born of a common humanity and entitled to the same freedoms and happiness that we want for ourselves. They were attempts to resist brutal aggressions by evil forces that enthroned might rather than justice in the realm of international affairs. In these two conflicts the free-loving peoples of the world joined hands to defeat the forces of evil which practiced the laws of the jungle to annihilate weak and defenseless neighbors. Our aim in these two wars was not merely to vanquish and punish the aggressors but also to establish a world order that would insure permanent peace under a regime of equality and justice for all peoples and the freedom of all men.

We have won both wars. The enemy has been crushed. We pay tribute to the memory of our dead heroes who died in the fields of battle or in prison camps. We have counted the lives and the wealth lost on the fight. We are going through the painful crisis which is the aftermath of all wars to adjust our lives to peace conditions while we pay for the cost of the war. But what of the causes for which we fought? What of the goals we set out to accomplish? What of the aims we were determined to achieve? Have we succeeded in insuring the world against another catastrophe?

Are we taking steps to forestall another savage aggression that will convert the whole earth into another Armageddon? Are we laying the foundations for the creation of the social and economic conditions for all mankind which alone can prevent a repetition of the tragedy which we have just passed? To these questions I cannot in good conscience give an affirmative answer. Unless we are able to do so truthfully, we will have to recognize the futility of the sacrifice of the lives of the men whom we honor today. For our failure, we shall be answerable not only to them but to our children.

Thus far we have failed. The United Nations Organization is still an infant that has to be carefully nurtured into strength and power. There is not much difference between the attitude of governments today and their attitude of yesterday. With few exceptions this attitude is still inspired by selfishness and greed.

Our world still looks to me as a monumental sphere of many active and reactive components. Internal tension in each part is mighty; the surface tension of the whole is but precariously adjusted to the sum of the various parts. The tensions accumulate; the conflicting dynamic forces threaten inevitable addition to an explosive total. Disaster, chaos, and war are fears present in the hearts of thoughtful men.

This concept is no idle flight of fancy. It is real and true. Most of the leaders of the world know it in their minds, as most of the people of the world know in their hearts. Listen, and hear the rattle of sabers, the same old war cries that have frightened and aroused mankind for centuries. Headlines recount ultimatums, weigh the military power of one nation or group of nations against another, talk of military alliances and of spheres of influence.

Humanity at large is asking questions. The leaders of the world cannot give them assuring answers. But there is one thing that everyone knows, and knows it with the certainty of death and suffering. It is this: there can be no piecemeal settlement of war problems. The world cannot live in peace half-slave and half-free. The world cannot enjoy permanent peace with half its population living in starvation and misery and the other half in abundance and opulence. We also know that our world has shrunk into a small sphere in which all peoples are neighbors. We can no longer quarantine wars. Disaster at one latitude surges into another as surely as an atmospheric depression in Guam affects climatic conditions over every sea and land, touching every clime in its sweep and lateralizing its effects over all the earth. All the peoples of the world, not merely their governments, must take interest and participate actively in the formulation and execution of such formulas as may be devised for the achievement of an enduring peace and prosperity for all mankind. This can only be attained under the aegis of freedom and well-being for all peoples. This is an imperative which must be recognized. In vain shall statesmen of the world persist in closing their eyes to that requirement.

The last war consumed in four flaming years the wealth and substance of generations of mankind's toil and sacrifice. Where is the profit to any nation in such a struggle? What are the material advantages that have accrued to the victors which they can long enjoy without sharing them with the vanquished? Who can now recover for the enjoyment of men the billions of tons of the world's resources wasted, lost and dispersed, consumed in war? What nation benefited, what people benefited, from that tragedy? I think we know now beyond question that the people of one nation cannot long enjoy happiness while the shadow of misery hangs heavily over other parts of the earth. We must recognize the indivisibility of prosperity as well as of peace. Prestige and power must be used to insure not only peace but plenty for mankind; to assist in the orderly and progressive development of the world's resources and in the promotion of the health, security and freedom of all men of all nations. If the world does not move surely and passionately in this direction, if we do not strive for the highest peak of plenty for all peoples, we will find ourselves wandering off again into the destructive morass of another war. I do not know whether civilization can emerge from another such diversion.

The freedom-loving peoples of the world must organize a battle for peace and prosperity just as they have organized their world's forces for war. In every nation of the earth there are solid phalanxes of men and women who cry out for leadership, who implore guidance on the road to peace, freedom and well-being. These men and women have willing hands and anxious minds. They pray for an end to confusion and conflict, an end to fear and want. They are eager to work for an organized world order, for peace, freedom and prosperity for all peoples. They are waiting to be shown the road to a dynamic peace. It is only America that can lead them. The common masses of men in every land have faith in her. A billion prayers ride upon her inspired leadership. It is an historic mission, a holy crusade, a

challenge to achieve a people's peace. She cannot shirk that responsibility. She will not fail, if she dares to assume it. God will be on her side!

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NOTE.—This memorial day program was held on the U. S. Naval reservation on Dewey Boulevard, Pasay City, under the auspices of the American Legion of the Philippines. At the end of the services, the guests and audience crossed the Dewey Boulevard and stood by the seawall, under the hot sun, as brief rites were held in honor of the dead. After the prayer a wreath was cast into the sea.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Message of President Roxas on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter

[Delivered on June 26, 1947]

The Second Anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter places once again in bold relief the situation of this still very much disturbed world. That historic covenant was the product of humanity's desire to unite all nations in mutual trust and understanding. We are a signatory to that pact together with 54 other nations. We have pledged our honor and our substance to the defense and perpetuation of the principles of the United Nations embodied in that great document.

As we grow in international stature we must gather inspiration from the noble task which was started years ago to bind all nations in the "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World." Humanity's ideal is to have the wardrums throb no longer and the battle-flags furled forever.

The United Nations won the War. Let us fervently hope that they have also attained peace, a just peace for mankind, for all the years to come. Let us devoutly pray for that happy day when all peoples of the universe, regardless of creed and color, may assemble under one common flag of progress, understanding, and international amity. Only thus may there be happiness on this earth for all peoples.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Message of President Roxas, on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter on June 26, 1947. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 43(8)*, 3299.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Address of President Roxas on the First Anniversary of the Philippine Independence

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the First Anniversary of the Philippine Independence

[Delivered on July 4, 1947]

MY COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS:

One year ago today we achieved our national independence and established the Republic of the Philippines. On this same spot, hallowed by the blood of Rizal and consecrated to his memory, the American flag was lowered and our flag, that glorious flag of our forefathers, was raised upon yonder masthead to wave thenceforth alone and unshadowed over all this land we love. (*Applause*)

It is well that on each anniversary of that historic event we recall the significance of that symbolic ceremony, to remind us of the magnanimity of America and to awaken in our hearts a renewed devotion to freedom, a fresh determination to defend it with our lives.

We won our independence through the processes of democracy, by the will of a free people. We will scan the pages of history in vain for another such example. In the past no star ever fell from an imperial diadem except through force and at the cost of torrents of human blood. It is to the undying credit of Americans and Filipinos that by trusting each other and having faith in one another, they cleared the way for the fullest cooperation in the consummation of the historic act we now commemorate—a priceless flowering of Christian civilization.

A new morality in the dealings of nations, particularly between dominant and subject peoples, was thus inaugurated. Liberty fluttered her wings and spread the glad tidings throughout the earth. It shook the foundations of empires and brought new hope to the benighted millions seeking to be free.

Now we may discern the effects of that transcendental event. Colonialism is crumbling rapidly everywhere. The right to independence is being recognized by all free and enlightened powers. The indivisibility of peace and liberty is being accepted. We know now that the world cannot long live at peace half slave and half free. Within a few months, following the pattern that we established, India will attain her freedom, Indonesia will gain her independence, Burma will be granted full sovereignty, and other subject nations will reach the same cherished goals.

It is true that there are forces at large in the world today striving to turn back the surging tide of freedom. But they will be of no avail, for the mighty concepts of liberty and justice that raised the victorious hosts in the last war are irresistible forces that no power however strong can permanently stem or subdue. The time is past when military might was the decisive factor in human struggles. Today the aroused conscience of free men, capable in time of need of creating overpowering instruments of war, is the mightiest force on earth. The Age of Reason has dawned!

We Filipinos can feel proud that we were actors in that historic drama that ushered in this new age. We are grateful to America for having kept faith with us and for pointing the way for other nations to follow in the trusteeship of the peoples under their flags.

In many quarters our independence was greeted with dark forebodings for our future. These predictions were not entirely unjustified. We had just emerged from a cruel war. Tens of thousands among the best of our youth were lost

in the conflict. Our country was devastated, our economic system was destroyed, billions of our money had become worthless, social values had been dislocated, and even the morals of a large portion of our people had decayed through contact with a ruthless and Godless foe. During the three years of enemy occupation hundreds of thousands of Filipinos lived in defiance of the government and had lost respect for law. New ideologies had found lodgement in the minds of many of our countrymen as a revolt against the then prevailing economic and social conditions. Some had seemingly forgotten the virtues of democracy and had embraced the doctrine of class supremacy to be achieved through force. Our heroic veterans had returned to their homes in rags and were demanding the fulfillment of promises. Most of our people were bewildered and in want. There was general confusion; threats of revolution were whispered and even voiced openly from the public platform.

There was little to sustain us in our difficulties except our faith in ourselves. We promptly laid solid foundations for our Republic. We resolutely seized the instruments of sovereignty and quickly started to put our house in order. We fought a rear-guard action against the elements of chaos and disintegration and at the same time pushed forward to repair our shattered economy and institutions.

Now, look around you. Consider the adverse factors we had to face. Recall the painful experience of other nations that had to contend with problems such as ours at the inception of their independent existence. No nation in modern history, not even the United States of America, after its first twenty years of independence, could compare with us in the progress we have achieved in the first year of our Republic. (*Applause.*) Let no one sneer at this comparison; it is based on recorded facts. And the circumstances are essentially alike, for we are dealing with practical human problems which are altered neither by the epoch nor the age in which they occurred. The relative values of all the factors involved are the same in every case.

It will also profit us to compare our situation with that which obtains today in all the countries of the world which had been occupied by the enemy during the last war. In those countries political and social unrest prevails. There is shortage of food and of other minimum requirements, for decent existence. They are prostrate and in ruins. They are in the midstream of world events and are carried by the currents of power politics without capacity to hold fast to moorings of their choice. The Philippines, on the other hand, is truly master of its own destiny, is free from fear and want, and is actually solving satisfactorily its basic economic and social problems.

There is no desire on my part, I assure you, to indulge in self-adulation. Neither do I wish to induce you to believe that all that need be done has been done. But the truth is that we have made great progress in the face of tremendous odds.

The Government of the Republic has been fully organized. Its authority has been extended to the remotest nook and cranny of our land. We have been welcomed by the family of nations; we have been recognized by practically every government on earth. Our voice is heard in the United Nations and in many conferences on world affairs. We are participating financially and otherwise in the international instrumentalities created to restore rapidly the productive economy of the world. We are taking an active part in the efforts to build a new world order based on the freedom and equality of all nations, to insure a just and permanent peace and the welfare of all peoples.

Constitutional guarantees and the processes of a free government are firmly rooted in our soil. Our democracy is not a name but a fact. Our free institutions are in full operation. Human rights are being maintained and safeguarded. We have established an independent judiciary to stand sentinel for the preservation of those rights. Our people enjoy freedom of speech and of the press, in a measure unsurpassed in any other country of the world. Here, the press or any individual may indulge in the bitterest criticisms against the government and its highest officials, without fear and without sanction. We uphold the right of every man to worship God as he pleases. We impose no limitations on the freedom of thought or of conscience. The right of petition and the privilege of the people to gather and to exert efforts for the redress of grievances are never impugned. The sanctity of the home and the freedom from search and seizure are scrupulously defended. Free elections are guaranteed. But we also guarantee to suppress any and all attempts to gain through force or other illegal means any change in our system of government, or in the social order, or in the laws enacted by the representatives of the people. We adhere strictly to our democratic creed. We respect the sovereignty and the will of the people. We believe in a government by popular consent. We stand for liberty regulated by law. We abhor fascism and the methods employed by dictators, whether of the military or of a class. We have built a truly popular government subservient only to the popular will. A syndicalistic government, or a

communistic government, or a fascistic government—whatever its name—is contrary to our Constitution and our ideals, and will not be permitted to gain foothold on this free land. (*Long applause.*)

The national economy is being gradually rehabilitated. In one year we have greatly increased the volume of our production. Although it has not yet reached pre-war levels, its monetary value today is more than three times the value of our total production income before the war. Government revenues have also greatly increased during the first year of our independence.

When the Republic was inaugurated, our revenues were barely ten per cent of our government expenditures. Now, they are six times greater, and at the present rate of collections, our revenues will cover about seventy per cent of our expenditures. I have great hopes that in the current fiscal year we shall be able approximately to balance the expenses of government with revenues from taxation. (*Applause.*)

In this first year we have succeeded in reducing the cost of living by thirty per cent, notwithstanding a material increase in the money income of wage earners. We are enjoying a relative degree of prosperity, and the living standards of the people are higher.

More public schools have been opened; we have today over one million more children enrolled in the schools than before the war. Institutions of higher learning have increased in number and their attendance has more than doubled.

We have commenced the execution of a program for the redistribution of land in congested areas. This is the initial step leading to the ultimate abolition of an archaic tenancy system which ties human beings to a life of bondage on the land that they work and which their fathers before them had tilled, with little hope of social improvement. In the meantime we have granted to tenants a larger participation in the produce of ricelands. We are rapidly getting back the valuable hemp, coconut and rubber plantations owned by enemy nationals and we have laid plans for the distribution of these lands among the veterans of the last war.

Our export trade is rapidly increasing, and in money value is now much larger than before the war. Our destroyed industries are being reopened as fast as needed equipment can be procured. We have established a government institution to provide credit for speeding up the rehabilitation program. We have introduced more efficiency in the government service, and we are firmly eradicating corruption and dishonesty among government officials. (*Applause.*)

Peace and order has been restored in practically every province and every town of our country. For the last three months no important disturbance of the peace by organized bands has occurred. The people have returned to their homes in the remotest barrios and are peacefully cultivating their lands. Common crimes are still frequent in a few localities, but these are being effectively dealt with, a fact which has resulted in a marked reduction of such crimes.

Our monetary situation is excellent. Inflation has been arrested and is under control. No country on earth, except the United States, has a more stable currency than ours. We maintain a hundred per cent reserve for our outstanding circulation. Because of the guaranteed convertibility of Philippine pesos in American dollars, our money is expendable anywhere in the world.

The public health is being duly safeguarded. We have prevented epidemics during the past year. A large number of government hospitals are now in operation. We are fighting malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy with the newest weapons to the limit of our resources.

A large public works program is now underway. We are rebuilding bridges, roads, portworks, schools, water systems and other government facilities. We have started the industrialization program, including the development of water power. Gold, coal, copper and other mines are being reopened. New industries are being planned and encouraged.

We have not neglected our obligations to our fighting men, nor those which we owe their widows and orphans. We are now assisting the crippled and the sick and the dependents of our dead soldiers. The President of the United States has already urged the American Congress to pass suitable legislation granting to Filipino veterans the same privileges and gratuities accorded to American soldiers. Meantime we have approved a Bill of Rights for needy veterans and for the widows and orphans of our dead soldiers assuring them subsistence, educational and other benefits.

Despite the prophecies made before the elections that we would become a hopelessly divided people, we find today that the nation is more united than ever before in its history. Flushed with a noble pride in our sovereignty, our citizens are supporting the Republic and are cooperating in the rebuilding of our country without distinction of creed or section. We are loyal to one flag, one nation and one government.

By concluding a trade agreement with America, we have practically a free market for all our products in the largest and most attractive market in the world. No nation enjoys that privilege except ours. But despite this trade agreement, we are completely free to sell our products anywhere and to buy what we need from anywhere.

One of the first concerns of our Republic was our security. This we have met by entering into a military alliance with the United States for the mutual protection of America and the Philippines. During the present period of confusion and chaos in the world, when dark clouds are again hovering over the horizon and an early war is being predicted by statesmen of many countries, we have every reason to rejoice that we have locked our destiny with the strongest and noblest nation of the earth. We must not risk another experience such as we had in the last war. We must insure ourselves against that danger. Our armed forces are being properly organized and equipped, and we have completed plans for the training of a citizen army on which we can rely in time of stress. The conclusion of a treaty allowing the United States to establish military and naval bases here is a signal achievement of our Republic.

Organized resistance to the government has practically ceased. The recalcitrant elements that instigated this treacherous movement have been dispersed. Their leaders are in hiding. I trust that by this time they have convinced themselves of the futility and the destructive effects of their undertaking. I hope that they will understand that my every attempt to dissuade them from pursuing their course is not to deprive them either of their rights or of their political influence, but rather to win their acceptance of the authority of the government established by their own countrymen, with the assurance that their rights to seek reforms in accordance with our democratic processes will be unhampered and unchecked. On this sacred day when every true patriot is celebrating the anniversary of the birth of our nation, I ask these dissidents again to return to the fold of the law and to enjoy the protection of our Constitution.

I have recited in broad lines the highlights of the achievements of our people and our Republic during the first year of its life. While many other nations are wasting their substance in the struggle over new ideologies and the very problems of human existence, we are today well on the road to recovery and progress. While many other nations face revolutions and civil war, purges and military coups, we in the Philippines have left the causes of such conflicts far behind us. We are no longer disturbed by them. While in many other countries living conditions are still being regimented because of food and other shortages, here we have a free economy in actual operation. And we are not lacking in food or clothing, and our housing difficulties are gradually being eliminated.

The dire circumstances under which the people of other nations live today exist not only in the erstwhile enemy-occupied countries but even in many of the nations that took part in winning the war. Ask the world traveler who has visited these countries to compare the conditions there with the conditions prevailing here, and he will tell you without hesitation that our people should feel fortunate because of the freedom and prosperity that they enjoy and because of the government under which they live and work. I trust we shall be able to maintain these conditions and continue to improve them. We should work towards the establishment of an economic democracy in which all the people take part and every citizen derives a just and fair share of the fruits of the common effort. I have great faith that through intelligent and unremitting toil, free enterprise, and strong adherence to a democratic way of life, we shall succeed in making this Republic one of the few garden spots of the earth.

On this day sacred to us all, we should, as free men and true patriots, renew our pledge to serve our Republic and to labor for the enduring welfare and happiness of our people. The full sovereignty which we attained a year ago is still

intact. We have not bartered away the smallest particle of that sovereignty for any material or other consideration. We should resolve to maintain that sovereignty in all its integrity, whatever the cost, so that we may continue to enjoy it to the fullest measure and bequeath it to our children, undiminished and unsullied. In this resolve and in the task ahead to achieve the enduring happiness of the Filipino people, I call upon the whole nation to lend me its continued confidence and support. Given that, with the help of Almighty God, this Republic will, I am sure, rapidly grow in stature, wealth and power, loved and revered by its citizens, honored and respected abroad, the haven of liberty and justice, the cherished home of contented free men. (*Long applause*)

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas at the Convention of the Liberal Party

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the Convention of the Liberal Party

[Delivered on July 26, 1947]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Probably I have not felt so happy in my life as I feel today as I gaze upon this convention and realize the merits of the men and women who have come to attend this very important gathering of the backbone of our party. And we could not have met under more favorable circumstances. A year ago—a little over a year ago—when the Liberal Party was organized and we agreed to join hands with the minority party who believed in the same principles and policies which we upheld, it was a different atmosphere that I sensed, that I felt. It was a convention composed of men and women who gathered together with grievances in their hearts, men and women who believed injustice had been committed upon them, men and women who were deeply concerned over the future of their country, who were desirous of change in Government, who believed that our Republic must be established upon the soundest foundations and that the welfare and happiness, particularly the freedom of our people, must be assured.

Today we meet, as I said before, under different circumstances. No longer are our hearts imbued with a spirit of rebellion against conditions as they exist. We have met, bringing with us the deepest concern over the welfare of our country, feeling the sense of responsibility that devolves upon our party, for the Government that is now in operation in this beloved land of ours.

A national convention of the party in power is a national event, because if we believe in party responsibility in government, national conventions discharge a very important role in the fulfillment of that responsibility, because these national conventions are composed of men and women who represent the active and live members of our organization. If our Government fails, if we cannot satisfy the longings and the needs and the anxieties of our people, in the last analysis it is the party, our party, that will have to assume the responsibility. It is for that reason that in other democratic countries national conventions acquire great significance and great importance.

There are men in the United States, for example, who consider it a great honor just to be a member of the national convention. They know the significance of a national convention of a great political party: they realize their responsibility to the nation and to posterity. They feel that as instruments of the political organization it is their duty and responsibility to formulate the program of government not only on matters of principle but also on matters of government as well, that the government will have to adhere to those if that government will retain the confidence of the people.

You, ladies and gentlemen, who are delegates to this convention, I am sure, feel the weight of that responsibility. You have read in the party platform certain definite and specific principles, and a program of action which, if we are to remain in power and if the people are to give us their confidence, would be a directive not only to the Chief Executive but also the members of the party to fulfill every commitment and to effect the program of action outlined in that platform. The members of this convention and the Chief Executive of this nation would be recreant to their trust if they should fail to put into effect the decisions that you have approved here. And I hope and I trust that not only this convention but future conventions of our party will meet with that grave responsibility in mind.

And I said that I was happy to witness this convention not only because of the members; not only because I see in this convention the most valuable elements of our population, both in the political and social life of our country, but because for the first time our convention has been graced by such a large number of very charming ladies who have come here not as guests but as important members of our party for the purpose of showing their interest in the work and the decisions of this convention. They have come to pledge support to this party of ours. I believe that the

women of this nation have reached the conviction that the welfare of this country will depend in a very large measure on the decisions that this convention will arrive at. These decisions pertain not only to matters affecting our platform but also to matters concerning the candidates that are nominated by this convention.

I am very happy to read in the platform of the party a very important plank which I should like many members of this convention to read carefully. They have given to this their approval and they must make up their minds to carry out this commitment not only in the best of spirit, but also to the letter.

The Liberal Party for the first time—and I mean this is the first time that any political party in the Philippines, this is the first time that any political party in the world— has subscribed to this definite and positive commitment which reads: "We recognize that men and women have equal opportunities in the public service and shall not permit sex to be a bar to the holding of any public office." From now on in the Liberal Party women will be accepted by us not as our inferior or merely as leaders of the party but as our equal. They will be accepted by us and will sit with us in the councils of the party as real partners just as in the home, men and women cooperating together.

On occasions like this, it is customary for leaders of this party to speak about the opposition party. I am not going to do it today. It is not necessary. Let us base our claim to the renewal of confidence by the people in us, on our record of what we have done and what we have promised to do. I do not want to give to the leaders of the opposition any opportunity for saying that Mr. Roxas is a bad man because he tries to weaken the opposition, that Mr. Roxas is trying to destroy the opposition. They have accused me of that grave crime. I have not tried to weaken the opposition. I am interested in the maintenance of a two-party system in the Philippines, with a majority party and a minority party.

To the recognition or admission made by the minority party that their party has become weakened, I wish to tell them that they should attribute that weakness not to things that we have done, but that they probably recognize that we have done a great deal of good to the nation and therefore the nation has become more strongly convinced that we deserve this confidence. They should attribute the weakness of their party to the fact that the opposition party is dispersing its energy, that the opposition party is incapable of making heroic and courageous action on public questions that the opposition party is pursuing a course of systematic opposition to anything and everything that the majority has tried.

This country needs a loyal opposition, just as it needs a strong majority party, but the opposition must be loyal not to the party but to the country. No man who is not willing to understand—to hear and to understand the views of other men so that there may be harmony, so that they may reach a common objective—can be successful in politics.

I am sure that in this convention there is not a single name that will be mentioned that will receive the unanimous approval of each and every one of you, because in every instance you have a personal close friend whom you will prefer to the others named. But a successful political convention is one where members are willing to submit their views and their opinions and their preferences to the decisions of the majority, and are willing and determined to accept the decisions of the majority. I am not completely satisfied with the ticket, if I must tell you frankly; but I am satisfied with one thing, in other words, under the present circumstances, taking into consideration the strong views expressed by the different delegations here and the interest of the different sections of our nation, I am satisfied and I am convinced that the senatorial candidates are the best senatorial candidates that we can present to our people. And I am going to work as hard as I can for the election of each and every member of that ticket.

I am not only going to promise that, but I am going to tell you one thing more. I am generally not very much in favor of making promises, but I will tell you one thing— that if, as I expect, that ticket receives the unanimous support of the members of the Liberal Party, and of all the leaders of the Liberal Party, particularly you men and women who are here today, the governors and the mayors who are here, and the important leaders of the different communities— I have no fear, in fact I am sure, that each and every one of those candidates will win by a big majority in the coming elections.

And I want to assure the provincial leaders and our candidates for provincial governors and the candidates for mayors that the national Liberal Party is going to do all it can to help them in their fight in the local elections. The

national Liberal Party is going to do all it can to insure the election of each and every one of our candidates for provincial governors and municipal mayors throughout the Philippines. Before this convention adjourns, I should like to submit to you for consideration—I am not giving you orders or instructions, but I wish to submit for your consideration—the advisability of creating two campaign committees of the party: one, a campaign committee for the senatorial ticket, and the other, a campaign committee for the provincial and local candidates, these two committees to work under the general supervision, for purposes of coordination, of the Executive Committee of the party presided over by the President of the Senate.

My friends, we have no reason to be ashamed of our record during the past 14 months since we assumed power. In my public addresses and messages to Congress, I have informed the people of the Philippines of what we have done, of what we are trying to do, and what we cannot do at this time, but which we should like to accomplish. I trust that you are well informed of these things. It is not necessary to recount the accomplishments of our party, except to say that if we compare what we have done in 14 months in the Philippines with what other countries of the world have done in the same period under probably better conditions, I can assure you that we have been more successful in dealing with our problems and in solving them than any other nations of the world.

So I wish each and every one of you Godspeed. You will assume responsibility as leaders of our party. You can rely upon us for support. We can rely upon you for constructive work and for efforts to win and to maintain and increase, if possible, the confidence of the people in our party. I am merely a servant of the people, merely an instrument of our party.

NOTE.—This national convention was to mobilize the machinery of the Liberal Party to take part in the general elections held on November 11, 1947. On that day aside from a new batch of local officials (provincial governors, provincial board members, municipal mayors, vice-mayors, and councilors) throughout the country, eight new senators were to be chosen to replace those whose terms were expiring.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Address of President Roxas on the occasion of the Relinquishment of American Sovereignty over the Island Fortress of Corregidor

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the Relinquishment of American Sovereignty over the Island Fortress of Corregidor

[Released on October 12, 1947]

Mr. AMBASSADOR, GENERAL MOORE, Mr. CONGRESSMAN, MY FRIENDS:

We are gathered on hallowed ground, filled with soul-stirring memories and consecrated by the blood and valor of Americans and Filipinos. No man can tread upon this soil without recalling the epic struggle that took place here. No man who loves liberty can think of Corregidor without being moved by a sense of obligation to the gallant soldiers who here laid down their lives that liberty may-be preserved for us and for all mankind. The heroic saga of Corregidor has been recounted wherever freedom is cherished and the noble valor of fighting men is revered.

For almost half a century Corregidor stood sentinel at the entrance of Manila Bay, a symbol of military power. But to the Filipinos it was more than that. To us, it was the citadel of liberty and democracy, for we knew that its powerful guns would never be fired except in defense of freedom. It fulfilled its mission with a heroism unsurpassed in the annals of war. It has become in our eyes a symbol of justice, of liberty, of democracy, to which this Republic is eternally dedicated.

The transfer today of this island fortress to the Republic of the Philippines is the fulfillment of a pledge made by the United States. It is significant that this tiny place of our territory, emblazoned in the memory of millions of Americans and dear to them because of the role it played in our struggles during the last war, should now be graciously returned to us by the free will of the American people. The Philippine Republic appreciates this noble act of renunciation. It strengthens our confidence in America and tightens the bonds of friendship which link this Republic to her.

The simple but impressive ceremony that we witness here this noon is transcendent with meaning. Once before, as General Moore has recounted, the American Flag was lowered on this island. It was lowered in temporary defeat and surrender. Today, how changed! The American Flag has been lowered neither in defeat nor in surrender, it has been lowered in victory, a victory that transcends and surpasses in significance the greatest victory achieved in any battlefield. It is the victory of liberty, of justice, of democracy, and of America's undying devotion to the cause of peace and liberty all over the world. *(Applause.)*

The mounds of dust and rubble and the shambling ruins that have met our eyes upon our arrival here are precious to us, so precious that no word can express the priceless legacy that they leave and bequeath to the people of the Philippines. I am prouder to accept the ruins of these once stately buildings than if they were all made of marble and steel, because these buildings speak to us of the heroism and gallantry of the men who fought here. These ruins speak to us of the sacrifices of those who died here. They speak to us of our duty to defend liberty at whatever price and of our undying obligation to defend the cause for which the men who died here had given up their lives.

I was with the staff of General MacArthur when he decided to make a last stand on this island. I was a witness to the dauntless spirit of the officers and men who fought here. I recall the calm but determined leadership of that great soldier who commanded our armies. With little regard for his own personal safety he instilled into all of us the spirit

of heroic valor which alone made possible continued resistance to the overwhelming onslaughts of our foe. The men caught the fire of his leadership—and with a gallantry that surprised the world, against overwhelming odds, with rapidly dwindling supplies and ammunition, Corregidor held firmly until the strategic purpose of its resistance was achieved.

I saw beardless boys, the flower of the youth of America and the Philippines, slaughtered on the beaches that surround this island. Philippine Scouts battling side by side with American infantry and marines fought with such passionate courage and skill that they evoked the admiration of even our foes.

I remember that in those tragic days of battle Americans and Filipinos were so fused spiritually in the common effort to resist that it could truthfully be said that here in Corregidor every man forgot the narrow distinctions of nationality and became one solid phalanx of liberty, happy to fight and die that peace and freedom may be preserved for us and for all the peoples of the world.

Among the most gallant soldiers who fought on this sacred soil is the man who was in command of this fortress—Major General George F. Moore. *(Applause.)* No commander in any battlefield enjoyed the unstinted confidence of his men more than General Moore did on this island. There was not a soldier on this battlefield that did not realize that Corregidor was doomed, that it could not hold on forever. Despite that conviction General Moore's contingents stood their ground unflinchingly until the order to surrender was given; and when that order was given the fighting men shed tears of grief and disappointment for they were determined to resist to the end even unto death while the battle lasted. And it lasted for five long months. General Moore's forces fought relentlessly and with full faith in their leader. He shared the privations of the humblest soldier in his lines; he took the same risk to which they exposed themselves; they died blessing his name. Those gallant soldiers fought the harder because they trusted and loved their leader. I am very happy that General Moore has been enabled to participate in these ceremonies because I am sure he must feel supremely proud to turn over this island whose defense was in his charge, now completely liberated, to form part of the territory of a free Philippines.

General Jonathan M. Wainwright, a brave and noble soldier, whose painful duty it was to yield this last bulwark of America and the Philippines to the enemy during the first phase of the war, came to Corregidor upon General MacArthur's departure. He covered himself with glory in the Battle of Bataan, and when he took command of Corregidor, I met him here—as fine a type of American soldier as ever was. A ceaseless spark of fire shone in his eyes, denoting an eagerness to keep on fighting until the last! He has had the good fortune to survive the atrocities of Japanese prison camps and to receive the honors of a grateful people. And justly so.

To these gallant leaders and to the brave men who fought under them both in Bataan and Corregidor, Americans and Filipinos, goes the eternal gratitude of the people of this Republic. *(Applause.)* To those who died here we dedicate our sweetest thoughts. We treasure their memory. We will never forget them.

This Republic will prove its gratitude by consecrating itself to the consummation of the noble principles for which they fought and died.

We will work for peace, for an enduring peace, for a just peace, for all peoples, for victors and vanquished alike. We will continue to struggle for liberty to push forward the frontiers of freedom—an expanding dynamic liberty—not only for ourselves but for all men. We will strive to free ourselves and others from want and fear, and to promote the welfare and happiness of every man. We will support the peaceful efforts of all nations, in all climes, to be free and will allow them to set up governments of their choice. We will cooperate with other nations in establishing a world order under which each nation will have an equal opportunity to pursue the happiness and prosperity of its citizens. We will demand in the council of nations the recognition of the principle that world peace is indivisible and that the world cannot remain half-slave and half-free. We will not tolerate a world order which permits the prosperity of some nations to be achieved at the expense or the economic subjugation of others. We will dedicate this Republic to the Christian principle of equality of sovereignty and equal opportunity for all.

Corregidor is the indestructible monument that I wish to pledge to these noble principles. It will serve to remind this and future generations of my fellow countrymen that these are the ideals for which so many gallant soldiers gave

their lives. May God give us strength and perseverance in the fulfillment of these principles for the enduring benefit of all mankind. *(Long Applause.)*

NOTE.—The ceremony returning Corregidor back to the Philippines was held at the foot of the flagpole that had become historic for having borne the Stars and Stripes for half a century, save the short period of 34 months when the Japanese flag took its place.

As soon, however, as Corregidor was reconquered after a six-day campaign, General MacArthur returned to the Fortress on March 2, 1945, and ordered the color guard of the 503 Parachute Infantry Regiment: "Hoist the colors to its peak and let no enemy ever haul them down." Thus, the bitterness felt when the Stars and Stripes was torn and ripped to shreds and trodden down by the Japanese on May 7, 1942, was fully assuaged.

The American colors were hauled down on October 12, 1947, not by an enemy, but by the American people themselves.

Serving as a background of that historic event were the ruins of the barracks on the Topside parade ground. The Philippine flag was raised after Major General George F. Moore, commander of the defending forces in 1942, had said:

"With it will go the warmest wishes of all Americans, and it is our sincere hope and fair belief that until the end of history no flag other than that of the Republic of the Philippines shall ever fly over the hallowed ground of Corregidor."

It was exactly 12:15 o'clock past noon when the Stars and Stripes was lowered to the accompaniment of the American national anthem. And three minutes later at 12:18 o'clock, the Philippine emblem was hoisted to the accompaniment of the Philippine national anthem.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas before the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Before the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

[Delivered at the Mansion House, November 24, 1947]

THE ESSENTIAL OF PEACE IS WELL-BEING
AND PROSPERITY OF ALL MANKIND

Mr. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE ECONOMIC
COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST:

On behalf of the Government and People of the Republic of the Philippines, I extend to you a most cordial welcome. I also desire to express my warmest greetings to the governments and peoples whom you represent.

It is the good fortune of the Philippines that you have decided to hold your second session here. I trust you will find the arrangements satisfactory.

The ECAFE is one of the organizations of the United Nations which give greatest hope of practical achievements. Its members can meet, and I know you do, in a genuine spirit of cooperation and understanding, unburdened by conflicting national interests. Although you represent governments, your preoccupation is not to gain selfish advantage for your respective countries, but rather the welfare and happiness of all the peoples living in this section of the earth. It is, indeed, an inspiring example of intelligent and constructive international collaboration. It proves that in the new world that we are trying to build, men of different countries, colors and creeds can gather as friends and associates to work out solutions to their common problems.

Your particular mission, as I understand it, is to formulate plans for the most expeditious reconstruction of the economies of our different nations and, insofar as it may prove advantageous, to integrate them on a regional level. It is a gigantic task. It will require courage and vision and statesmanship of the highest order. But of all these, I know you are capable, and I am confident of your success.

The problems that confront us are varied and complex, and they are acute. Their urgency is reflected in the poverty and extremely low living standards which prevail among large portions of our populations. These conditions already existed in varying degrees in some of our countries before the war; the war aggravated and generalized them. It is futile now to attempt to fix responsibility for pre-war conditions but we cannot forget that for centuries we were never free to direct and much less to control the course of our lives. Our economic systems were highly incapable of insuring either fiscal adequacy for our governments or a satisfactory standard of living for our respective peoples. Large groups of our populations never succeeded in attaining what we commonly regard as a decent human existence.

But even that weak economy was seriously dislocated by the last war. Today the majority of our peoples are closer to starvation than they have ever been in the past. Suffering is acute among them. They are struggling heroically to improve their situation, but they seem impotent in the face of insurmountable difficulties. The population pressure on land is intense. The per capita production is very low. Tools and implements are scarce and inefficient. Credit facilities are very insufficient and interest rates are high. Methods of production are archaic and uneconomical. Food requirements absorb practically all individual incomes, leaving almost nothing for clothing, housing and other necessities of life. Communication and transportation services are limited and expensive. Tens of millions are in the ranks of the unemployed. Widespread shortages of consumption goods aggravate inflation due to excessive and largely unsecured currency in circulation. These are but a few indices of economic prostration which grip so many millions among us. They constitute a grave danger to political stability in this part of the world.

It is not possible, therefore, merely to plan for the restoration of our economies as they existed before the war. Our colonial economy must be completely discarded. Our agricultural economy must be rapidly complemented by sound industrial development. Per capita productive capacity must be greatly increased; living standards must be rapidly improved. We should no longer be content merely to produce raw materials to fill the tables and supply the factories of others. We will, of course, continue to grow but we must also make things that we vitally need. We must give people work—all the people. We must insure for them effective purchasing power which will be sufficient to provide not only their essential requirements but also the means to attain a higher social status. We will never truly prosper if we continue to be just a source of raw materials and a market for manufactures made by others from the products that we produce. We must endeavor to process a large portion of those materials ourselves.

The need of stimulating intra-regional trade and commerce cannot be over-emphasized. The Commission, I trust, will be able to propose specific plans looking to a drastic reduction of tariffs and the lowering of other trade barriers among our different nations. There are other matters in which regional collaboration is desirable: conservation and prudent exploitation of our common marine resources, a convenient medium of exchange or other measure of value to facilitate trade among us, the improvement of rice production, and a plan of allocations of exportable surpluses granting priority to deficient countries in this region.

The formulation of blueprints for the economic development of our respective countries is relatively an easy task. The real difficulties will be found in the effectuation of these plans. The chief obstacles are lack of sufficient capital needed for productive enterprises and the enormous credits that will be required to finance the program. Without adequately meeting these two imperatives, we can neither hope to solve our economic and social problems nor prevent widespread discontent and suffering among our peoples. The countries of Asia and the Far East need help and assistance from other nations which are capable of supplying those needs.

It is to be regretted that the world's attention seems to be focused apparently only on the problems of Europe. We cannot deny that the peoples of Europe also need help, and urgently so. They need food and other necessities. But it is also undeniable that the needs of Europe are relatively less acute and less pressing than those of the peoples of this part of the world. It is true that the living standards of the peoples of Europe are now much lower than the standards they enjoyed before the war; nevertheless, low as those standards are, they still compare favorably with those prevailing today among our peoples.

We have every right to appeal to the generosity of nations able to help others not to forget the sad plight of the hundreds of millions in our part of the globe. The concern over European problems alone may be a result of the false notion that our peoples, not being accustomed to high standards, can be relied upon to endure patiently greater and more acute privations. This is a grievous mistake, for our peoples, having had very little, will have only a pittance left with the further curtailment of that little that they had.

If the motive behind present plans to aid European nations is pure altruism, I submit that the more depressed peoples of Asia and the Far East have at least an equal claim to that generosity. If the motive is materialistic, or partly so, predicated on the need of maintaining a certain volume of exports, then I submit that Asia and the Far East, if assisted in equal measure, would provide a greater and progressively more profitable market for such exports. Finally, if the motive is to avoid what some nations believe is the danger of large populations of the world embracing political and economic systems which destroy human freedom and endanger the peace of the world, in that case I submit that Asia and the Far East should not be neglected; for here we are concerned with one-half of the population of the world who, because they are immersed in deeper poverty and helplessness, are closer to desperation and, therefore, can be more easily attracted to ideologies which promise them radical improvement in their present plight.

If the ideal of one world is to be achieved, world cooperation in the solution of world problems must be rationalized. Men and women, irrespective of race or nationality, should be looked upon as human beings entitled to the same consideration and attention. The peoples of Asia and the Far East are not beggars waiting at the door of wealthy powers. All they seek is an equal opportunity to work out their own destiny. If the nations that are able to help them should choose to forget them and leave them to starvation and misery, that is their privilege; our peoples will accept that decision with dignity and manly pride. But this seeming injustice will leave in their hearts unanswered the persistent and intriguing questions: whether the one world concept is limited to the nations of Europe and Western

Hemisphere; whether the generosity or altruism of the great powers has a color mark upon it; and whether the millions in this part of the globe who fought and died for liberty, justice and enduring peace deserve less from the victors, their allies in the last war, than the peoples who were their enemies and who attempted to stifle the voice of human freedom from the face of the earth. God may grant that we do not find reason to lose confidence in the nobility of those in whom we have placed our trust.

I feel strongly that world peace is indivisible, that to preserve that peace it is essential to promote the well-being and prosperity of all mankind. There can be no enduring peace for this distracted world of ours unless all peoples are free and are able to enjoy decent standards of fife. This world cannot long five at peace half-slave and half-free; neither can it live at peace when half of the world has too much and the other half has less than is needed to maintain human existence. Without the recognition of these fundamental principles, we cannot avoid another war and our striving to establish a new order of peace, liberty and justice would be doomed to fail. We must not fail. We will surely not fail if we should just decide to invest in this epochal undertaking a small portion of the wealth, work and wisdom needed to win the war that everyone fears.

God willing we will yet see the light.

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Note.—The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) is an agency of the Economic and Social Commission of the United Nations. Its objectives are:

1. To initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Asia and the Far East, for raising the level of economic activity, and for strengthening the economic relations of the people in these areas.

2. To sponsor studies of economic and technological problems and developments in these areas.

3. To undertake the collection, evaluation and dissemination of information that may be useful in the solution of these problems.

After laboring from November 24 to December 6, the Commission succeeded in agreeing over several resolutions, the three most significant of which were:

1. The joint U.S.-P.I. resolution calling for a two-year food production program and the improvement of the distribution of supplies. In this connection, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), another United Nations agency, was to be requested to create a regional committee on food and agriculture in which the ECAFE will be represented.

2. A resolution calling for a report on ways and means to develop more trade within the region and with the rest of the world, creating for the purpose a body to promote such trade.

3. A resolution calling for the establishment of a working party to draft a masterplan for the industrial development of Asia and the Far East to assure a balanced economy.

The address of the President at the opening session of the Commission drew varied reaction here and abroad. The most noticeable point of the speech is the emphasis he made on the apparent neglect being shown to this part of the world in comparison to the attention being given to the European communities. Although he did not say so himself, interpreters of his speech were of the belief that he was referring to the Marshall aid to Europe when he said, “It is to be regretted that the world’s attention seems to be focused apparently only on the problems of Europe.” It cannot be denied that the President used strong language, and he was criticized for too intense regionalism; but the outburst of his emotions seemed natural considering his knowledge of the full extent of the sacrifices and sufferings of his people in the last war.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Address of President Roxas before the Convention of Provincial Governors and City Mayors

Address of His Excellency Manuel Roxas President of the Philippines Before the Convention of Provincial Governors and City Mayors

[Delivered on January 22, 1948]

"YOU AND I ARE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE"

Mr. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

I wish to congratulate each and every one of you upon your election as governors of your respective provinces. I wish to greet you and the mayors here present for your attendance at this most important conference.

Provincial governors and mayors are something more than mere proconsuls of government assigned to their respective communities. Provincial governors represent government authority, that is true, but you are more than that. You are the leaders of your respective communities. The people look upon you as the embodiment not only of governmental authority but also of those intangibles which refer to social conduct as well as to public and private morality.

I was a governor once. That was many years ago. It took me several months before I could realize the importance of the position to which I had been elected. In some sections of my province, even today, the governor is called "the law" and is so regarded by the common, simple barrio folk. They recognize no other authority superior to him. He is in fact the representative of all governmental powers in his dealings with the masses.

The governor and the mayor live in a sort of glass house during their incumbency. Their public and even their private lives are within the view and close scrutiny of their constituency. Their individual conduct is examined very closely and it becomes the subject of lively comment by the people.

No government on earth is better, in the last analysis, than the man who embodies that government or exercises governmental functions. That, gentlemen, is the principle that each and everyone of you would do well to bear in mind. The local and even the national administration will be judged by the people through your conduct. That is so in practice, notwithstanding the fact that we live under a government of laws in which men and persons theoretically play a small part, where the shortcomings or virtues of individuals are not considered important in the conduct of government because government, by virtue of the Constitution, is supposed to be based solely on the will of the people.

The exercise of government authority must depend upon your own virtues, your own earnestness, your willingness to devote your energies to the public good, your desire to carry out in practice the will of the people and to materialize the hopes of those who have elevated you to your high office.

I believe sincerely that there is no office under the Government of the Philippines more important than the office of a provincial governor or that of a city mayor or mayor of a municipality. I mention this fact to you, gentlemen, that you may realize, feel within you, the importance—the dynamic importance—of discharging your responsibilities not only in accordance with the law but in accordance with the spirit of government as prescribed in our Constitution. You must remember that it is not your good and your own welfare that you must promote. On the contrary, you must

advance the good and the welfare of the greatest number of your constituency, even if your efforts in that direction should prove a neglect or an injury to your own personal good and interest.

In order that you may discharge your duties to the satisfaction of your constituency and for the welfare of your province, it is very important that you maintain continued and close contact with the people. Provincial governors should visit as frequently as possible their municipalities and as many of the barrios as time will permit them to inspect. You realize, I am sure, how important it is for the common people to be able to talk to the provincial governor—to express to him not only their complaints but also their longings and their problems, that they may have an opportunity to submit their petition for the communities in which they live or for the common welfare.

You will find that when you visit the barrios and municipalities, especially if you do not limit your activity to talking to the public officials in those localities, you will learn more of how the provincial and local governments are functioning than by reading the innumerable reports that are submitted weekly by the different agents of government in the municipalities and cities of your province.

You go to a barrio and talk to a common man and he will give you his opinion as to how the justice of the peace court is functioning. You will learn something regarding the conduct of affairs by the police force of the municipality. You will learn about their experience as to their crops and the problems they have to face, what pests, if any, have attacked their crops, so that you may report the matter to the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources in order that the pests may be properly combated. You will learn what they have heard as to the honesty or integrity of public officials. You can talk with them sympathetically, explain to them your problems of government, give them an opportunity to understand that there are many things that should be done but which under the circumstances, because of lack of funds or for some other reasons, cannot yet be accomplished.

In addition to that, I assure you that if you are in close contact with these men, when again you present yourself for a renewal of your term of office seeking a reaffirmation of the confidence of the people, you will have won not only one more voter but a leader for your reelection.

From the viewpoint of national government it is very important that you maintain those contacts, whether you are Liberals or Nacionalistas, because you and the mayors under you are the most important agents of the government upon whose activities the lives of the masses of our population depend. And I expect that when you make these visits and these inspections, you will learn the views of some of your fellow-citizens in your provinces concerning important public questions. I expect, I repeat, that you will have an opportunity to submit the petitions or the complaints of the people to the Department of the Interior in order that they may reach my attention because, my friends, we must not presume that we have the monopoly of wisdom and ability to run this government. Very often you will find that a humble, modest resident of the farthest barrio, as it was my experience when I was provincial governor, can also offer some suggestions that will prove greatly beneficial to your administration and to the people of your province.

I made mention of Nacionalistas and Liberals. The Liberals, of course, are my friends. The Nacionalistas are not my enemies. They just happen to be on the other side of the fence. But let me assure Liberals and Nacionalistas alike that as far as I am concerned, and I know as far as the Vice President and the Secretary of the Interior and all the agencies and offices of the government are concerned, your election as provincial governors removes from our consideration the question of the party to which you belong.

Nacionalista governors: you have been elected governors of your provinces by the free suffrage of your people as provided by our laws and our Constitution. In my eyes, when you appeared before me, to submit petitions for your province, the question as to whether you are a Nacionalista or not, or whether you are a Liberal or not, was of no importance. (*Applause.*) You represent the people and you are entitled to recognition as such by me and by every department or office of the Philippine government. Let there be no misgivings, therefore, as to whether the national government will cooperate with the governor belonging to the Nacionalista party elected in the last elections.

Whenever you want something for your province and it is within the power of the national government to grant it to you, it shall be granted, whether you are a Liberal or a Nacionalista, and I think I would be happier deep down in my

heart if I might be able to do that for a Nacionalista governor in order to belie every insinuation that has been made in the past that Nacionalista governors will not be treated as they are entitled to by the national government. (*Applause.*)

This convention has been called upon my request and that of the Secretary of the Interior for several purposes. First, I am very desirous to get acquainted with each and everyone of you. I desire to know your policies. I should like to be able to determine the spirit in which you will undertake the great responsibility of your office. I wish that you be acquainted with one another and that you may have an opportunity to discuss with the Secretary, the Undersecretary, and other officials of the department and with the officials of other offices, the problems that confront your respective provinces and cities.

The second purpose is to give you an opportunity to submit petitions or suggest to the Executive and to the Congress such reforms in the conduct of local administration as you may consider wise and beneficial to your respective communities. I should like to give you an opportunity to discuss openly these great problems. I know you are faced with many and some of them are insoluble. But if we cannot solve these problems, we, at least, should take steps to approximate ourselves as closely as possible to their proper solution.

The third reason for this conference is to afford me an opportunity to submit to you the studies and recommendations of the Board created under authority of Congress to revise the laws providing for the administration of local governments so that you might discuss the proposed reforms and submit your recommendations to me.

I cannot tell you that I will accept all your recommendations. I wish to assure you, however, that I am going to consider your recommendations with sympathy and in every case of doubt I will be inclined to follow your views. I am going to submit formally to you, through the Secretary of the Interior, three proposals for reform: First, the creation of the provincial legislative council about which I am sure you have already been informed. The council will be composed of the provincial governor as chairman, the two members of the provincial board as members *ex-officio,* a certain number of mayors elected by the mayors themselves, the number depending upon the number of congressional districts which compose your province, and certain members *ex-officio:* to wit, the provincial treasurer, the district engineer, the division superintendent of schools, the health officer, and other officials of the government.

I believe some of you will object to the inclusion of these *ex-officio* members. I have already heard objections to that effect on the ground that these *ex-officio* members, being experts in their respective departments, will try to dominate the policies of the provincial governors. I am sure that provincial governors do not have and should not have such an inferiority complex. Whether or not you know as much about the treasury department, for example, as your provincial treasurer, once you have all the necessary information before you, I am sure you will be able to decide questions affecting the matter on hand without being obligated to follow blindly the recommendations of the provincial treasurer.

That will also be true with regard to the work of the division superintendent of schools, the district engineer, or the head of any department in the provincial or city government.

These reforms seek to democratize the provincial board. Today, we have two members in addition to the governor. These members are elected at large. Very often the provincial board does not have an opportunity to listen to the viewpoints of men representing smaller political subdivisions. On the other hand, in the formation of this legislative council, political officials elected by the people will constitute a majority.

I trust that you will give this proposal your very careful consideration. You will come to realize that that council will be able to discuss intelligently many complex problems affecting your province, and the advantage of having these *ex-officio* members in the council is that you will have readily all the information that you need in order to decide some of these intricate questions.

Today, governments are not so much perturbed by not knowing what they want or what they would like to do. Today, the great problem of government is priorities. You will find in your administration of provincial affairs a multiplicity of projects that deserve your support. But you will also find that the means at your command are so constricted that you cannot even begin to attempt to carry into effect your policies concerning these projects on account of the limited funds at your disposal. Your great problem will be to determine priorities which constitute the most important and most pertinent problem for the permanent welfare of your people. And there, you will again find a rather intriguing question. Are you going to undertake reforms for the improvement of sanitary conditions in preference to building more schools? Are you going to construct a new bridge before you undertake to rebuild a barrio road? Very often we politicians decide these questions by the relative number of votes that we feel we can win if we give preference to one project over another.

That is natural and human, but is not proper. You must strike at a reasonable compromise between what is good for you politically and what is of permanent good for your different communities. It will not be difficult to decide that. Study the question properly and do not forget that your responsibility is primarily to all the people of your province and only secondarily, if at all, to the people by whose vote you have been elected. In addition may I say this, that the affections of the electorate sometimes are not stable. Sometimes the more good you do to a certain group of people, the less chance you have of expecting their support, because once having tasted of your help they feel that they can demand more from you and, of course, their desires are never satiated. So when they come and ask for something and you cannot grant it to them they will have forgotten the good you have done them.

There is only one course for public men or politicians to take which will surely be successful not only from the viewpoint of public men. There is only one course, I repeat, and happily that course serves both interests. That course is, irrespective of the temporary political effect which your answers must produce, to serve the interest of the people, the interest of the greatest good for the greatest number.

Do not worry about your elections or about the attitude that the electorate will take. Give your province a good government, show to your constituencies that irrespective of your own personal interest or of such a man, or such a member of the party, you are serving the people as best you can for the enduring benefit of all, and you will not only be blessed but I am sure that if you would seek an expression of confidence by the people, that will be given to you in larger measure, than it was given to you in the past.

The second proposal that will be submitted to you pertains to the revision of the present laws concerning powers of taxation given to provincial and local governments. At the level of progress that we have reached, the finances of local governments are no longer adequate to support a progressive administration of provincial and municipal affairs. We must remedy, as soon as possible, the present or from the national government. Governors, today, in if he can get a large amount of money from the national situation wherein a governor is considered a good governor can successfully seek financial assistance from the province government, and a mayor is considered a good mayor if he large part, are beggars for financial assistance at the door of the halls of Congress or of the offices of the Secretary of the Interior, of Public Works, of Education, of Agriculture and Natural Resources, or of the head of every other department and office of this Government.

That should not continue. It is high time that provinces and municipalities realize that they should have the power to control the financial life of their respective communities. You must assume your own responsibility. We will give you the power to tax. The question of whether you are going to use that power or not will depend upon each and everyone of you and the members of your provincial council.

You want more autonomy and rightly so. One of the most important items in the factors that constitute autonomy is the power to tax or to impose licenses. I desire that these powers be given to you so that when you come to the national government for assistance we may be able to ask you, “You need funds to cover your deficits. Why don’t you tax your people?”

In the national government Congress imposes taxes that it considers fair and proper and conducive to the public good irrespective of the effect that those taxes may have upon the political attitude of the people called upon to pay those taxes. In the progressive countries of the world, the basis of democracy is in the local government. In the

United States and in France and in England the school problem, for example, is a subject that is within the jurisdiction of local governments. A sound and very salutary competition is developed among the different public officials in showing how much they can do over and above what local officials in other municipalities are doing concerning those matters.

The school problem could be solved more readily if provinces and municipalities were willing and disposed to participate in carrying the burden, the financial burden particularly that our school system imposes upon the national administration. Let me expand on that. Before the war our appropriation for public schools was around P37,500,000 if my memory does not fail me. We had approximately two million two hundred and twenty-eight thousand children in the schools. Last year, our appropriation was P53,600,000 and we have added to it P5,000,000. We have today in the public schools approximately 3,500,000 children. At the beginning of the school year, there were at least about five hundred and fifty thousand children of school age who wanted to be admitted in the public schools. And there was a general clamor all over the country—and telegrams came from the remotest municipalities and municipal districts—asking the government for more extension classes.

Our means were limited but certainly we exhausted those means, and if I have the correct information, because of these petitions we admitted in the public schools, through extension classes, between two hundred and two hundred fifty thousand more school children. So today we have around 3,500,000 students in the public schools.

At the beginning of the next school year, there will be new demands for more extension classes while at the same time we are doing our best and spending money to improve classes already established. The Department of Education is asking for the new classes an appropriation of P34,223,000 in addition to what we are already appropriating for public schools. In other words, if we are now spending P59,000,000 for public schools, the Department of Education wants P34,223,000 more than that plus other sums for other needs. With a total budget of P250,000,000, if we should appropriate about a hundred and twenty-six million pesos for schools and P73,000,000 for the army and the police force, we would have no money left even to vaccinate our children, repair our roads, or to pay the salary of my friend the Chief Justice or the Vice President or the Speaker or the members of the Congress. Of course, we know that before the war we had the same problem recurring every year. By the end of next year we shall have practically double the enrollment in the public schools, despite our great financial difficulties created by the war. Before the war, my friends, the total revenues of the government did not exceed one hundred million pesos, so that the total revenue of the government, if we were to grant the request of the Department of Education, would pay only 79 per cent of the total expenditures requested. And I remind my friends that it is only twenty months since I have taken my oath of office as President of this Republic, of this country.

It is only 18 months since the Government of the Republic was inaugurated. We have travelled fast and far in putting our house in order within that short period of time. There are some people who expect the government to make of the Philippines a paradise in a year and a half, not only to reconstruct our public facilities but to make every citizen of this country economically secure. How long does it take to build a sizable house? It has taken the Congress of the Philippines to construct this annex to the Legislative building more than a year and it will take some time before they will complete it.

In relation to some factories that we are planning today, especially those for the development of water power, with funds ready, with equipment that can be purchased or made, the estimates are that it will take us from four to five years to complete those projects. And your constituents in the provinces expect rather too much from you, as they expect too much from this government.

But there is an accomplishment of provincial and municipal governments which should be made clear to everyone and which I shall mention here, to show how governments can progress gradually, progressively. During the first year after liberation, all the expenditures of local governments were financed by the National Government. Every peso, every centavo paid as salaries to the provincial governors and municipal mayors and to the last municipal policeman was donated by the National Government. These expenditures involved an appropriation of around P28,000,000. I, of course, realize the fact that it was our duty to assist the provinces and municipalities in their financial difficulties, but only as long as they would find it necessary to receive that assistance or until they themselves could rehabilitate the collection of their revenues. And I decided that this process toward fiscal self-sufficiency for local governments should be done gradually. In the last fiscal year I asked the Congress to

appropriate P17,000,000 so that the National Government should bear only one-half of the burden of maintaining local administration. Seventeen million pesos were divided proportionately among provinces and municipalities to help them in their financial difficulties.

This year—and every public official was warned that this would be done by the National Government—we are withdrawing all assistance to provinces and municipalities except to a few small provinces which, because of extraordinary circumstances, would not in good reason be expected to raise all the revenues needed for their support. We expect to spend, during the current fiscal year, over four million or five million pesos for assistance to local governments. It is a great accomplishment, my friends, for the provinces and municipalities in the short period of less than two years to have been able to pull themselves up from their bootstraps, you might say, because they started with almost nothing, with records of assessments of real property and other public files destroyed, looted or lost.

It is a great accomplishment that you can proudly present to the people of your respective provinces by pointing out that, whereas two years ago you were dependent entirely on the charity, I might say, of the National Government, now you can hold up your heads and say, "We are raising enough revenue to maintain our most important and essential activities." I wish to congratulate the people of your different provinces and cities for that great accomplishment. Do the best you can with your revenues. And if we realize that after doing your very best you still are short of the amount required to support your essential activities, the National government will always be willing to come to your assistance.

In this connection, I wish to mention the revaluation of real estate for purposes of assessment. We appropriated five million pesos last year to loan to provinces and cities that they might bring about a reassessment of real properties in your different communities. My appeal to you is, "Do that as quickly as possible and as courageously as you can."

The people of the Philippines must be made to understand that a good government is not that which does not collect any taxes, which does not arrest a man when he commits a crime, which does not try to set up an acceptable government administration which would cost some money. They must be made to understand that a good government is one that sees to it that every citizen complies with his duties under the Constitution which the people of this country themselves have written. They must support the government that has been established for their welfare. You are to show them that a good government is one that governs least but can best promote their welfare. If you are defeated in the next election because you brought about the reassessment of real properties in your provinces and the increase in taxes as a result of such reassessment, don't worry. I believe that you will be happier in your defeat because you would realize that you have served your people loyally and well. The man who has defeated you, if the temper of the people remains the same, would in the next election also suffer defeat, if he tried to comply with his duty, because the people would repudiate his leadership.

I was governor of my province once, as I said before. The first problem that I had to face was the rehabilitation of our finances. I proposed in the first convention of provincial governors that all real estate in the Philippines be reassessed. That was made an issue against me in the elections. I explained to the people why, and instead of losing votes I won more votes from my electorate. You must have confidence in the patriotism and intelligence of your people. The people are not composed, my friends, only of an active and vocal minority which criticizes the government every time the government touches their pockets. Any property owner, who criticizes you for increasing the real property tax when such increase is justified by actual facts, has no reason to do so. If you explain this to the people, I am sure that you will gain ten votes for every vote that you lose from a property owner. Don't be afraid. Have faith, I repeat, in the sense of justice, in the patriotism of our countrymen, and you will not be disappointed.

Another great achievement made by the provinces and municipalities in the past three years has been the solution of the housing and food problems. Many of the towns and capitals of provinces all over the Philippines were destroyed by the war. But the resiliency of our people, their courage, their strength of character have solved the housing problem sooner than we expected. Our people after the war did not fold their arms and cry for help and mercy and charity. They immediately put themselves to work and with their own strength built their own houses. Their destroyed farms were rehabilitated. The shortage of animals was remedied by the men using their own hands to cultivate the fields.

There is no food problem in the Philippines today. By food problem I mean a shortage of food. There was a food problem soon after the liberation. We were faced with that tremendous food problem when I took my oath of office. There was a shortage of rice in Manila and in many provinces. People were again eating camotes and cassava. We conducted an energetic campaign for food production, the success of which surpassed our expectations. That is the reason why the government has a tremendous amount of rice in its hands now. Because of typhoons and storms and floods, all the estimates made by experts proved to be too pessimistic. We imported approximately three and a half million bags of rice in order to supply the estimated deficiency of the Philippines during that year. We paid a high price for that rice but the government considered it was its first duty to feed the people to prevent starvation here, and I courageously authorized the acquisition of this rice to insure an adequate food supply for our population.

The food campaign program, as I said, gave excellent results. Provinces that had never before produced rice now started cultivating rice. Corn was produced in great quantities, camote was planted again, vegetables were grown, the poultry industry was rehabilitated, hogs were being raised everywhere. And we can say with a great deal of satisfaction and pride that in twenty months we have solved the food problem in the Philippines. What other country in the world devastated by war, in the Orient or in Europe, can show a similar record? Of course, some prices are still high but they are not high compared with the prices that were prevalent when we assumed office. In May, 1946, when this administration was inaugurated, rice was sold in the markets of Manila at between P2.50 and P3 per ganta. Three months after assuming office, I started rationing rice. And that price was immediately cut from P2.50 or P3 per ganta to around P1.35 per ganta. Today, the NARIC is selling rice of several classes, of course; but rice of the common class, which is not bad rice, is being sold at P0.80 and P0.90 per ganta.

In 1946, the price fixed by me for palay produced in the Philippines was P12 per cavan. I am bringing that price gradually down. This year, the price fixed by the NARIC, at which it will buy this product, is P6 per cavan. For better varieties, higher prices will, of course, be paid.

The government has been criticized off and on by some public men. How ridiculous it was, they say, for the government to export rice now when because of the typhoon there is to be expected a shortage of rice! They also say, “Why export this rice? Why not give it away to the people, especially here in Manila? It is very difficult for the rice to reach the provinces, for some reason or another.”

I want to answer these criticisms now because some provincial governors also inquired why we have to export this rice when there is an expected shortage of rice in their different communities because of the last typhoons. First, with regard to the exportation of this rice, I am sure that everyone of you knows that you cannot keep rice in a warehouse forever. Rice deteriorates very rapidly especially if the palay was damp or wet when it was milled. Damp rice would deteriorate in a month or two. The best rice in the Philippines deteriorates between three and six months’ time. Fungi grow on the rice, or the rice is attacked by weevils and thereby is rendered unfit for consumption. Most of the rice that the NARIC now has or holds has been imported. It is of very good quality. It was dried because the mills in other parts of the world have driers. But we could not keep this rice forever. We have had this rice for over a year now. Some of it, that which we have recently sold, has been in our possession for almost two years.

It would have been ruinous for the government to keep this rice in its bodegas because we cannot just give this rice away to the people. One million bags of rice cost us around 25 million pesos. The government is not in a position to give away 25 million pesos now. The Congress has not authorized me to do that, and the Congress could not authorize that because we did not have the money with which to pay for this rice. The NARIC owed the National Bank at the beginning of this fiscal year 44 million pesos for money advanced by the bank to purchase this rice. It is a preposterous suggestion for the government just to open the doors of its warehouses and allow the people to get all the rice they want.

Why do we not sell this rice at a lower price instead of exporting it? For two reasons, first, because when you have two or three million bags in your warehouses, and you reduce the price per ganta by five centavos, it means a reduction of over PI per bag, or a loss of P3,000,000 on three million bags. And if you would reduce that price by P5 per bag the government would lose P15,000,000, which we can not now afford.

Another reason is, the moment you reduced drastically the price of rice, you would have all these countrymen of ours who produce rice, especially the small farmers and tenants, ranged against us. They would feel that the government has betrayed them. We realize the difficulties under which they produced that crop, the risk and the dangers to their own persons. The moment you reduced drastically the price of rice, you would withdraw a very important incentive in the continued production of rice in this country, a fact which would make our food problem acute indeed.

You have to balance the interest of the producers with the interest of the consumers. The producers are already shouldering their part of the burden in order to ameliorate conditions among consumers. When I came to office, palay prices in Central Luzon were averaging between P22 and P25 per sack, despite all government price controls. Last year despite the fact that we fixed P12 as the price at which the NARIC was going to buy rice, producers actually sold this product at between P13 and P14 per sack. This year our price is P8. They are actually selling their rice at prices ranging from P9, P9.50 to P10 per bag.

But you will see that there is a gradual reduction in the price of rice and a corresponding reduction in the price of rice to the consumer. Those who attack the government for exporting this rice either are imbued with malice or are living in ignorance of actual facts. We sold this rice to Indo-China and to India and now to the U. S. Army in Japan, because it would have been spoiled and completely destroyed if we did not sell it at this time. The price paid to us is more than enough to cover our investment in that product. So we have not actually suffered any loss in the disposition of that rice.

Now the question will be asked, "What will happen if there is a shortage of rice here in the Philippines?" The government assumes responsibility for that. We still have more than a million bags of rice in our bodegas. Let me reveal to you the basis for our estimates on this problem. Last year during the months of October, November, and December, the NARIC was selling rice at a rate of between 30 and 40 thousand bags a day, at much higher prices than we are selling today. This indicated to us that there was a shortage in the supply in the Manila market alone. Now you ask me, "How much has the NARIC been selling since October, November, December, and even now?" Our sales average is between 1,000 and 2,500 bags a day. What does that indicate? That there is no shortage of rice in this area, the supply from within being sufficient.

Just for the sake of prudence, although it is a risky proposition, we are retaining about one million bags of rice in the NARIC warehouses, to allay any fears for any possible shortage of rice during the next five months. But even supposing that a shortage occurs. When will it occur? The shortage will occur, as it ordinarily occurs, around the months of July, August, September, October, and November. The question will be asked, "What will the government do if there is a shortage during those months?" My answer is that we have already an allocation to purchase rice from abroad during the second half of this year. There should absolutely be no fear that there will be a shortage of rice during the first half of this year. During the second half of this year we have ample quotas to satisfy the local demand and the government will again in that event import all the rice that may be necessary to fill the local demand.

Two other subjects, my friends, I should like to bring to your attention. The first is our eagerness that you may cooperate with the different departments of the government in carrying out their program which, although national in character, interests you directly and vitally. First, consider the Bureau of Health of the Department of Health. The Philippines is one of the most fortunate countries in the world. Although our country was a battlefield we have not had any epidemics. And the rate of mortality in the Philippines today, compared with the rate of mortality before the war, shows a decided improvement. The same is true with regard to infantile mortality. But we have to be ever watchful. Provincial governors sometimes believe that they have nothing to do with the activities of the Department of Health. That is not true. You have a right to confer, to call these district health officers, and tell them in what respects you feel their service is deficient. Help them to correct mistakes. Help them in enforcing quarantine regulations when these are imposed. Help them in their campaign to vaccinate the people who should be vaccinated either against typhoid or cholera or smallpox. That is essential. You are interested in that because it is the health of your own people that is more directly affected.

Regarding the question of public works, don't rely entirely on the district engineer. I should like that the provincial governors, once in a while, spend some time to inquire as to the cost of construction, and likewise to obtain

information, to assure themselves that there is no anomaly in the awarding of contracts and the construction of public works. See to it that every official or employee of the different departments of the National government is actually working instead of playing mahjong during office hours; call the attention of the head of that department in your province to any irregularity in the conduct of employees; and if he gives no satisfaction, report the matter to the corresponding Department head in Manila. In some respects, you are the agents of the National government to inform us of the manner in which the national services are being carried out in your respective provinces.

The courts—watch the conduct of the justices of the peace and their contacts. Hear the comments of the lawyers, and don't permit a single justice of the peace or judge of the Court of First Instance that is unworthy of his oath and his office to continue in office. My friends, there are two services of the government that are absolutely important, two services that are in close contact with the people and by whose actions your administration and my administration will be judged by the people—the police department and the justice of the peace court. If you ever see a justice of the peace who himself compounds offenses in combination with the chief of police, or who accepts money as the determining factor of his decision in any case, don't feel that you have nothing to do with that, because that is a wrong attitude. You will be blamed by the people for allowing that man to continue in office. Report the fact immediately to the Secretary of Justice.

The people can only have confidence in the courts if they believe and are convinced that the judges are incorruptible—if they are convinced that the judge does not accept bribes or does not permit his personal relationships to weigh in the judgment of his cases. When we talk of the confidence of the people in the administration of justice, you may forget the Supreme Court or even the Courts of First Instance because, after all, there is a limited number of people that have cases in those courts and in the Court of Appeals. The problem is in the lowest court, the court of the justice of the peace. No matter how honest and how able the Supreme Court may be, no matter how efficient and just the decisions of the Court of Appeals and of the Court of First Instance may be, if your justice of the peace courts do not function in such a way as to inspire confidence in the honesty and rectitude of our courts, you will have destroyed the most important factor of our government. And when you come to deal with justices of the peace, I want you to believe me when I tell you that no matter who he may be, no matter to what party he belongs, or who recommended him for appointment, if he is unworthy of that post, I entreat you and I expect you to report him to the judge of the Court of First Instance and to the Secretary of the Department and, if you want to be certain that action will be taken thereon, I like you also to send me a copy of that report. That is basic. Let us not talk of impartial courts in the Philippines unless we can purify the courts of the justices of the peace.

You should do the same regarding the judge of the Court of First Instance. But be careful. Don't submit reports to me unless you are certain of the facts. I know that you want to work for the good of your administration. I would be greatly disappointed, however, if the provincial governors and city mayors submit reports adverse to justices of the peace or judges of the Court of First Instance for personal or for political reasons, which would embarrass the justices or judges in the performance of their duties. The judges should be completely free from any sense of fear. No judge of the Court of First Instance, no justice of the peace courts, should feel that he is answerable to any one in this government, to the President, to the Department of Justice, to the governor or any other officials. He is answerable only to the law, so long as he decides cases in accordance with his conscience, and is not influenced by any other consideration.

I want to tell you now that I am going to support a judge or justice of the peace even against the insistent demand for his removal by the most powerful leaders or officials of this land. You must give a feeling of security to the judge-make him feel that he is responsible to no man for his decisions, and that he can continue in office so long as he performs his duties in accordance with his conscience.

In regard to the Department of Agriculture: A governor today is not only a governor who should be satisfied with attending meetings of the provincial board and approving or disapproving ordinances passed by the municipal councils, or making a few appointments (for he can appoint only very few persons under the law); a governor today must be a man who is interested in the fives of the people within his province. He must be a man who should study how the people live, how they can live with the little that they earn, what can be done to increase their income, what other products can be produced in the province to increase the economic progress of that province. He must be a crusader. I do not want to set myself as an example. When I was a provincial governor—and I was then 26 years old—very naturally I then had some rather very personal or, as they say, "side issues". But I still had time to visit the

farmers and talk to them about their problems. Everybody talks about producing more, and the question asked is, "What shall we produce?"

Secretary Garchitorena of the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources will tell you what you can produce, and very profitably too, at the present time. You should be propagandists. And the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources is going to set up experimental and demonstration stations all over this country to inform farmers how to improve their crops, how to improve their methods of cultivation, how to raise livestock, and how to produce new crops.

There are three important crops that you can produce now. I shall mention them very briefly. The Department of Agriculture has reported that today there is a great demand for peanuts in the world, just the plain, humble, ordinary peanut that can be produced in this country—in every yard, in every farm, or in any piece of land reached by the sunshine. The last information I have about peanut is that it is sold abroad for $180 or P360 per ton, and the price is rising. A hectare of good land, when properly cultivated, can produce at least one and a half tons of unshelled peanuts. If it produces only one ton of peanuts, the income to the farmer is P360 per hectare. What crop in the Philippines today produces that much per hectare? When you consider the small amount of effort which the farmer must exert to produce a hectare of peanuts, you will realize that it is a profitable crop. And peanuts can be grown as an auxiliary crop in many places where, after the regular harvests, the fields are not too dry. As an auxiliary crop it has also the advantage of enriching the soil.

The peanut plant is very rich in nitrogen; it has some nodules in its roots that retain nitrogen in the earth and preserve its fertility. Propagate the production of peanuts. Some will say, "If we produce peanuts, who is going to buy them?" I know that Pangasinan can produce peanuts after the rice harvest; I know that in Masbate, for example, all those lands that were formerly used for grazing purposes could be planted to peanuts. We can send you a few tractors there and plow several hundred acres of land to peanuts to teach the people how to produce it. Now there are mechanical harvesters and shellers for peanuts in the Cotabato valley, in Negros, and elsewhere. In Negros, when you allow the land to remain fallow (it is the custom among sugar producers to leave one-third of their land fallow every year in order that the land might rest for the next planting season), you could plant peanuts and thereby be able to harvest a profitable crop and at the same time enrich the soil.

The next crop I would like to tell you about is ramie. Ramie planting is more difficult and requires specialized knowledge, not like peanut planting. Everybody in the Philippines knows how to cultivate and produce peanuts, and, after all, it is a four-month crop.

Another crop which we want developed here very rapidly is the humble and almost despised legume—I say almost despised, as a matter of fact despised or ignored by the people in many parts of our country, but of which the provinces of Northern Luzon are so fond and so proud, and justly so—the *saluyot* You know there is an example in many countries where very modest and humble plants that grow wild and unnoticed, have proved the salvation, the economic salvation of those countries. I am not talking of*saluyot* for the purpose of producing the leafy legume which constitutes a favorite item in the diet of our brothers, the Ilocanos, and which I also relish. I have in mind the fiber in the stalk of the *saluyot.* The *saluyot* belongs to the family of jutes. This year we are going to pay P50,000,000 for jute bags that will be imported into the Philippines—that is, if we can import the amount we need. There is a market for the stalk in the Philippines. We need jute bags for sugar, for rice, for copra and for baling hemp—and prices are very high today.

I do not know how long it takes to grow *saluyot,* but I understand it does not take more than four or five months, and it can grow almost anywhere. This would interest you. Many provinces which are now very poor economically would become prosperous if they intensely went into the production of this plant. It is known in Mindanao and in the Visayas by other names—I have forgotten them—but I know that many of you have heard of *saluyot.* In Leyte it is called *sumpak,* in the Tagalog provinces, *pasaor.* This plant grows all over the Philippines. It is not hard to cultivate it. We are going to set up weaving machines in order to weave the yarn into cloth. Or, we can start this enterprise as a home industry. We have made sacks out of the *saluyot* fibers and they are very, very good. In many respects, *saluyot* fibers make stronger and better bags than jute bags. I would like, before you go home, that you visit the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources and ask for information about these things. The greatest service that you can give to your people is to enable them to add something to their income and to increase their

purchasing power. When your people produce *saluyot* there will be more revenues for your provinces, your provinces will be better off, your people will be happier, they will eat better, and their income will be larger. These are the practical problems that governments must face today.

Twenty-five years ago, no government ever concerned itself with the manner in which the people were fed. If there was a shortage of rice, well, the government was sorry. Governments those days concerned themselves only with maintaining peace and order, carrying on international relations, and administering justice. Today governments all over the world act like a great, generous, liberal father of a family, who must concern himself with all the needs and the health of the people under his jurisdiction. And you, provincial governors and mayors, must likewise undertake the responsibility.

I mentioned peace and order. The Secretary of the Interior has made very plain before the country what the policy of this government is with regard to peace and order. I have taken an oath that I will defend the Constitution, do justice to every man, and promote the welfare of the people of this country. Peace and order is the first and most important duty of government, for a government cannot long exist and cannot perform its duties and obligations to the people without peace and order. In most provinces of the Philippines, except in a few areas in Central and Southern Luzon, there is peace and order. I have recently read in the newspapers and also heard the opinion of many men as to the need of liquidating this unwholesome situation in these areas by giving amnesty to the so-called dissident elements and permitting them to live in peace and as ordinary citizens within our communities. The argument is that these people are not rebels. They say that these people are willing to support the government but that they are fighting for certain reforms or concessions that the government is unwilling to yield.

These views and statements come from people who are not properly informed of the kind of men who form these groups and who are not well-informed of the efforts made by the government to make these men understand that the government is willing to support social reforms which are within its power, from time to time, to grant. You will remember that, soon after my election, or during the campaign, I made the statement that if I were elected, I would maintain peace and order in Central Luzon within six months. I will tell you why I said that. I said it because, even before my election, I had conferences with the leaders of this movement, and they made me believe that, if certain reforms were granted by the government, they would not only lay down their arms but also cooperate with the government. I had some more conferences with these men, with all their leaders, in Malacañan after my election, in which I asked them directly what reforms they wanted. I told them that I would answer them *Yes* or *No*. I was not going to dilly-dally with them or make promises. I was going to tell them what changes I should do, what the government could do, and at what time such changes would take effect.

They submitted only two requests: first,—that large estates be acquired by the government for occupants of those lands. I told them, "You don't have to talk to me about that; it was I who suggested, during the Constitutional Convention, that the right of expropriation by the government be extended to the right to acquire private property for the purpose of distribution to actual occupants of those lands." I said I believed in that social philosophy because I do believe that, as much as possible, every man who cultivates or tills land should be given an opportunity to acquire the land on which his house has been built and wherein his children grew. I said, "You don't have to argue with me about that." Then they said, "We are happy."

The next request was to increase the share of the tenants in the distribution of the rice crop. I said, "You don't have to talk to me about that either. Before the war, Mr. Feleo who is here present"—and I pointed at him—"knows that under the administration of President Quezon I proposed a better share for the tenants. My proposal was approved by the President; only that, with the coming of the war, it was not executed." I presented to them the plan that I had submitted to President Quezon, which was the 30-70 apportionment of the rice crop. I asked them, "Do you agree to it?" They said, "We would be happy if we were given 75 per cent instead of 70 per cent." But we argued about it and I told them how important it was that these reforms be made gradually so as not to produce hate and animosity between tenants and landlords who, after all, should work together for their mutual benefit. They endorsed the program. I sent the program and my recommendations to the Congress. Representatives of these groups appeared before the Congress and endorsed that program, which was approved and immediately enforced.

But now, instead of expressing their gratification for certain concessions which the government had given to them, their leaders sent me a letter defying the government and practically declaring war on the government of the

Philippines. I am not a man thirsty for blood; I have seen too much blood during the war not to create in me an irresistible abhorrence to bloodshed. For one year, the Secretary of the Interior had parleyed with these men and those who wanted to intervene in their behalf. The Secretary of the Interior has been receiving promise after promise that they would turn in their arms if we concentrated the civilian guards, so that the civilian guards might also turn in their arms after they had turned in theirs. The government could not disarm private individuals who are law-abiding while these lawless elements were roaming all over the land, kidnapping, murdering, and robbing people, because the government could not give protection to civilians who wanted to live in peace. Many do not understand why the government allows private individuals to carry arms. These men are licensed, just as many people were licensed before the war to bear arms for their own protection, because we cannot place a constabulary or policeman alongside every man, every private citizen, or in every house. Even that would not be sufficient because these dissident bands roam in large numbers.

I have talked to the leaders of these people; I have pleaded with them; I have guaranteed their safety, provided they return within the pale of the law and face the courts. They have killed, they have murdered, they have robbed, and they have kidnapped even women and children. Because of my duty to uphold the dignity of this government and the honor of this country, and because my duty under the law is to look after the enduring welfare of this nation, I can no longer continue with the policy of appeasement or a half-hearted policy to bring these people to justice. If there were fewer men and fewer publications literally glamorizing some of the leaders of this movement, picturing them as great heroes when they are daily plotting against the stability of this government and the security of our private citizens, I am sure that the pacification campaign could progress much faster. No, there shall be no more appeasement. My instructions to the Constabulary are to save every drop of blood that they can spare. Generally, the Constabulary never shoots unless shot at, but members of the police force are killed, mayors are being kidnapped, innocent women are daily being raped or taken to the hills. Whom do they injure? These men claim that they are fighting for the rights and the welfare of the poor men, and of the tenants. It is the tenants and the poor men in these provinces who are suffering most from the activities of these elements. They are forced to leave their barrios and their farms and flock to the towns, leaving everything behind them—their houses, their crops, and their work animals. But why? What is behind this movement?

I have studied and pondered long on the causes that induced these people to lead the life that they are now living. I classify these elements into two groups. First, the fruit of the toil of others, or of the wealth of others. Very often, they are identified as Huks. Conscientiously, I cannot say that in all cases these men are not in contact with Huk leaders; some of them are. We know this because when they are captured, we find identifications and letters which reveal their contact with these leaders.

Those in the second group, and these are composed of barrio folk from Pampanga, some places in Nueva Ecija, some places in Bulacan—very few in Bulacan and very few in Tarlac—are those who are coerced or have been coerced to join these elements after having been kidnapped from their homes and threatened that their families would all be liquidated if they did not join the groups. Some of these people succeeded in escaping once in a while and they report to the Constabulary. That is how this information has been gathered.

But the leaders of this movement are men who do not believe in the ideology that we have adopted in the Constitution. They do not believe in democracy. They do not believe in the right of private property. They do not believe that in our country the individual and not the State is supreme; that the rights of the individual are so powerful that they cannot be overridden by any action of the State. They are Communists; they want to overthrow this government by force. Thank God, this government has the physical strength and power to control this situation. And it will be controlled. (*Applause.*)

If these men were really working to ameliorate the condition of the so-called peasants, why don't they come to me after my having approved some of their petitions and requests, and ask me for other concessions, if they have any to ask? No, they no longer talk except in general terms about "amelioration of the conditions of the masses". But they now talk about a "democratic peace". What is a "democratic peace"? They have been asked to define it, and I have yet to see what the definition of a "democratic peace" is. Does a "democratic peace" mean that these roving bands will be allowed to roam freely murdering people, ransacking towns, and burning communities? If that is what they mean by "democratic peace", I am against it now, and I am going to be against it as long as I live. And I know that the country is against it, for we want peace and law and order. (*Applause.*)

We have a democratic peace. In what part of the world, I ask, are individuals more free in the exercise of their individual rights than in the Philippines? We have free press, free religious worship, the right to pursue freely the happiness of each individual. Every man here is equal before the courts and before the government. What do they mean by "democratic peace"? This is a peace under our democratic Constitution. So, I have reached a conclusion that it is no longer possible to appease these groups. No matter what concessions the government might give, so long as they cannot control power and govern this country, they will continue to fight the forces of law. There is only one way of fighting force: that is to fight it with a superior force. (*Applause.*) I have no hates; I am always open to reason. But from now on, I want to tell every governor here present and every municipal or city mayor and, through you, I should like to tell every mayor and policeman in your provinces and cities, what the policy of the government is, and that the government expects all public officials to cooperate with that policy. If you governors can show to me any other way, with dignity and within the laws of our country, whereby this matter could be solved, I shall be very glad to listen to you and follow your suggestions.

I made a mistake, and I am not ashamed to own it. During the first days of my administration, Secretary Zulueta and I agreed that we were going to carry on a policy of attraction toward these elements, in the belief that they were honest men with honest convictions. We were mistaken. I do not know if I can be excused for my mistake for not having had at that time the vision to foresee their subsequent acts. But, I made that mistake, and I am going to try to see to it that the mistake is corrected. I should like to ask every governor present here, especially those in the affected provinces, to give to us, to the government, all the cooperation that you can give to restore peace, a democratic peace, as I have defined it, in your respective communities; peace that will assure to every man security in his person and in his property and the fullest enjoyment of the fruits of his toil; a peace that will assure every man freedom from being coerced to do anything against his will; and freedom from being threatened with death if he dares to testify on something about the truth in certain matters before the courts.

I ask for your cooperation, and I expect your cooperation. You may find it necessary while exerting your efforts to bring back peace to your provinces, to contact some of these elements. Let me warn you: don't establish these contacts without the knowledge of the officer who is at the head of the Constabulary in your respective provinces, or without the knowledge of the Secretary of the Interior. The same should be said to every municipal mayor. He should not dare to contact these elements or in any way to aid or abet them in their lawless activities for no reason in the world, without the knowledge of the Constabulary or the Secretary of the Interior. And this warning is given for your benefit. We are watching every man who is in contact with these elements, and we are watching every individual who, in any way, abets or aids these groups whom we believe are determined to overthrow this government by force—overthrow it by either wiping out the armed forces of the government if they can, or assassinating and kidnapping the most important officials of the government. So I want you yourselves to be careful. We will try to have a showdown as quickly as possible. I trust you will believe me when I say that I have arrived at this conclusion because, in my humble opinion and within my limited intelligence, I can find no other solution to this grave problem that besets our nation.

My friends, I have spoken too long, and I have spoken about many subjects. I wish to end this exposition by leaving with you one thought, namely, that you and I are servants of the people. That is not merely an expression of principle. You should feel that it is true in fact, and I assure you that, as far as I am concerned, I do feel it and believe it. We must work together, you and I and those in other departments and agencies of the government, work together in full accord, with one single purpose in view, that is, to serve the best interest of our people, the largest number of our people—together, Nacionalistas and Liberals, irrespective of party. I am confident that by so doing, we will be able to enhance the security and happiness of our fellow citizens. I thank you. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas before the Sugarmen's Convention

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Before the Sugarmen's Convention

[Delivered on February 16, 1948]

"THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT GIVE YOU EVERYTHING"

CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN
OF THE CONVENTION:

I did not come here to make a speech; rather, I came here to feel this atmosphere of interest and determination to do everything within your power and means to rehabilitate the sugar industry. I am very much gratified to see the people who have been attending this convention. Sugar is an important industry. It is of great value to the national economy. The government is interested in the complete and rapid rehabilitation of this industry and you can be sure that the government will extend to you every effort and assistance within its power to give. *(Applause*.)

As I see the sugar industry today, I believe that your problems can be divided into three or four major topics. First, very much depends upon yourselves, your own efforts, your willingness to sacrifice, your readiness to tighten your belts a little bit, and put into the industry every peso that you can get, even neglecting to a certain extent your personal comfort and the luxury which you enjoyed before the war, for the purpose of putting the industry back on its feet.

Every centavo that you get from the government must be spent for the industry. You owe it to yourselves; you owe it to the country; and you owe it to the government that is giving you that assistance. It is not sufficient to cross your arms and expect the government to do everything for you.

The government is operating with limited means. The government cannot give you everything you need; it cannot build you a house in your *hacienda*; it cannot rebuild the house that you had there before the war costing tens of thousands of pesos; it cannot give you money with which to buy automobiles or send your children to the United States to attend the most expensive schools there. The first thing that has to be done with the money from the government is to spend it for the rehabilitation of your industry, of your farms. And once that is done, then you can think of those other things—those that minister to your comfort and maintain your pre-war standard of living.

The second topic concerns a better, more intimate, more harmonious relationship between planters and centrals. I look upon the sugar industry as a whole. When the government does something for the industry, it does not do it for the exclusive benefit of the central, nor of the planter. The government is giving help for the benefit of the industry.

I have heard ever since I was a little boy that God helps only those who try to help themselves. You have got to put your relationship in order. You must stop quarreling as soon as possible. You must agree on the relationship between the planters and the centrals.

I would be very slow in giving my approval to any assistance to any section of the country where the centrals and the planters have not reached any definite settlement. I am not going to intervene in any way to decide the differences between centrals and planters until they reach a point where they cannot agree and then they say, "Let us submit this matter to the government and whatever decision the government hands down we shall respect." Only on that condition will the government intervene in the settlement of questions that may have arisen between the centrals and planters.

The second problem that faces the industry is proper finance. Let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that this government under my administration has done more and has provided more funds for the sugar industry than for all other industries in the Philippines put together; and that can be proven by facts.

We are giving crop loans directly and through sugar centrals to all planters who can show that they are in earnest; that they are willing to work hard and to sacrifice. It will guarantee right now that no planter who is willing to work, to economize, to do his duty to himself and to the industry will never be short of funds.

But the government, with its limited resources, cannot risk millions of pesos to finance planters who obtain loans with the assurance that those loans will be invested in the industry, and, later on, spend this money on something else.

The government is going to deal with the planters and centrals strictly on a business basis. People who are able to comply with their commitments to the government except in cases beyond their control, when they cannot comply with their commitments, will always, I guarantee to all the people, receive the assistance of the government. The same is true with regard to centrals which have reached an understanding with their planters; centrals which can show that they can operate profitably under the circumstances; centrals which can show that they have planters who will be able to raise cane to support the operation of those centrals at a profit.

The government will go to the limit of its resources to help the sugar industry, but I want to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that the government is not an inexhaustible reservoir of money or credit. I set up the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation with a definite end in view, and that is to assist the people to rehabilitate their business, their farms and industries, and to rebuild their homes. The money it loans is the people's money and therefore cannot be squandered for the benefit of a few individuals. On matters of credit, when this government deals with the people's money, there are no friends and no enemies. Every Filipino who is entitled to support, will be supported.

I have given definite instructions both to the National Bank and to the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation that credit given to sugar centrals must be on a business basis. Very much depends on the character and demonstrated ability or earnestness of the borrower. I would prefer lending a man without any security P50 or P100 or P200 million if his record in the past shows that he can be trusted and that he will spend that money to develop his farm, to giving P100 or P10 thousand to a man who provides security but whose conduct in the past shows that he will not meet his obligations when his obligations fall due. So, going back to my first statement, very much depends upon your own effort, your own character, your own earnestness and determination to put your own house in order.

With regard to the participation of the planters and the centrals, that is a matter for the centrals and planters to decide between themselves. The government cannot enact a law providing that the share should be on a 40-60 or 30-70 or 50-50 basis. That is a matter of contract. We cannot by law compel the owners of centrals to rehabilitate their centrals unless, on the basis of their contract with the planters, they believe they can make some profit out of their investment.

There have been many changes since the beginning of the war. Centrals that before the war could be built for four or five million pesos cannot now be rebuilt for less than ten million pesos. So, when a central decides to rehabilitate itself, it must make an estimate of the cost to achieve that rehabilitation. The owner should consider this cost against the estimated income of the central obtainable from its participation in the crops.

If prices were high, there would not be so much discussion over that matter because both centrals and planters would certainly get along very nicely with the prices, let us say, obtaining here soon after the liberation, when sugar was being sold at sixty, one hundred, one hundred and twenty, and up to two hundred pesos per picul. But now you are faced with low prices and a competitive market. The government is not in a position to guarantee to you a price. If you ask me today what will be the price for this year, I'd not be able to tell you. I don't believe anyone could answer that question today.

We have in the world today an apparent low market for sugar, despite the fact that many sugar areas before the war are not now producing sugar. Many people will be led to suspect that some government action abroad has brought

about these depressed sugar prices. The question is that there are many areas which were large consumers of sugar before the war but which now are not consuming sugar because they do not have money with which to pay for the sugar that they would have to buy. And while there is still a shortage of sugar all over the world, based on pre-war consumption figures, prices are low because of monetary difficulties. It is possible that with the approval of the Marshall Plan there might be a greater demand for sugar to be consumed in Europe and the other countries formerly occupied by the enemy or which are now in a depressed economic state. But we can only conjecture about that.

At the beginning of this season practically every producer of sugar in the Philippines believed that sugar prices would not go below P14 per picul because they based their estimate on the prevalent market prices in New York at the time. They did not anticipate nor could we anticipate the action taken by the American government to reduce the tariff on Cuban sugar, which was one of the main causes for the further decline of prices. The point I am trying to drive at is this: You have to make every effort possible to bring down the cost of production. Sugar is a commodity subject to competitive prices. The sugar industry in the Philippines can only be stabilized and its dominance secured, if you could bring your cost of production to a level where you could compete with sugar produced in countries similarly situated as ours.

For the next twenty-six years, you will have a preferred market in the United States. The quota in favor of Philippine sugar in the United States is a most valuable asset. We must hold on to that quota. Besides, if there is an opposition on our part, as far as the provisions of the London Sugar Agreement are concerned, if it should be to the interest of the Philippines to sign that agreement, we might denounce it at the close of every year. But the sugar quota in the United States of 850 thousand long tons must be maintained and it is the responsibility of the government to maintain that quota as long as possible.

This convention should deal with the problem of bringing down the cost of production. That can be accomplished, I am sure your experts will tell you, in many ways. I am a lay man with a little knowledge on this subject, but I have been so much interested in this matter that I have talked to many people about it, and I think that you can reduce the present cost of production by using more fertilizers, if the price of fertilizers could be brought down to a reasonable level.

In order to meet that requirement, the government is making effort to build a fertilizer plant in the Philippines. It will cost many millions of pesos, but the principal beneficiary will be the sugar industry. According to our present estimate, if we can carry out this program based on the development of hydro-electric power, we will be able to sell fertilizer, ammonium sulphate, in the Philippines, at a cost that will not be over P80 per ton.

My friends, let us not be over-optimistic. It will take a long time before we can set up this plant or finish its construction, even if we have all the money required to build it. It is going to cost us about $11 million. The fertilizer plant's proposed capacity is 126,000 tons, which is about 20 per cent more than the amount of fertilizer which the sugar industry consumed before the war or which we imported from abroad.

We believe that if we can get the money this year, it will take us four years to finish that plant and to put it into production. I notice you heaving a sigh as if to say, "Well, that is too long." Well, there is no other way of doing it, my friends. But the sooner we get started, the better it will be for us. It cannot be built sooner than that, for we will first have to develop the power. It will be necessary to build the fertilizer plant in Mindanao because we have a big hydro-electric power project there. The water power supplied by the Maria Cristina Falls will be able to produce it at a low cost and still permit us to make a profit, even if we should sell the power at half a cent per kilowatt hour.

The next thing that you will have to survey is the improvement of your seed. We have established the experiment farm in Negros for that purpose. I would like that farm to be the sugar planter's farm of the Philippines. Come and cooperate with the people who are managing that experiment station. Bring your different seeds and ask the government to experiment on them. Let's see if we can cross some seeds with others. Let us try to import seed from, abroad if we can, but let us develop our own varieties where they will be resistant to disease and at the same time yield the larger crop.

The third problem is that of diversification. I'd like to see every sugar planter plant the land that he allows to remain fallow every year with auxiliary crops; crops that will not only yield an income every year but also bring back fertility to his soil. Many people sneer at me because every time I have a chance to talk to farmers or economists, I talk about peanuts. There is a great market for peanuts. There are large areas in Negros that have not been planted to anything yet. You have the tractors. Why don't you plant peanuts? The present quotation for peanuts is around $180 per ton. It is estimated that a piece of good land properly cultivated will produce about two and a half tons per hectare. And if you can grow peanuts in the proper way you will have an income from your peanut field that will be in excess of the income that you can get per hectare of cane that you have planted today. And peanut is not a crop that will require a large investment. It does not require any investment at all, having as you do already the agricultural implements needed for the production of that crop.

In other words, rotate your crops because peanuts will not only bring you an income but also enrich your soil.

The livestock: Sugar planters must not depend entirely on their sugar crop; they should also raise animals. There is now a great shortage of hogs and carabaos. In India and in many other parts of the world, there is a great abundance of cattle but they are not raised in big cattle ranches. Every farmer owns two or three, or four, or half a dozen cattle and he also owns two or three hogs and has a dozen or two of poultry layers. We are bringing in from India some goats that are good milk producers. We are bringing in good cattle from India—good for milk and beef and also for work. We have finally made our selection. We are trying to bring in a thousand heads of these cattle. We will be willing to farm them out to you gradually if you can show to us that you will take good care of them. They should be able to increase your income. You should not depend on sugar alone. And every peso that you can add to your income through these other activities will help your own sugar plantation not to be dependent on sugar entirely, because sugar depends on so many imponderables. And sometimes, it is much too risky for one man to place all his fortune on the sugar industry alone.

Your next problem is how to get credit: crop loans. We have not had a very happy result of our experiment to give crop loans to rice producers. The government is not Santa Claus. When the government lends a peso it expects that peso to be paid back and not reluctantly but willingly and gladly. That is not my money; it is not the money of Mr. Carmona here or Mr. Delfin Buencamino; it is the money of this country, the money of the people of the Philippines. And when you don't pay what you owe to the National Bank, it is not the National Bank that you hurt but the people of the Philippines. My friends, don't believe—don't think—that I have anything against you people in the sugar industry. I am just taking advantage of this occasion to talk about that problem, which affects not only the sugar industry but also the rice, coconut, and many other industries. I will repeat what I said before.

The man who can show that he is a good farmer and who adheres strictly to his commitments or, at least, makes an effort to comply with them, will not have any difficulty in getting loans. Some people have complained to me that they don't want the centrals to handle the loans to the planters. I have talked about that matter to people, in fact to several people: planters and sugar central operators. The sugar centrals would not want to have anything to do with them if they could help it. I have forced the centrals in many instances to assume that responsibility. Why? Everybody in the industry today is short of funds. They all want funds to rehabilitate their farms. How long do you think will it take us? It will take many months if not years for the Philippine National Bank or the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation to deal with each and every one of the planters all over the Philippines. You are too many; if it were a question of ten or fifteen or a hundred, or even two hundred, then we could deal directly with them. But we have to deal with thousands if not with tens of thousands.

The Bank cannot possibly consider in a few weeks' time each of the loan applications submitted to it for consideration, with justice to itself and at the same time to the satisfaction of everybody. The complaint will recur.

Similar conditions existed even before the war. The planters had to wait for several months before their applications for loans were acted upon. If that was so before the war, when there were so many planters who no longer needed any financial assistance from the bank, how much worse would it be if we sought to deal directly with the individual planters? That is the main reason why I insisted that the centrals themselves grant these loans. This arrangement places the government in a better position, because we have the guarantee of the centrals for these loans in addition to that which the individual gives to the central for obtaining these loans. And, besides, who is better able to judge as to what planters should be helped and should not be helped, than the centrals? I expect, of course, the centrals to

deal with this matter in accordance with this policy without *compadrazgos*, as they say, but on a purely business basis. And the centrals know who then-planters are. They know whether an individual planter is really working and can be trusted; they know how many tons of canes they will give in order to carry out the program. Therefore, they can stimulate production by increasing assistance to planters who are really willing and able to work. And those that are indifferent and are not going to work even if you give them money, do not deserve immediate aid.

There are many planters who complain that the centrals are not giving them the money that they want, for one reason or another. I will only be very happy to hear complaints submitted by individuals to the effect that centrals are not treating them properly. I promise you that those cases will be investigated and, if the centrals are not willing to give you the money, I am asking you to submit your applications directly to the bank for proper action. In other words, what we are trying to do is to expedite the proper grant of crop loans so that you will not come back to me and complain, "What is the use of these crop loans when the season is already over?"

With regard to reconstruction of sugar centrals, I believe everybody is agreed that we should consolidate sugar centrals if the consolidation is favorable from a purely economic motive. The operation of small sugar centrals will always prove to be expensive. Some planters object to the consolidation, claiming that the cane is going to suffer deterioration in its sucrose content if it is transported a long distance. I received a petition from the people of Kabangkalan and Isabela Centrals. They say, "We have to trans port our sugar over a distance of more than 70 kilometers and our cane depreciates in weight because during the transportation much of the water content of the cane evaporates." "Well," I told them, "if that is your only problem, it can be brought up before the board of directors of the Binalbagan and Isabela Sugar Centrals and I am sure that the directors will be reasonable about it. If you are worried about the loss of weight of your cane, I shall tell the Binalbagan Central to set up a weighing station somewhere around the area where the former central was located so that your cane may be weighed there everyday upon delivery." In other words, those objections are not

fundamental.

What we are trying to bring about is the reduction of the cost of production per picul. And why are the planters interested in the achievement of that end? I believe that if the sugar centrals are able to make a large profit, they will be more than willing to increase the share of the planters in the crop. But when the sugar central is operating at a narrow margin of profit, as in the present case, the owners will not be in a good position to increase the share of the planters in the cane that they deliver to the centrals. The consolidation, therefore, will benefit not only the central but ultimately also the planters.

When sugar men are making 30 per cent or 40 per cent or 50 per cent on their investment, I believe the force of public opinion in the Philippines will be such that they will not be able very long to resist the demands of planters for greater participation in the crop. (*Applause*.) But in the meantime, when the cost of production is also very high, when the amount of cane delivered to them is small, there will be no sugar central, with the possible exception of two or three, which will be able to pay dividends this year. It is very hard to talk about increasing participation until the centrals are actually receiving profits, in which case they should share those profits with the planters.

Those are my reasons for consolidation, and we promise to help centrals that are trying to consolidate. When the government believes that a war-damaged central should not be restored and that it is better for that central to consolidate with other centrals, there will be reluctance on the part of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation or the National Bank to give money for the rehabilitation of just that one central.

We want to prove to you that the government under stands your problems; that we are discussing them continuously and with care; that the government is listening to all parties on this question; that we are giving attention not only to planters and centrals but also and particularly to the laborers working for you in the fields, whose working conditions I would like to see improved and whose wages I should like to see raised.

We are not neglecting the sugar industry. But don't expect us to give you hundreds of millions of pesos, because we do not have that much to loan. We will give you what you reasonably need. This government is not going to give any money for the purpose of transferring ownership of a farm or a central to anybody, not that I don't want to. As a

matter of fact, I am desirous that the planters own the centrals if they can, but we just do not have any money to invest in buying such a large property from one man and transferring its ownership to another who does not have any money himself with which to pay the government for the reconstruction of that central. That may be done later on but now we do not have the funds with which to do it.

All the money that we have—and we do not have enough—must be spent for rebuilding and reconstruction; not for purchasing centrals or farms. And I know that the credit institutions of the government cannot be in a position to undertake this last. Besides, my friends, let me ask in frankness and directly to all of you: When the government financed the building of sugar centrals in the Philippines, was it not the government policy at the time that the stockholders of the centrals should be the planters themselves? Let us take, for example, the Talisay-Silay or the Bacolod-Murcia, or the Isabela. All these centrals were built for the benefit of the planters. They were going to be stockholders of those centrals. And then what happened? The same thing that happens everywhere in the world when you have to deal with human nature. The planters did not maintain their shares. When they needed money, they sold their shares in the open market and gradually there was a concentration of these shares in the hands of a few people.

Some planters want the government to give them money with which to buy a central and then additional money with which to reconstruct that central. They want to be the stockholders without supplying any capital except a mortgage on the property that they want, which, today, my friends, is not sufficient to pay for the cost of reconstruction in most areas because construction costs have increased tremendously.

Let us take, for example, Central Palma. I do not know how many hectares are involved in Central Palma but I think their quota is less than a hundred thousand piculs—is that correct? Hundred twenty thousand piculs. At present, the land that could produce that amount of sugar would not cost as much as the amount we would have to spend to buy the central or to build a bigger central to mill the cane coming from Kabangkalan, San Isidro, and Tanjay. It would cost probably eight or ten million pesos. There could not be enough security for that. And what will happen then? Gradually the planters will sell their shares to other people and after three or four or five years, may be sooner than that, we will find that the central is again owned by a few individuals rather than by the planters themselves.

This is a beautiful idea—make the planters owners of centrals. If I could propose the enactment of a law—which is probably unconstitutional—prohibiting the transfer of those shares to anyone else, then we might be able to achieve that. But so long as you permit the free transfer of the shares—and I don't know of any law that can pre vent you from dealing with your own property as you please—I am afraid I will repeat that we are just chasing a "will o' the wisp." We want to do something but we will never succeed in doing it.

The only beneficiaries will be a few people who know how to save up money and gradually buy these shares or some big corporation organized for the purpose of buying control of the shares even to the extent of offering an exorbitant price in order to be able to control that central.

As far as the shares of the government in the sugar centrals are concerned, as in Bacolod-Murcia and Binalbagan, the government is not interested in remaining a stockholder in any central. When conditions are ripe and people have money with which to buy those shares, I am going to sell them to planters, so that they may be able to become shareholders in their company. But there again, I am telling you, they will buy those shares at a low price and very often they will turn around and sell them to whoever offers them a profit. While we deal with men who have their own interests to serve—and we cannot blame them—we will not be able to control any of these centrals in the hands of the planters themselves, especially during this time when every planter is in need of money.

If you, gentlemen, think that I am mistaken in that assumption, I should like you to appoint a committee to come to Malacañan to try to convince me that I am wrong. But I am basing my judgment on actual experience. The planters of Talisay, for example, I understand, want to rebuild that central, with themselves paying to the Talisay Sugar Central its present cost whatever it might be and the government providing the funds to pay for the central and to rebuild it. The stockholders are to be the owners of the land adjacent to that central and the central is to be operated by the planters themselves.

Well, my friends, I have studied that problem and I have always stumbled against this high wall: For whom am I doing it? Am I doing this for the planters? My answer is, at first glance, "yes"; but then I ask myself again, "How long will the planters retain the ownership of those shares? If they are valuable, many people will buy them. If they are not valuable, they are not worth any to the planters or to anybody else." I want to be reasonable, my friends, and I want to suggest that you submit your suggestions or requests to the government if you yourselves are convinced that if you were the government you would approve those requests and applications.

In conventions of this nature, any member may propose a resolution for assistance; and if it is all right, regardless of the cost to the government or of whether the government can do it or not, it is readily approved. I believe that should some member of this convention propose that the government set aside a hundred million pesos in order to permit the farmers to rebuild and to rehabilitate their own farms, it would be approved without any dissenting vote. I would approve it myself if we had the money, but we do not have that hundred million pesos for that purpose, my friends.

I do not know how much we have given in crop loans but I am sure it is over P25,000,000 already, for sugar alone. I do not have the correct figures of the amount of money given for the rehabilitation of sugar centrals but I am sure that it is over P20,000,000 already. We are willing to give more money but give us security because the law does not permit us to give any money—any government money—without the proper security.

And my friends, don't be angry with the government when it sues one of you—I don't mean you, I mean anyone of the people whom you represent—for failure to comply with the commitments to the government. On the contrary, I believe that action by the bank should have the support of the sugar planters. You ought to discipline your own members. An association becomes truly useful when it is able to discipline its members in the name of the association and of the industry. That is incentive enough for everyone to provide you with credit.

But the statement is often made: "Investment in the sugar industry is the surest investment the government can make. Look at our past record. When the Wood-Forbes Mission came to the Philippines, it reported almost fifty-one million pesos of indebtedness of the sugar centrals and of the planters to the sugar centrals, and yet every cent of that indebtedness was later paid back." And that is true, my friends, and I want to congratulate each and everyone of you for that admirable record. It took us some time to collect. There were many condonations of interest and many other adjustments but finally everyone was able to pay. Today, we are willing to give you crop loans, as I said before, but we do not have the millions that we had before the war which we could set aside for this purpose.

There are many other industries here that are waiting for assistance, too. So, if at present we decide that we are not going to give these loans in spite of your record and of the work that you are doing, don't think that the government is doing that because it does not want to help the sugar industry.

Now, just one more question—that of prices. I have heard all sorts of criticisms against me because of the price of domestic sugar. I am blamed every time the price of domestic sugar goes down ten cents or twenty cents. I am blamed because I have released first 90,000 tons for domestic consumption. I had a meeting with sugar producers, both central owners and planters, in Baguio, and told them that 90,000 tons did not seem to be enough for local consumption because prices were so high (they were at the time selling at P28, then P30, and P32). I said, "My friends, how can I face the people of the Philippines—the consumers—since they tell me 'What kind of government is this, which allows the sugar industry to sell to the United States sugar at P13 per picul and which compels us here, its own people, to pay P30 per picul?' You allowed American consumers to buy sugar from you at P14 per picul and now at P12, yet you compel your own countrymen, the poor Filipinos who do not make enough to live on, to buy sugar at P22 or P18 per picul." I told them, "How can I justify my attitude? Is there anyone among you," I said, "who can tell me if I can hold on very much longer to that situation without a great protest on the part of the consumers in the Philippines?" They couldn't answer. They said it was right. "Can anyone of you," I asked, "justify our charging the Filipino consumer, who is a poor man, higher price for the sugar he needs for his livelihood—a much higher price than we are willing to sell it to American consumers in the United States?"

Well, they told me that could be done. "All right," I said, "What is the remedy?" I made them a very strict proposal to the effect that I would fix the ceiling for sugar that would be equivalent to the export price plus transportation expenses. In other words, so that sugar in the Philippines will be sold at about the same price as sugar in the United

States. They said that was right but difficult to enforce. They said that if you would just increase the quota for local consumption everything would be all right because the abundance of sugar for local consumption would bring about a reduction in prices. "Well," I said, "All right, if that is how you feel about it, I will do it." We discussed the amount to be allocated for local consumption and finally agreed that 150,000 would do. I said, "All right, and let us see what happens." What happened? I fixed it at 150,000 tons and gradually the sugar prices went down.

As a matter of fact, the price went down even before I had fixed it at that amount; it had gone down from P32 to about P22 and later on to P18 per sack. And yet, when it went down to P18, everybody blamed it on the President. And this was suggested in a meeting I called with representatives of the industry! The same planters came to see me and told me that the situation was very injurious to them. So we again revised the estimate for local consumption and left it at 120,000 tons.

I don't know if everybody is satisfied with that price now. In Negros it is P14; in Manila, I think it is still P18; in Cebu, P15.50. Well, we are charging our people here in Manila P18 per picul and selling it in the United States at about P12 per picul, and the sugar planters think that Roxas is against the sugar industry. We are getting a subsidy from the people of the Philippines—the consumers— and that is the amount of the differential in prices, for the benefit of the sugar industry. And that benefits every producer, not only the centrals but also the planters. I am permitting that to continue because I know that the planters and centrals have to rehabilitate themselves; they have to make enormous expenditures; they have to restore their farms; they have to buy new equipment, and so forth. It will help them. As I cannot give them a direct subsidy, I am permitting that situation to continue for a while. But, gentlemen, that is not to continue forever. When you will have produced your full quota or very nearly your full quota, you will find that local prices will approximate export prices very rapidly. And you cannot blame me for that; you have to admit that it is a natural consequence of the amount of sugar that you produce.

Gentlemen, why does that situation obtain? You sell your sugar in Manila at P14 and then the Chinese or some other dealer sells it at prices ranging from P25 to P36?

I do not know about the latest figures, but when I was in Baguio, I was told that centrifugal sugar was being sold in public markets at 60 centavos per kilo. I do not know what it is today; maybe from 40 to 60 centavos. Suppose it is 40 centavos. Sixty-three kilos at 40 centavos will amount to P25.20. Well, the dealer makes more out of the sugar industry than the central and the planter together. Who is to blame for it? You people. I say you and the centrals, and I cannot disguise my conviction as to that. I say you have no reason to complain because you are at fault.

Even before the war—and Mr. Coscolluela and Mr. Montelibano are witnesses to that—I asked repeatedly that you form a cooperative and distribute your own sugar so that you might be benefited by that differential in prices (Applause.) The trouble here is that whenever you cannot get something which you could get if you made some effort in that direction, you blame it on the government. I promise the sugar industry: If you form a strong co operative so that you can distribute your own sugar, the National Bank is going to pay the export price of that sugar upon surrender of the quedans of all the sugar in. a bonded warehouse so that the cooperative will have all the funds necessary to operate that agency. Now, of course, after you have sold your sugar, you can declare dividends in proportion to the amount of sugar surrendered by each planter or by each central. What is the difficulty about? Well, they tell me, "Why doesn't the PRRA do it? The PRRA can pay us P18 per picul and let the PRRA sell it at whatever price it may."

But listen, why should we take your chestnut out of the fire if you can do it yourself much better? You can do it. We will finance you. If you don't know how to protect your own interests, you should not expect the government to do it. We cannot do it. If we did it, we would be involved in a lot of scandals and accusations of graft and so forth. You can do it yourselves and I trust you will take steps during this convention to organize that cooperative. There is enough profit in the differential between wholesale price and retail price to cover your losses or expenses that you may incur. We want a responsible management for that cooperative and I am sure that Mr. Carmona here, and if necessary the RFC, will pay its export price for the sugar. And you can adjust that and liquidate it after you have sold your sugar, provided it is in a bonded warehouse, upon the surrender of the receipt—of your quedans.

In that way we can finance it. You are going to get this differential which is equivalent to more than fifty per cent of the price of sugar. I am sure that if you did you could average the price of sugar today from P15 to P18 per picul, whereas, today you can receive only P12 or even less per picul. Now, that is a chance for you. Don't expect everything from the government. Your government is willing to do everything for you but there is a limit to what it can do. There is your chance and you can give work to people who are cooperating with the industry, to distribute the sugar.

It does not mean that every planter will acquire a stall in the public market here and start to sell his sugar. It simply means that you will have a central depot here in Manila to sell to these *tiendas* and *mercados* and other places, in much the same way as we are selling rice. It does not need many people.

When I was in Baguio sugar was selling at P14 per picul. I thought that that was a good price. It seems that the sugar market in the United States has a tendency of going down. I cannot tell if that condition will end when the Marshall Plan goes into effect.

I have a proposal from some people to buy all exportable sugar in the Philippines at competitive prices plus a differential of one cent per pound for the cost of transportation. I will not reveal who they are; I am not free to reveal their identity. But a decision on your part must be made very soon—in a few days—and you must make an offer. The offer must be a competitive price and the most that they will pay you is a differential of one cent per pound. That will mean PI.40 per picul—more than what you might generally get on the basis of world market prices. They want to receive the offer from you. They are not offering anything. I am just giving you a side tip that they will probably give you the benefit of about one cent a pound more because of the difference in freight rate.

I would like the officers of this congress to get in touch with the sugar association for that purpose. All that I want you to do is to write me a letter saying, "We are willing to sell so many thousand tons of sugar at this price." That is all, and then I will put you in touch with the representatives of the people who are interested.

My friends, I think I have talked longer than I had intended to. I wish to appeal to you for understanding of the position of your government. I should like you to realize that the government would be very, very happy to assist you in every way, but that there are limitations to what the government can do under the circumstances. The money that is now available to the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation for further loans is very limited. We have made other commitments. We are building public markets and waterworks and irrigation systems and other things that are equally important for agriculture as well as for the livelihood of the people.

I should like this Congress to make a definite proposal to the government, for example, with regard to livestock. We want to cooperate with you. We want to know you are the planters who would be willing to take care of poultry and of hogs and cattle and so forth, so that at the first available opportunity we might be able to farm them out. Those are the most important things. And these cattle that we are bringing in from India are very good work animals, too; better than the former ones that we imported. We cannot bring them in very large quantities because India also limits their exportation. I understand that this year the government of India will permit only about 1,000 head to go out from that country. We are willing to buy all of that.

We are paying a pretty high price for those cattle, but inasmuch as we don't want to delay rehabilitation of the cattle industry here, we shall make a sacrifice and buy at the pretty high price. But these are breeding cattle and they are of the best breed. Our scientists in the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources have certified to me that these cattle have proved to be disease-resistant in the Philippines and they will thrive here very well.

With regard to the National Bank, my friends, my advice to you is to try to consider the National Bank as your friend and not as an enemy. Try to consider the National Bank as an agency of the government which is only too glad to cooperate with you. But don't fill the air with gossip and complaints against the National Bank. Every man who goes to the National Bank and asks for a P200,000 loan but he cannot get all the P200,000 loan because he does not have enough security for it, and only gets about P100,000, he becomes an enemy of the bank and starts talking to all saying, "Well, the bank did not give me because I do not have political influence; I do not have friends here and there." You can all ask Mr. Carmona if I ever talked to him to give a loan to any individual merely on the strength of

personal friendship. He is here and he can bear witness to the fact that I have never told him, “Don’t give a loan to so and so because he voted against me in the past elections.” That is true, and I assure you that we will continue with that policy. As far as the bank is concerned, there is no friend and no political enemy and everybody and every loan must stand on their own merits.

My friends, I wish to end by saying that I am very grateful for your interest in the sugar industry. I should like to assure you that the government, too, is interested in the industry, and I expect that you will do everything you can in your deliberations to draw up a program which the government might be able to help in executing for the complete and progressive rehabilitation of the sugar industry. (*Applause*.)

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas before the Philippine Veterans Legion in Convention

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Before the Philippine Veterans Legion in Convention

[Delivered on March 6, 1948]

ADDRESS BEFORE THE PHILIPPINE VETERANS LEGION IN CONVENTION

Mr.TOASTMASTER, GENERAL DUQUE, GENERAL PERALTA, MEMBERS OF THE PHILIPPINE VETERANS LEGION:

I am never so happy as when I address a group of veterans, veterans such as you, who have risked your lives in the defense of the integrity of your country and to uphold the principles of liberty and democracy, which must survive if we want peace and happiness in this land of ours and in the world at large.

This country of ours owes a great debt of gratitude to the Filipino veterans, both those who belonged to the USAFFE and those who joined the forces of resistance and, later, of liberation, for the service they rendered in the war effort. It is not only the feat of arms which you showed during the war that entitles you to that recognition. And it is not only the Philippines that ought to be grateful for your services. Every land where men who value freedom, democracy, and the right to speak, to think, and to worship God as they please, owes you gratitude, because in the last war you fought for these freedoms everywhere. With your support freedom has been and will ever be preserved, I trust, not only for certain peoples but for all mankind.

I am very happy to have participated in the ceremony that took place here this noon, bringing about the indissoluble union of the guerrillas and the USAFFE veterans. This end has been my earnest wish since liberation.

The responsibilities and the problems that veterans have to face are tremendous. They require the strong and proven shoulders of everyone of us to carry them out.

I have often heard the charge that not enough is being done to show the people the government's recognition of the great service rendered by the guerrillas and those who supported them in their fight. I wish you, my friends, to pause and ponder over the foundation upon which those charges are based.

It is true that we have not been able to pay off the debt of gratitude that your people owe you. I do not believe that we will ever be able to pay in full measure such recognition. It could not be. It cannot be paid in dollars and cents. It cannot be paid by merely placing your leaders in important positions in the government. They can only be paid in one indefinitive way, that is, by making this country endure as a free country, so that the principles for which you fought and for which many of our comrades died, may endure and that our land may be preserved forever for our children and our grandchildren. *(Applause.)*

The United States government has tried to do its best to give recognition to the service of our armed forces including our guerrillas. I realize, and I know, that in the recognition of guerrillas some injustices have been committed, I have heard the charges and in some cases I found some ground for the charge that some units or members of some units who are not as worthy have been recognized in preference to other units or members of these units who were more deserving.

On the other hand, some units which should have been recognized have not been recognized, while others which do not deserve recognition have been given that recognition.

I do not believe that anyone of you holds in his own hands the proofs that can substantiate these charges. It is a matter of personal appreciation of trust. I am convinced that the authorities of the American Army whose responsibility has been to weigh these evidences and to make decisions have, I believe, in the great majority of cases, acted with an inner desire to be fan- and just. I have submitted some special cases to the U. S. Army for reexamination and I endeavor to determine the truth concerning some guerrilla organizations that have not yet been recognized. I found that the U. S. Army had diligently undertaken this new examination.

The trouble, my friends, is, if we must speak frankly, that soon after liberation some leaders asked for recognition of the limited number of members of their units. I do not make a specific charge. I am merely giving expression to my impression. For example, units that, during the period of occupation, counted only with a limited number of active members, presented long rosters when the time for recognition came.

However, in these cases, I am not qualified to testify as to the falsity of the new rosters that had been submitted because while I was in contact with practically all the important units, I was not informed exactly of the number of members of each one of them.

I am doing, and I am willing to do everything on my part, to insure that justice is done to those who are entitled to it. I have never refused to listen to or help guerrilla organizations that have come to me in quest of support. I have given my own personal testimonies in cases within my knowledge. But in others I have simply submitted their requests to the U. S. Army for proper consideration. I wish to assure the members of this convention that the matter of recognition of guerrillas is a very difficult problem. I understand that about 1,300,000 men have been asking for recognition as members of different guerrilla units.

Every man recognized by the U. S. Army is entitled to certain gratuities and allowances and the U. S. Army, of course, has been trying to estimate the number of these men and the amount of funds needed for the payment of their gratuities and allowances. In the very nature of things, the Army men are required to be very careful in this matter of recognition. In one sense many of us are to blame for some of the mistakes that have been committed because of our urgent demand for recognition.

In other words, without properly appreciating the importance and the difficulties of the problem, we have been insisting on prompt and immediate recognition. That was not difficult in Mindanao and the Visayas because the units which were operating there were in constant contact, at least in 1944, with the Southwest Pacific Command, and during that time, long before liberation, they had already submitted their complete rosters to the headquarters of the Supreme Command. In the case of Luzon guerrillas, however, in the first place there was no recognized leader or commander of guerrillas or resistance forces on the island of Luzon. This was most unfortunate. I did everything in my power to bring about consolidation of command. I chose our unfortunate comrade, a great soldier, one of the men who sacrificed most during the war, General Vicente Lim, who might at an opportune time be recognized as the commander of all Luzon guerrillas. Governor Chioco is here who can testify to that fact, because General Lim advised me when he accepted that commission that he would appoint Governor Chioco as his chief of staff. Very unfortunately, General Lim was arrested and executed before the time came for his coming out as the active commander.

After that it was impossible to bring about the unification of command and there was, therefore, no responsible leader in Luzon that could certify to the U. S. Army as to the membership and the identity of the various guerrilla units operating on the island. Because of that, many difficulties have arisen in the matter of recognition of guerrillas. But the U. S. Army is still endeavoring to correct mistakes and to make recognition even of individuals who can show that they actively participated in the resistance movement but have not as yet been recognized as members of units to which recognition has already been given.

As far as the Veterans Office of the U. S. Army in the Philippines is concerned, I believe that we are very fortunate that we have now as its head a fine soldier, a fine gentleman, and a good friend of Filipinos and of the veterans, General Lovett. *(Long applause.)* He is showing every sympathy to people who are deserving of assistance. He is accelerating settlement of cases brought before his office, especially in connection with pensions to be received by the widows and orphans of our dead soldiers.

As regards your case, I should like to remind you that the government of this Republic is only about a year and a half old. When the Republic was inaugurated, our government was operating at a great fiscal debt. We had only about P17,000,000 of income as against almost P300,000,000 of expenditure. It was not unwillingness on the part of those in the government to help you that was the cause of the meager expression of your government's gratitude that has been extended to you in the form of gratuities and pensions. The reason was the state of its finances.

The year before last, when we were still facing a deficit of P100 000,000, we already enacted the GI Bill of Rights and organized the Philippine Veterans Board, and I placed at the head of that board one of the most patriotic and gallant soldiers that participated in the resistance movement, a member of the USAFFE and a distinguished guerrilla leader, General Peralta. *(Prolonged applause.)*

After his appointment, he came to me for instructions and I remember that my instructions were contained in these terms: "Do the best you can for the veterans, especially for the needy women and children", and he has managed the affairs of his office in accordance with those instructions.

At the beginning we thought that P2,000,000 would be enough to discharge the obligations of the government to the widows and orphans of disabled veterans; to pay for gratuities and educational and other privileges extended to veterans. We set aside that appropriation, and later it was found that it was very deficient. It was increased last year. This time the appropriation was P5,000,000. It was not sufficient. It was about two months ago, upon the request of the PVB, that I, utilizing my emergency powers, increased the appropriation by P7,000,000, so that today we are spending P12,000,000 to take care temporarily of the widows and orphans of the dead soldiers and of the disabled veterans needing assistance until my friend, General Lovett, can take care of them.*(Applause.)*

Your government would like to do more for you, especially for those who need assistance. We must not neglect the widows and orphans of our dead soldiers. If it is a matter of priority, the widows and orphans of our dead soldiers should be granted priority over all. It is a debt that we owe our dead comrades that we must not neglect the loved ones they have left.

As for the veterans themselves, those who have, like us, the good fortune of surviving the war, I repeat, we approved the GI Bill of Rights.

Today, we are paying pensions to about 12,000 widows and orphans. We have paid tuition fees for about 10,000 veterans who are now studying in schools. If more veterans want to go to school, I shall provide the necessary funds for a larger number. *(Prolonged applause.)*

There is now pending, in the U. S. Congress, a piece of legislation which is of vital importance to the veterans, the Rogers Bill. This bill was drafted by an inter-departmental committee appointed by President Truman upon my request. Its provisions are probably well-known to you. I shall mention just a few.

This bill provides for hospitalization service for all recognized veterans. The program is to build here four or five hospitals. As recommended by the committee, these hospitals will have a total bed capacity of around 3,000. I have suggested that one hospital be built in Baguio for recuperation, another in the neighborhood of Manila, another in the Visayas, and the fourth one in Mindanao.

It has been agreed with the inter-departmental committee—and the bill as drafted permits that arrangement— that these hospitals will be built with U. S. funds. They will be equipped with funds that may be provided by the U. S. Congress to the Philippine government. The Philippine government will operate these hospitals, with the understanding that it will accept for accommodation and treatment in these hospitals, veterans certified as entitled to this right by the office of the U. S. Veterans Administration, and that the government of the United States is to pay to the government of the Philippines a certain sum per day for each veteran treated. The understanding also provides that in case facilities are in excess of the requirements of the veterans, the Philippine government may admit civilian patients in order to help the government support these hospitals and maintain them at a high standard of operation.

The bill also provides for the extension of the time within which insurance claims may be filed. I am happy to state, however, that just a few days ago I learned that the Congress of the United States has already passed a law authorizing acceptance of insurance claims for another period of two years, beyond the period for merely provided by the law.

The bill has not yet been approved by the President of the United States. He is, of course, at liberty to take such action as he may decide on that case, but I am quite certain—if I know the attitude of President Truman towards the Filipino veterans as I do—that he will give that bill his executive approval.

As regards educational benefits, the bill provides for the grant of educational benefits to recognized veterans of the Philippines who may seek to enroll in colleges and universities and high schools. They will be paid in pesos the same amount that is now being paid in dollars to American veterans. This difference, of course, arouses some opposition on the part of Filipino veterans. Why should there be any distinction? We fought under the same flag, and risked human lives of the same kind. We should be entitled to the same benefit. (*Applause.)*

My friends, educational benefits, however, are measured in accordance with reasonable costs prevailing in a locality. In other words, if the tuition fees charged in the United States, for example, amount to $100 a year and tuition fees in the Philippines amount to $200, it is not reasonable for us to require the United States to give us an allowance of $200.

With regard to subsistence, the law of the United States gives the unmarried veteran an allowance of $90 a month. In other words, in addition to the tuition, the veterans bureau pays a student who is a veteran $90 a month for living expenses. In the Philippines we are asking for the same right. We shall try to secure the same amount, if it is possible and if it is just, that is being paid to veterans in the United States. But I believe that the least that we are entitled to ask is that we be paid in pesos what the U. S. government pays in dollars in the United States. The distinction is not that in the United States they are paying American veterans. The distinction lies in that these payments are made in the case of American veterans in the United States, and in the case of Filipino veterans in the Philippines, where costs are not the same. We are going to do all that we can. The government itself has been doing and is doing everything it can to insure the passage of the Rogers Bill with such amendments as the Veterans Association here might desire to submit to the Congress for consideration. The President of the U. S. sympathizes fully with the interests of the veterans of the Philippines. I am sure that we can count on the unstinted cooperation of the President of the United States and I know that we can count on the cooperation of a very large number of the leaders of Congress on both the Republican and Democratic sides. I know we can count on the cooperation of the United States Army and the veterans organizations in the United States and of the many friends that we have there who are convinced that this is a matter of right and justice to the Filipino veterans.

I know we can count on the active support and cooperation of one of the most distinguished statesmen I have ever met, a very good and loyal friend of the Filipinos, the man who represents the U. S. Government in the Philippines, Ambassador Emmet O'Neal.*(Long applause.)*

I do not see any problem or difficulty in the approval of this legislation insofar as it relates to the terms of the bill itself. The only danger lies in the possibility that the present Congress of the U. S.—working fullblast to solve very intricate, urgent and most important domestic and world problems—may not have the time and the opportunity to vote on this measure. But we are going to exert every effort to get that bill out of committee and have it presented on the floor of Congress.

I doubt that once the bill reaches the floor of Congress, there will be any dissenting votes against it because I know that the American people and their representatives are fair and just.

It is not a matter of generosity; it is a matter of justice. And our experience with the U. S. government indicates that it will do justice to those who deserve it and will always do justice to the people of the Philippines who have proven their loyalty to and friendship for the great people of America during the most critical period of her recent history. *(Long applause.)*

I understand that the Veterans Organization is sending a mission to the United States to express the views of this organization on the provisions of the bill and to urge its passage as soon as possible. I am in full agreement with the sending of this mission. In my capacity both as a private citizen and as a public man, I wish to assure that mission of my earnest and most interested support not only in the work it may undertake there but in helping them meet the expenses. *(Long applause.)*

I can, therefore, say that you can place the mission in the hands of the men of your choice and I trust that you will select able and well-informed men to go to America to plead our cause. You can leave this body in their hands and you can be assured of the support of your government.

In our endeavor to help guerrillas in accordance with laws that we have enacted and with laws that I have recommended to Congress, your government has been trying to extend to you a varied number of benefits including priority in jobs. Many who wanted jobs but have not been able to obtain them are, of course, disappointed. But there are many who have obtained jobs merely because they are veterans. I want to ask General Peralta, in your presence, how many guerrillas he has been able to place in the government service. More than four thousand. Four thousand new employees of the government taken from your ranks.

The government cannot absorb all the guerrillas who are out of job. Your number hundreds of thousands. But we give priority to the people who come to us first and every department of the government has definite instructions to follow the law, in the choice of new personnel of the government, to give preference or priority to guerrillas.

In many instances we have appointed guerrillas without civil service qualifications in preference to civil service eligibles, when these guerrillas can otherwise show that they are qualified for the position. We have also given guerrillas priority to acquire public lands to develop our forest resources. Many guerrillas have joined together, pooled their funds, and have obtained lumber concessions in different parts of the country. Most of these organizations have been successful in their operations. We have not only given them the concessions; we have also provided them with credit facilities. Many of them are now established in business and are enjoying good returns.

Next is the problem of the Japanese lands in Davao. I hear much contradictory information concerning the occurrences there. One thing I will insist on the guerrillas who are claiming priority on Japanese lands in Davao—they must be screened. There are many there now who, according to the testimony of guerrilla leaders themselves, call themselves guerrillas but are neither recognized guerrillas nor members of what might be called a deserving guerrilla unit.

Today, every immigrant that goes to Davao from the northern islands calls himself a guerrilla when he arrives there. He has no papers in many instances; yet he demands the right to occupy a portion of the Japanese land. Well, probably we have about 20 applicants for every little parcel of land. I appealed to the leaders of the guerrillas in Davao and I instructed General Peralta to go to Davao to undertake a complete screening of the members of the different organizations who claim to be guerrillas or otherwise deserving of the benefits provided by law.

Now, I am recommending to the Congress the approval of an act to permit the government to subdivide these lands into reasonably large areas—I say large to indicate an area that is considered sufficient to support with its produce the needs of a family. I am projecting a division of hemp lands into parcels of between eight and ten hectares. That is not ordinarily an area which one man can work properly, but we have to provide for the growth of the man's family, and if we are to solve this problem of land ownership, we might as well consider an area sufficient for a man to live decently with a wife and several children. As soon as that bill is passed, or rather in anticipation of its passage, we are already surveying lands in Davao, as you all know.

But in the meantime, I wish to ask responsible guerrilla leaders and the members of their organizations in Davao most earnestly to see to it that those plantations are taken care of. Those plantations will be given to you—will be sold to you, and the prices will be their assessed value before the war. This is the recommendation that I am making to the Congress. (*Applause*.)

You will be given a certain number of years within which to pay for this land. Here is your chance to show that the government's generosity is properly and duly recognized. You have to perform your obligation to the government. Once you acquire this land you have to take proper care of it. The government and the whole nation have some stake in that land. The hemp industry is one of the most important industries and we want it to survive. We do not want to distribute these lands among men who are not going to take care of the plantations and thereby cause the destruction of this industry. Hemp is the only product, we might say, of which we have a virtual monopoly all over the world. Let us maintain that monopoly.

The production of hemp in the Philippines today is only about 50 per cent of the pre-war production and the chances are that the production will decrease. The reasons are obvious. First, big portions of Japanese hemp lands are plowed under and planted to food crops. Second, there was big over-stripping soon after liberation; people just cut the plants and stripped them without regard to the future of the plantations. They wanted to get as much money as possible in the shortest time from the plantation, and then after stripping a piece of land, they would move to another piece and repeat the same thing.

We have to rehabilitate the industry and this can only be done with the loyal and intelligent cooperation of the guerrillas who will ultimately own those lands. You do not need haste in acquiring those lands. You occupy them. You will be recognized as the people entitled to purchase them from the government. Meantime, you are going to be asked to pay a reasonable rental for those lands, just sufficient to pay the property tax.

The same is true of the coconut plantations. All these lands will be subdivided and sold to you. What else do you want? You complain against the delay. It is very hard to secure the services of surveyors in the Philippines today. We do not have enough of them. While we are surveying the lands that you are occupying, we are engaging hundreds of surveyors to survey open public lands to take care of other people who want to settle and acquire new land belonging to the government. Have patience. There is no injury done to you. Nobody would disturb you in the possession of the land, and I want you to report to me any case of discrimination or unfairness or refusal on the part of the NAFCO to obey my policy and instructions. *(Applause.)*

Insofar as the policy is concerned, it is no longer a controversial matter. I have announced the policy; Congress has implemented it with necessary legislation. But the actual surveying of these lands and their distribution to the different occupants will necessarily take some time.

Right here, in the City of Manila, the government purchased several hectares of land formerly belonging to the Church. They are here in the city occupied by people who want to have the right to purchase these lands from the government. We are doing the best we can. We are expediting the survey of these lands. It will take several months for us to complete the survey. We have already completed the survey of Baclaran and Parañaque, and sales are now being made there.

We are going to undertake the survey of the Ana Sarmiento and the De Guia estates. When surveying the lands, we find that there are occupants even on the roads, and when we ask these people to clear off the roads so that we can open them again for the benefit of those who also wish to buy the lands, they refuse and say that the government is cruel. We cannot please everybody.

You know, just the other day I received a very long letter from a quite intelligent man, judging from the way he wrote it. He complained against the building of a concrete road on España extension and damned the government for it. He said, "This is proof that the government only wants to help or protect the big, the wealthy people who go in automobiles or other vehicles. But for us who have to walk barefooted, the construction of the cement road compels us not to be able to cross the street," *(Laughter and applause)* "because the hot cement in the middle of the day burns our feet."

And so, my friends in Davao, there is no cause for needless worry and anxiety. Those lands will be distributed among you. Give us time to do it in an orderly way. Let me announce another thing: In addition to the distribution of this land, the government will soon start on a new hemp plantation to replace those that have been destroyed or have

become idle. We are going to plant about 10,000 hectares near the penal colony. Anyone who wants to come and take a small parcel of that plantation will be given an opportunity to do so. *(Applause.)*

Well, my friends, I am not going to take more of your time to inform you of the things that the government is trying to do for your benefit. But there is one thing you can be sure of: If there is anything that I can do for the veterans' organization or for any individual veteran, I shall be very happy to do it.

With regard to guerrilla currency, in a few days I am going to submit to the Congress all the records and my final recommendation on the redemption of guerrilla currency. My recommendation will embrace not only the emergency currency issued by the Philippine Government during the initial period of the war and before the enemy occupation. All registered guerrilla currency will be recognized as valid and will be redeemed at the rate which the Congress will fix.

We have now P30,000,000 at the disposal of the government for the redemption of that currency. The total that we have registered, properly known as guerrilla currency, amounts to about P90,000,000. In other words, unless the Congress should provide more funds for the purpose—and that does not seem possible these days—guerrilla currency will be redeemed at the rate of 33 1/3 per cent. I cannot guarantee that exact rate. It may be two or three per cent more or two or three per cent less.

In connection with this matter, I have been informed that veterans who have been receiving deductions in terms of the face value of guerrilla currency that they had accepted during the occupation as part payment of their salary, suffer a deduction of P100 from their pay checks. I have been receiving complaints from guerrillas that it is not fair to charge them 100 per cent of the face value of the currency they received, since its purchasing power was certainly less—very much less—than its present purchasing power, while on the other hand, the government is redeeming guerrilla currency at 33 1/3 per cent. I found reasonableness in this argument and with the cooperation of General Peralta I have prepared a memorandum which I submitted to the head of the American military authorities through the U. S. Ambassador to the Philippines. I hope and trust that the U. S. Army will realize the justice of this complaint and that something will be done to settle this controversy.

There are many other things I should like to talk to you about, but I don't believe that they have any importance today. I know that many of my guerrilla friends have been doubting whether I have changed my objectives or my principles in issuing the Amnesty Proclamation. I am not going to defend that proclamation here, beyond telling you that I have not changed my principles or my objectives. I did what I thought was for the good, the permanent good, of the Philippines.

I did not attempt to do favor to a man or to a group of men. I did what I thought was right and conducive to the country's peace, happiness and well-being. There have been differences of opinion concerning that matter and those differences, I trust, in the course of time, will become less and less acute. I did what I thought was my duty to my country in accordance with my conscience. I have not been influenced by anyone; I consulted no one before issuing the Amnesty Proclamation, and I included the so-called economic collaborators.

I understand that many guerrillas were very angry because I included economic collaborators, and I did so, for three reasons. First, under the doctrine laid down by our Supreme Court, it is impossible to obtain a judgment of conviction against any economic collaborator. The Supreme Court says that under our laws, before you can convict a man for economic collaboration, you must prove first that the material sold to the Japanese not only was a material that could be used in the war but had to be something that the Japanese actually used in the war. Secondly, it must be proved that the material he was selling was going to be used for war purposes. Now, are we going to spend money and time trying these cases, when we know before hand that conviction would be impossible?

Thirdly, some accused of economic collaboration have already been acquitted by the court. I knew these men and if any collaborator was going to be condemned, some of these people would have merited conviction for economic collaboration. I was not willing to place this country in a position where poor men accused of collaboration who could not defend themselves properly were going to be convicted, when others who were more guilty have already been acquitted by the court.

Those are my reasons. If I made a mistake, I trust my people and my country will forgive me for that reason. But I thought I was doing something just and fair. These persons, although they are no longer going to be accused before the courts, are going to suffer penalty that will be more severe than any other punishment the courts of this country can impose upon them. The people know who they are *(Applause),* and the people very seldom forget.

Besides, we have a very stiff war profits tax law. These taxes reach a rate of around 95 per cent of the profits which a man may have obtained during the war. I trust that if you know of any man who made money during the war, especially when he was disloyal to his country, you will report the case to the proper authorities, and I assure you that that man will not enjoy the fruits of his profit. That is my defense. I want you to weigh it in your mind.

Some of our friends have also insisted, and I do not know if any guerrillas have supported the idea, that if we give amnesty to political and economic collaborators, we should give amnesty to everyone accused of collaboration, and my friends and fellow-guerrillas, Senator Pendatun and Mr. Atienza and others—I am not sure about Atienza—have sustained that view. I respect their opinion, but I did not include the others, and I will explain to you for the first time. This is my first public explanation of that fact. My refusal to include these other people is because I want to exclude people who have been disloyal to us to the extent of bearing arms against the Commonwealth— against our country—and the allied nations; of having acted as spies, especially when their activities resulted in the death and execution or torture of our fellow-countrymen.

I want to obtain the conviction of these people who went to Malabon, Navotas, Pasay, and many other places and pointed to the Japanese one by one the people whom they believed to be members of the resistance movement. I cannot pardon those men; I do not believe you want to pardon them; I don't believe that guerrillas here want to excuse or pardon men in the pay of the enemy who, willingly and voluntarily, accompanied the Japanese forces seeking to arrest members of the resistance movement, or who denounced them to the Japanese, when the denunciation brought about their arrest and eventual execution. I cannot pardon the men who brought about the arrest of General Lim or the arrest and execution of Colonel Ozamiz and a thousand other Filipinos in the resistance movement who suffered because of the intervention and disloyalty of these men. Now, they say, "Under whose orders did they act?" If there is anyone who can prove that these people—these spies and informers—acted under the orders of anyone who has been covered by the amnesty, I assure you he will be prosecuted because that fact will remove him from the shield of amnesty.

And so, my friends, I wish to congratulate each and everyone of you and the different guerrilla organizations which you represent for the union that you have organized. I wish to preserve that union. I should like you to discuss more problems outside of your immediate economic interest. This country needs urgently today, and certainly more so in the future, the spirit of rebellion against injustice that had inspired guerrillas to take up arms and fight during the occupation. This government needs the cooperation of everyone, especially members of this union in the maintenance of peace and order in this country. The government expects you to support its activities in this direction. Your sacrifices and the great sacrifices of our dead comrades will have been in vain if we cannot, today and in the days to come, insure for our people a better life, more opportunities, more justice, and the maximum amount of individual liberty for which all of you fought during the dark days of the occupation. That is your duty. The fight is over. You have found that you won the battle of arms. We have got to see to it that the principles for which you have fought are actually implanted and permanently established in this country, whose integrity you fought to maintain. And that is my message and appeal to you.

I do not want all of you to become politicians; I do not think it fruitful. As a matter of fact, I believe politics as a profession is the worst invention of the brain of man. But in a democracy, every citizen must be a politician and politics is his most important business. If it is true that in a democracy it is the people who organize and form and decide questions of government, what could be a more important business for any people of this country? But don't be in a hurry to become candidates for senator and representative. I wish to assure you that it is easier to organize a battalion than to be a candidate for the House of Representatives or for the Senate. You have in me a man who sympathizes deeply with your aspirations, but I wish to warn you that politics is a hardboiled business proposition, and that it is not a mere matter of counting heads.

Our party, as well as any other party, does not decide upon candidates for personal consideration, because he or she is a friend of the leader of that party. Every party will select a candidate whom it believes has the best chances of winning.

If you want to be a candidate and General Peralta comes to my office and tells me, "So and So wishes to become a candidate in his province, So and So wants to be elected representative, or So and So wants to be candidate for senator," I always tell him that I am happy they want to be candidates. The next thing for them to do is to prove to me and to the other leaders of the party that if they are candidates they can be elected. Then they will have our support.

But I want to tell you, my friends, more guerrillas are taking an active part by occupying important positions in the government. I am doing my best to help veterans, and every time there is an important post or vacancy of some importance, I ask General Peralta, "Who is your candidate for that position?" *(Applause.)* And if he can give me a candidate with the necessary qualifications, generally he comes down from my office laughing, very happy that I have given it to him.

Well, my friends, I wish you all Godspeed. Have faith in your own selves; have faith in your cause; have faith in your government; and lastly, I want you also to have faith in the sense of justice of the great people of the United States.

NOTE.—This address before the 3rd convention of the Legion was timely in that it dissected one by one the gripes of the Veterans who were becoming more and more critical of what they believed to be government indifference to them. The President reminded them of the Filipino GI Bill of Rights in Republic Act No. 65 approved October 18, 1946. He also mentioned the plan to hospitalize sick veterans which, as a result of continuous negotiations, eventually became a reality when the 80th American Congress enacted U. S. Public Law 865 in 1949 appropriating P45 million as grant to aid the Philippines build and equip hospitals. Another step taken by the Government to help the veterans was the passage of Republic Act No. 369 which set aside P68 million for the redemption of guerrilla scrips and the emergency currency issued in the Visayas and in Mindanao before these regions were occupied by the Japanese.

At this moment the Japanese lands in Davao that the veterans want to occupy are being subdivided into lots, and it is now the policy to give preference to ex-soldiers and ex-guerrillas in the distribution of these lots.

It was in this convention that the two rival groups of veterans—the Philippine Legion and the Philippine Veterans Legion— merged together under the latter name, for which step the President expressed satisfaction.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Commencement Address of President Roxas at the University of Santo Tomas Commencement Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the University of Santo Tomas

[Delivered on March 20, 1948]

THE UNIVERSITY OF SANTO TOMAS MOLDED THE ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF OUR LIFE

VERY REVEREND FATHER VICE CHANCELLOR, VERY REVEREND FATHER RECTOR MAGNIFICUS, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND OF THE STUDENT BODY OF THIS UNIVERSITY:

It is a high distinction to be honored by the University of Santo Tomas—this ancient and illustrious institution that has fashioned the character and the thoughts of all but a few of the greatest thinkers and patriots of our race. While it would be difficult to appraise accurately the important role which this University has played in the cultural growth of the Philippines, it could be said truthfully that if this University had not existed, it is doubtful whether we could have attained our present level of civilization or even the liberty that we now enjoy.

The basic ethical foundations of our society were molded within the walls of the University of Santo Tomas. The philosophy of freedom as well as the priceless knowledge culled from a study of the humanities, science and mechanical inventions which are the possession of the masses of our people have largely flowed from within its portals. Rizal, Arellano, Quezon, Del Rosario, Guerrero, and many others could not have risen to the glory which they achieved, nor would they have been able to impress upon this nation their ideals and character, had this University not sown the seeds of their greatness in their hearts and minds. Our nation owes much to this three-century old institution. Santo Tomas richly deserves the everlasting gratitude of the Filipino people.

I have received quite a few honors in my life. I regard the honor bestowed upon me today as one of the most precious. I shall carry it always with humble pride, ever striving to merit it more and more as long as I live.

The graduates of this University, particularly those who have graduated today, have the responsibility of upholding the noble ideals which this institution represents. That is more imperative now than ever before. We are living in a confused and almost chaotic world, a world in which the cross-currents of national interests and ideologies are clashing continuously, with unrestrained force. Although men and women everywhere are in quest of the same goals, nevertheless deep conflicts arise among nations and within nations which are well-nigh irrepressible.

We shall look in vain for explanations of the present state of world affairs outside of ourselves. The cause is in the minds and hearts of men. Divisive nationalism springs from misinformation and unreasoning fear. Religious clashes are the result of bigotry and intolerance. Racial wars are caused by prejudice and vicious intransigeance, patent demonstration of man's inhumanity to man. Class conflicts are the result of differences in the concepts of justice and the failure to apply the Golden Rule, although quite often they are instigated by selfish men serving other masters. The gigantic clash of ideologies which we witness today and which many fear is fast leading the world to a new holocaust more terrible and destructive than any in the past, is basically due to the failure of man finally to reconcile in all lands the principles of liberty with the principles of order, and to effect a balance of economic opportunities and benefits among different classes and groups of society. This conflict has now emerged as a struggle between democracy and this totalitarianism, between freedom and this military despotism. It is actually threatening the peace of the world.

It is the mission of universities and all institutions of learning everywhere to teach men to follow ideas, not shibboleths; to be reasonable and not dogmatic; to reject half-truths and accept the sincerity of those who hold

opposite views. This world, despite its sad experience, will never enjoy an enduring peace, not even internal peace in each nation, until men learn to apply the rule of reason and tolerance and justice in the solution of social and political conflicts. But justice, of course, is not a mathematical formula. It is merely the expression of what at a given moment is accepted by the majority or by those who wield power to be in accord with the ethical and moral principles applicable to a given controversy. And here is where reasonableness comes in. There must be a readiness on the part of those who are adversely affected by the decision to accept it in good grace, much in the same way that we accept the results of a popular election or the decree of a competent court.

Today the world situation is critical indeed. Three years have passed since the fighting of the Second World War ceased and yet the peace has not been concluded. Former allies in the last war who fought to preserve liberty are now engaged in conflicts which might result in the extinction of liberty throughout the earth. The measures recently taken by different nations are giving rise to fears that another war may not be avoided.

The United Nations, established to prevent future wars, has been powerless to avert the possibility of the coming struggle. Russia, through her veto of measures intended to implement the peace, has destroyed the effectiveness of that world organization. The result is the creation of conditions which are the prelude to war. Two weeks ago the American Secretary of State declared that the world situation was "very, very serious." President Truman confirmed this appraisal three days ago. There is a religious war in Palestine which all the moral force of the United Nations has not been able to stop. Religious clashes between Hindus and Moslems threaten to engulf the new states of Pakistan and India into fratricidal strife. In Greece, Democracy and Communism are locked in a death struggle for dominance. In Italy, so recently liberated from oppression, the champions of liberty are in danger of being submerged by the tide of Communism. Last week Democracy in Czechoslovakia was cold-bloodedly liquidated. In China an internecine war that has raged unabated for two decades between totalitarian socialism and republic government has tied that great and noble nation to the millstone of impotence. Brave Finland is now in the throes of agony, with little hope of avoiding her being dragged behind the Iron Curtain. Sweden and Norway and Denmark are in fear of the same fate. Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, parts of Austria and Northeastern Germany are already under Russian control.

These events are not the natural aftermath of war. Nor have they occurred through the use of active military force. The new weapon has been coercion and the use of a well-organized, closely-knit political fifth column operating in practically every country, instigated by a world-wide propaganda directed to the workers of every nation to destroy industrial potential, create chaos and discontent, and finally tear down Democracy and set up Communism. We have in the Philippines our own share of the effects of this program. The objective is domination of the whole world and the control, through communistic dictatorships subservient to Russia, of the lives and destinies of all the peoples of the earth.

Having awakened to the danger, the democratic nations under the leadership of the United States and Great Britain have at long last taken definite steps to defend the bulwarks of freedom and the way of life we have chosen. They have come to realize that the First World War and the Second World War could have been averted if the democracies had shown in time their willingness and readiness to resist the projected aggressions.

Wilhelm II of Germany would not have invaded Belgium had he known that not only England but America would have come to her rescue. Hitler would not have decided to rape Poland if England had been ready for war and the United States had made her intention known that she would fight to maintain democracy and the peace of the world.

And so today, taking stock of their experience, the United States, England and France, as well as the other democracies of Europe, have recently adopted measures indicating unequivocally that if Russia should pursue her present course and attempt to subjugate Europe and other parts of the world, she would be resisted by the combined power of all the liberty-loving peoples of the earth. This decision to use force against force is being rapidly implemented. Five nations of Western Europe—England, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg—have concluded a defensive pact for fifty years. Logically, this pact may be considered to include the three zones of Germany presently occupied by the United States, England and France. It is also presumed that the other nations which have accepted the Marshall European Recovery Plan, including Spain, will collaborate with the "Stop Communism" program. Every democratic nation is, of course, expected to take action within its borders to prevent the effectiveness of the Communist fifth column which may exist therein. This is being done in the Philippines now.

It will be intensified in the future. The first step I took was to outlaw the Hukbalahap and the PKM organizations, which are communist affiliates. There will be no let-up in this program. We must prevent them by every means within our power from stabbing us in the back or weakening our power of resistance while we are facing a threat to our security. I trust that those among us who sympathize with subversive elements, will now realize that they are allowing themselves to be used as unconscious tools for the liquidation of the very institutions of freedom and democracy which they so earnestly claim to protect and defend.

National isolationism is now a forgotten creed among nations. The atomic bomb, the guided missile, the jet plane, bacteriological warfare and other recent scientific discoveries, have made the territory of every nation practically contiguous to the firing line. In the last war most nations desired to remain neutral, but subsequently they found to their discomfiture and misfortune that neutrality was impossible in a total war and they had to participate in the conflict at a time when they were least prepared to do so. However far we may be situated from the expected battlefields, however reluctant we may be to join the conflict, we must not fail to take interest in these world events and prepare ourselves as best we can for future eventualities. We must now disabuse our minds of the thought that, if war should come, the decision would affect only the nations actively participating in the conflict. Modern wars are total in scope, total in their destruction, total in their effects and consequences. Even if a nation were to remain neutral, its fate would be determined by the result of the struggle.

How tragic it is that even as the world is wrestling with the problems of reconstruction, and before the termination of the last conflict through a treaty of peace, the victors should now be engaged in active preparations for a war against each other. How discouraging it seems to all of us to find that while we are rebuilding on the ashes of the last war and before we have completely swept away the dust and rubble of the devastation we suffered, we are being threatened with another Armageddon which might again sow death and ruin over this land of ours. That is the stark and cold fact staring us in the face. We can neither evade nor ignore it.

The only chance which the world has to prevent this conflict, I believe, is for the peace-loving nations to continue cooperating with the United Nations in its efforts to maintain the peace, and for those who love peace to follow the example of the United States of America by girding themselves for the conflict to the limit of their capacity, that the aggressor may know that any attempt on his part to squelch the free existence of any nation, however small, will be resisted by all. (*Applause*.) To hesitate or even to show lukewarmness in the determination to defend freedom and the way of life that we treasure will prove fatal to mankind. While the grim and angry specter of war is already stalking the plains of Europe, the conflict may yet be avoided. Appeasement will only postpone the strife until it is certain to become more widespread and destructive. But the attitude of the democracies must be earnest, must be determined. They must show their readiness and willingness to fight for right and for justice. (*Applause.)*

I know, and you know, that the democracies do not crave for war. They want peace, enduring peace, not only for themselves but for all nations and for all men. They want justice and security for all. We all fervently pray that through reason and common accord the danger may be averted. The dialectics of the leaders of opposing ideologies seeking to impose absolute formulas will merely accentuate the conflict. Reasonableness in attitudes and in the behavior of men and nations must be brought to bear upon the controversy. Time was when religious wars were fought because men maintained that Christianity and Paganism, or Catholicism and Protestantism could not co-exist. But the world has discovered that with tolerance they not only can co-exist but can act together to supply the spiritual needs of human existence.

We must learn today that socialism and free enterprise can also stand together as instruments in the promotion of the welfare of every community. It is necessary that the people be free to exercise their judgment in the choice of the means which can best assure their well-being. It is admitted that the ultimate economic formula which could probably effectively promote the welfare of the individual and of nations as a whole is somewhere between these two systems, to be found gradually according to the circumstances at every given time. This is the process which democracies, including the Philippines, are pursuing.

Where there would seem to be no possibility of avoiding a direct clash is when liberty is denied and totalitarianism is enthroned as the only means of solving economic, social and political problems. And this is the vital defect of Communism. For Communism, though seeking to serve the individual members of society, cannot be maintained except through the forcible subservience of the individual to the state.

Communism means the complete dominance of government over liberty, the dominance of force over the will of the people, the dominance of the state over the individual. That is why freedom-loving nations resist the menace of being forced into a system which will wipe out their liberties and place their people under the heels of a class or a military despotism. Communism offers social justice and well-being but all that at the cost of the loss of liberty. Democracy, on the other hand, offers to secure the same benefits and more but through freedom and the processes of free discussion and common consent. Democracy has examples to offer that this form of society must be accomplished, requiring, only, from time to time certain adjustments that may be needed to further enlarge the welfare of the individual. Communism, on the other hand, has yet to prove that a nation may be happy under such a regime, or that it can ever continue to exist as the free expression of the will of the people over which it reigns.

How much better it would be for Russia to throw her doors wide open for all the world to see the results of her experiments, rather than hide conditions in that country behind the Iron Curtain and stifle the voice of the people who live and work there. She has chosen to do otherwise, because Communism has no virtues when measured in terms of freedom and human happiness. We who have made our choice and have set up this Republic upon the principles of liberty and justice, shall persevere in our efforts, through the processes of democracy, to build up a social system which will secure the greatest happiness and the widest independence to all our citizens.

To achieve this aim, it is essential that we learn more and more to adapt our attitudes and behavior to the ways of democracy, to eschew dogmatism and accept "reasonableness" as the rule in the settlement of questions to be determined by popular discussion and consent. To inflame a passionate sense of right or duty in a man who is unable to understand and much less to judge the merits of an issue is to court danger and risk injustice.

We must educate our youth for democracy. We must enthrone reason and justice as the guiding principles for the solution of public differences. We must banish the use of force in the achievement of desired changes. We must ever be ready to accept the decisions of the majority freely expressed.

While man has mastered the mechanics of industry, he has yet failed to discover reliable techniques for the efficient functioning of human forces which are moved by impulses, emotions and passions. Education alone can do this. We must inculcate a keener sense of public responsibility among the people. We must develop effective stimuli to intellectual and emotional discipline. We must teach the need of upholding the integral interests of the nation rather than those of its parts—the greatest good to the greatest number.

With the dark and heavy clouds now hanging over the horizon, it behooves us all to maintain ourselves united and in complete harmony in the defense of the liberties that we cherish and the interests that are vital to the Republic. I call upon the people of the Philippines of whatever political or religious faith to close ranks and prepare this nation for the worst eventuality. We have suffered too terribly in the last war to permit personal or partisan motives to obstruct the unity of this nation in these days of stress. I call upon all the elements that are loyal to our Constitution and to the cause of freedom and world peace to join us in our efforts to cooperate with other freedom-loving peoples to forestall another war. Let us humbly pray that this scourge may not again be visited upon us; but if God in His wisdom should will it that man should further prove his worthiness before He ushers in the millennium on earth,—let His will be done! *(Prolonged applause*.)

NOTE.—In these commencement exercises the President was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa,* by the University.

This institution began as the Conventual-School of Santo Domingo in 1587 in which lectures on theology and philosophy were given for the benefit of religious and lay persons who wished to pursue college studies. But the need was soon felt of giving to those who aimed to become priests more solid training than mere Christian Doctrine and the principal mysteries of the Catholic Faith; so it was determined to found the College of Santo Tomas where Grammar and Art also could be learned. Father Miguel de Benavidez was the principal promoter and is now regarded as the founder of this higher institution.

Through donations, among which was the library of Father Benavidez, the College was formally established on April 8, 1611, under the direction of Father Gonzales as Rector. The protection and approval of the King was

secured in 1623, but as early as 1619 it was officially considered as a "University" and was granted the power of conferring superior degrees. Its official title as "university" was finally secured in 1648.

In 1870 the Government in Madrid issued a decree taking away the University from the Dominicans and placing it under the direction of a professor to be appointed by the Government, and providing that it was to change its name to that of *Universidad de Filipinas*. Dr. Jose Rizal received a diploma issued under this name. The decree was, of course, vigorously opposed by the Dominicans who said that the institution could not be taken away from them without compensation; and the conflict was kept alive until 1877 when with the reestablishment of the monarchy in Spain it was decided that the University was essentially an ecclesiastical establishment independent of the State.

The University of Santo Tomas has grown continuously in its physical plant, and its role in the development of the country has been one of the good social forces in our civilization.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Address of President Roxas at the 27th Anniversary of the National Federation of Women's Clubs

Speech
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the 27th Anniversary of the National Federation of Women's Clubs

[Delivered on April 1, 1948]

THE SALUTARY INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

MADAM PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL
FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS:

When your very distinguished and able president invited me to address this convention, I must say that I accepted it because I couldn't afford to decline. It is most proper that I speak on the subject to the role of women in the Republic of the Philippines. There are so many things women could do and are doing so loyally for the welfare of our people and country. Women are so important. As a matter of fact, if I were to select which of the two sexes is more essential to the country and to the nation, I would select the women. (*Applause*.)

Without mothers there could be no fathers. I cannot imagine of any home without the graceful presence and salutary influence of a woman. Women in the Philippines are particularly important in this period of our history. Women are so much more dependable, more earnest, and more loyal, especially to those fundamental ethics and moral principles which are the foundations of our society, that, without their collaboration, this Republic could not progress very much. Many Filipino women today have entered politics and I think justifiably so. Speaking for myself, I have endeavored, from the very beginning of my public career, to grant women as much a measure of privilege as is enjoyed by men at any given time.

I know many of you do not believe in woman suffrage. But after that suffrage was granted, I trust that women would consider it their duty as citizens of this country to exercise that grant. I feel that the exercise of suffrage by women, despite the impression among many citizens in a number of communities, has exerted a strong influence in the progress of this country. For the first time, we see in our own senate a worthy representative of the women of the Philippines, Senator Pecson. (*Applause.*) This was an attempt by the Liberal Party to prove that the women of this country have the same rights as men if they have the qualification to occupy the highest office in this land, and I want to assure you that as far as I am concerned, X shall always see to it that the way is open for the women of the Philippines to attain the most important position in this country if the people want to place them there. (*Applause.*)

The degree of service and social advancement of any community lies in, depends on or, I might say, may be accurately gauged by, the conception which the people and the government have of the dignity and individuality that women have. I realize that our laws in this Republic are still those that prevailed almost a century ago. We have failed to revise the laws affecting the rights of women as rapidly as we have progressed in several other fields. We are now trying to correct that anomaly. I would suggest that a committee of this convention study the reforms on this subject introduced in the proposed Civil code. I am heartily in favor of those reforms. (*Applause*.) I believe that these reforms constitute one of the best and most desirable features of the new code.

To put these reforms in a nutshell, I may say that the direction of the family which in our present law is exclusively in the hands of the father, is placed in the proposed Civil code jointly in the hands of the father and the mother. The women, or wives rather, are no longer being treated as incapacitated persons as regards the holdings of her family. Under the new code, the women will be able to dispose of and administer their paternal property in the same way as a man disposes of his private property. In other words, the wife may dispose, sell, or mortgage her paternal property even without the consent of the husband. She will have the right to enter into contracts without the intervention of her husband in all matters affecting her family. Many persons might object to this reform, saying that this right or privilege granted to women or wives may inject causes of friction and disloyalty in the family.

I believe that that attack is predicated on the assumption that husbands are not intelligent or fair-minded enough to recognize the rights of their wives to dispose of the property that they brought into the marriage and which belongs to them exclusively. I believe that, instead of provoking misunderstanding in the family, this privilege if granted to women will bring about a higher respect on the part of the husband for the wife, and will result in preventing many misunderstandings and conflicts and, I might even say, disloyalty which might otherwise occur. I hope you understand what I mean. I am a man and I believe that all men are pretty good husbands. But very often, in order to maintain the dignity of the family, it is requisite that wives exercise some of their privileges and prerogatives and other influences to insure the stability of the family.

I trust that the Congress will realize the importance of that reform and I also hope that this convention will take enough interest in this matter to appoint a committee that first will study and then work for the approval of the piece of legislation now pending consideration in Congress.

In other respects, I must say that women's clubs in the Philippines have done most commendable service in their different communities. You have cooperated in the establishment and operation of puericulture centers, a most laudable undertaking. I hope that you will continue to take interest in those institutions.

One of the greatest plagues in the Philippines today is infant mortality due to improper care of mothers. I know that women's clubs have done a very creditable work in the field of infant care. I trust you will continue with that work. The government is exerting every effort to help you finance the activities of the puericulture centers. I should like to see not only one puericulture center in every municipality or municipal district in the Philippines. I am looking forward to the establishment of a puericulture center in every large barrio in the Philippines. I should like to furnish puericulture centers and clinics, trained physicians and qualified nurses to give treatment to people living in those places. I hope that you will cooperate with the government in inducing more people to enter the nursing profession. There is a lack of nurses in the Philippines. We have only 6,500 registered nurses. We could avail of the services of 60,000 nurses, if we had that number.

When you go back to the provinces, in connection with your work in puericulture centers, try to interest active, healthy girls to take up the nursing profession. We shall try to give them all the facilities they require, for if we need anything in the Philippines today, it is more physicians and more nurses. And we also need more intelligent mothers.

If I may offer a suggestion, I do not believe that sufficient instruction is being given to those that go to maternity hospitals or institutions and puericulture centers pertaining to the care of their children. I would suggest that members of women's clubs in the provinces organize themselves into small groups and hold meetings in remote barrios, giving instructions to mothers on how to bring up their children properly. No subject could be more important to the women of the Philippines than the task of saving so many boys and girls that die annually from disease and malnutrition.

I will also say with satisfaction that in accordance with the report of the Department of Health, the rate of infant mortality in the Philippines has been gradually decreasing. Infant mortality today is lower than before the war, due in a large measure to the cooperation of the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

The question of nutrition is a basic problem for those clubs. Women's clubs should avail themselves of every opportunity to acquire knowledge on nutrition. I organized the local Institute of Nutrition very recently. Recently, an international conference on nutrition was held in Baguio. This is a most important problem because it can only be attained with the cooperation of the women of this country.

The Institute of Nutrition can prescribe an ideal diet for both the adult population and the small children. But unless there is an organized campaign—which cannot be done by the government or its agencies alone and which might be done only by civic-minded citizens, as those present here—all efforts of the government will fail. Disease prevention is probably more important than disease cure. There are many things that we must learn concerning nutrition. We know, for example, that men and women at a certain age must take food that contains a certain number of calories every day. We also know what kind of food should go into the diet of every individual to balance his diet and to supply the needs of the human body—things which are very complex.'

Other countries have undertaken the study of nutrition with greater success. To mention just one well-known example: Japan, before the war, had a very large and effective program for nutrition. The first thing you would see in Japan are groups of people, especially young children, who are obviously in a very healthy condition. And they don't drink milk. In the Philippines there is a shortage of milk. It will take many years before we can supply from our own cattle the milk requirements of our population. The financial condition of the people in many places does not permit them to pay the price of imported milk. We must be practical in the consideration of the problems of nutrition. We must try to develop here a diet adapted to the needs of our people, economical enough to be within the reach of the lowliest members of our population.

For example, take rice. We have a shortage of the cereal. Before the war we produced practically all the rice we needed. Today, we are about ten per cent short of our national requirements. While this shortage is not very large, it is sufficient to affect the prices, and that is the reason why rice prices are high today. We are doing our best to intensify the production of rice. One of the greatest obstacles is the shortage of work animals. We lost practically fifty per cent of our carabaos during the war, and you cannot cultivate the rice paddies without the carabao. It will probably take five or six years before we can replenish our losses in animals during the war. We are trying to mechanize agriculture, but that is a gradual process. We are now carrying on experiments in mechanized farming.

We can only attempt to solve the problem of shortage of rice in either of two ways, namely: by increasing the production of rice and thereby reduce the price to the consumer, or, by reducing the consumption of rice. I was very much shocked one day after I had made this press statement in Baguio. One of the newspapers published in Manila that I was going to force the people to eat less rice. I never said anything of that kind. My program is to convince every person living in the Philippines that he is eating more rice than is good for him. His diet contains so much starch and carbohydrates and very little protein. He must eat more vegetables. He must eat more of other things needed to balance his diet.

I know that some intelligent people in the Philippines, who desire to reduce their bulk, actually eat less rice, and yet find to their chagrin that the lesser rice they eat the more they put on fat. This is so because they do not eat other foods that can supply the necessary elements for the harmonious growths of the human body.

Well, these are things which might be preached by women's clubs to the people. I have heard it said by some people that they cannot use vegetables because these are very expensive. Well, I told them that was not true. I have in Malacañan a flower pot below my window—just a small flower pot. I planted it with—what do they call it? Filipino spinach? I think it is much better than that. People in the Visayas know what it is. It needs no cultivation. It does not need water. It is a vine and is very palatable. Every family here in Manila can have a flower pot, if it cannot have a piece of land, below their windows. In two or three months the vine will have enough leaves to feed the family. And you plant it only once in a lifetime. It is so provident you don't even have to look after it or smile at it.

There are other plants or animals that could be used to supply the other needs of the family. I think it is just a question of willingness on the part of some of our people to solve some of these problems. Women's clubs can bring to the government many practical problems which arise in their different communities, especially in regard to food.

We are soon going to develop a food which we believe will be very economical, to supply or substitute for the milk requirements of babies and little children. When the government undertakes a widespread program for its production, I am sure that some people will be against it. I cannot understand why, when the government does something good for the people, some of them don't want to take it, just like medicine. I dare say that some important members of this club would not like it either; so I would suggest that you campaign for it diplomatically. If you want to make the program successful, don't force it upon the people.

We plan to take a group of men, as we had done in Bataan with regard to vitaminized rice, rice to which vitamins have been added. We took two or three groups in the towns and for several months had fed them the same kind. We observed after a few weeks that their weight, spirit, and energy had improved, thereby proving that the experiment was a success. We are gathering all the data so that at the earliest time possible, we may be able to present to this country a program of diet that will be within the reach of our poorest citizens.

I should like to enlist the cooperation of the women's clubs in this work, because in the formulation of this dietary program we shall examine the nutrient values of every food product that we have. I should like the members of women's clubs in different provinces to give us information as to the products existing in their communities which are not known in other parts of the Philippines. I believe there are many things eaten in Ilocos Norte and in Ilocos Sur, for example, which have never been heard of in the Visayas and in Mindanao, and vice versa. Give us information about those food products. For example, you ladies from Ilocos Norte may send "saluyot" to the people of Negros, Panay, Cebu, or other places. Here's a fine vegetable but it is not known down there. There are other food preparations known in some provinces but unknown in others. Even in the preparation of dried fish, for example, some provinces do it better than other provinces. I should like to arouse enough interest in nutrition, especially among our educated citizens, who should recognize how important it is for the masses of our population to be made to realize the value to their individual and social health of a well-balanced diet. You may start the educational campaign and aid will be extended to you, including literature on the subject.

Sometime before the first World War, Mrs. Roosevelt, with the assistance of the Bureau of Standards and Nutrition and the American universities, concocted a diet or a meal that did not cost more than five cents. It was scientifically prepared and adjudged sufficient to supply the needs of the human body. She went out to different restaurants and ate it herself. But she failed in her campaign because she did not have the cooperation of women's clubs such as, I believe, we will have here in the Philippines. I hope the diet will not cost more than ten centavos. And I believe we can succeed if only we can formulate that diet and succeed in having it adopted by the masses of our population. What worthier objective could be pursued by institutions of this nature than helping feed our people better and making them learn to solve the problems involved in the high cost of living?

Next is something which I hope you will undertake in a missionary spirit. I would like the women's clubs of the Philippines to stand for a simple life—to live simply but wholesomely, wholesomely not only physically but spiritually. By simple life, I mean the life that people live with the minimum of luxury and the maximum of comfort; a life affording children good and clean homes and healthy physical and moral surroundings. Tell the small girls and boys that they must be good girls and boys. Teach them the ethical and the moral principles, which after all constitute the indestructible norms of human existence. That should prove to be a most interesting task. My friends, the rewards are tremendous. There are many people doing that kind of work—missionaries, nurses, ministers, civic-minded men and women who have taught the masses the meaning and purpose of life. If you have no opportunity to go beyond the boundaries of your house, you must at least realize that everyone should be taught to comply with his duty to himself, to his country, and to God, and to guide the children in the right paths of life. More than ever, combat lawlessness and loose living in this country. Revive the old traditions of our people. There are boys and girls that do not live within ethical and moral principles. Sometimes, of course, women are so busy attending so many parties that they no longer have time for this kind of work. Don't rely on your husbands for it. The tempo of modern life is such and the difficulties of earning a living are such, that fathers very often have to neglect the home training and guidance of their children. But the mothers are there. They are there to undertake that work. That work is better handled by mothers than by fathers. I want to enjoin them to set the example for others to follow. Many consider it a pride to educate children in a manner to win the admiration not only of other children but of the mothers of other children.

I don't want to talk about religious instruction in public schools. As President, I am not in a position to talk about it. But I think you will agree with me when I say there is need for religion in the life of every man and woman in this country. Religion is the anchor of order, righteousness, and justice. Religion is so essential to human existence that a distinguished man once said, "If no religion exists, one should be invented." We do not permit religious instruction in public schools despite the fact that religious instruction is essential. Where then should religious instruction be given? In the parish, yes, if we have priests to open and handle classes in religion. But whether children receive religious instruction or not outside their home, it is necessary that instruction in ethics and morals be taught in the home. I don't care whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Aglipayan or member of the *Iglesia ni Kristo*, Jew or Mohammedan.

I trust that women's clubs will at least arouse interest in that great problem, so important today, especially during this time, when the affairs of the world have to be determined by men—by their sense of justice and fairness, by the rectitude of their purposes, by their mental attitude towards the rights and problems of others.

Another problem to which I would like to invite your attention is the case of not only the orphans of our dead soldiers, but children who cannot be properly taken care of by their parents. I know how difficult it is for women's clubs in the provinces to establish an orphanage because of the expenses it would entail. The ability of the different communities to set up such institution in many cases is doubtful, but I should like to suggest that the National Federation of Women's Clubs, with the assistance of the different clubs in the provinces, establish somewhere in Manila, in Baguio, or in any other appropriate place, a National Foundation of Women's Clubs orphanage, and I promise to give you not only moral but financial assistance. (*Long applause.*) I should like that to be a model for orphanages that may be established first by provinces and later on by municipalities. In other words, this federation can serve this country more effectively if it can render service in an organized form with definite plans and objectives.

If you desire to pursue this program, I believe it is wise for us to establish first an orphanage and then probably an old men's home to house the old men from the streets. First a national institution, because it would be easier to support that. Then with that as a model, establish additional orphanages in provinces which are capable of maintaining institutions of this nature.

I would want the government to do all of that work, but the government is not now in a position to do it. I may, however, suggest a few details as to how the orphanage should operate at the beginning, for your information and guidance. If there are orphans sent to the orphanages from the Province of Cebu, women's clubs in Cebu might well try to raise funds for the maintenance of that institution. Such an institution should be supported from voluntary contributions as well as from government funds. I am going to contribute a generous fund (*Applause*) and I trust that under the leadership of your very able, civic-minded president, you will be able to carry out this program.

Again, I repeat, you are going to receive all the assistance we can give. We are at present spending over a million pesos to support puericulture centers. If more is needed, we are going to give it.

My friends, I did not come here to make a speech but to give a few remarks. I tried to imagine myself as a woman and member of this federation. Before I came, I was very busy and had only two or three minutes to think about what I was going to say.

I trust that these problems will receive your very earnest consideration. When I say I am going to assist the Federation of Women's Clubs in organizing an orphanage here, with money, I do not mean ten, or fifty, or even one hundred thousand pesos. I mean more than that. (*Long applause.*)

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

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Commencement Address of President Roxas at the University of the Philippines

Commencement Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the University of the Philippines

[Delivered on April 13, 1948]

A CALL FOR MORAL REGENERATION

Mr. PRESIDENT, REV. FATHER RECTOR MAGNIFICUS, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES AND OTHER UNIVERSITIES, MEMBERS OF THE GRADUATING CLASSES, SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The holding of Commencement Day of this University in the midst of this ruin is eloquent testimony of the deathless character of human knowledge; it is eloquent testimony of the irrepressible urge that inspires the young men and young women of this country to achieve learning and higher education; it is eloquent testimony of the truth of what the Gospel said that "the iron heels of a tyrant may never stamp out the life that is contained in a seed when it falls on fertile ground."

Thirty-five years ago today, on a day like this, without the attendance of relatives and friends such as are gathered here this afternoon, I graduated from this University. I received my diploma with a thrill which I am sure every graduate must feel, but my emotion was probably more intense, because I had no one with whom to share it. The fact, however, that I was so alone gave me the opportunity to ponder the significance of life and the course I should follow. I clearly remember the hundred and one noble thoughts that eagerly scrambled with one another to gain primacy in my mind on that unforgettable occasion. After the ceremony I walked home alone in silence, in deep meditation. I recalled Shelley's beautiful lines:

". . . I was a billow in the crowd of Common Men,
that stream without a shore,
That ocean which at once is deaf and loud."

Somewhere on the way I determined to devote my life to the achievement of liberty for our country and to the promotion of the welfare and happiness of our countrymen.

I have never swerved from that course. I am still engaged in the task of securing the greatest good for our people. In its performance I had to face quite often the bitterest struggles and the keenest tests of heart and soul. I have reaped neither riches nor material gain, but as I look back to the years that I have lived, I feel happy that I have throughout been loyal to my purpose and have not deviated in the least from the high resolves I had formed on graduation day.

It has taken me fully 35 years to achieve a very natural ambition—that of being considered by my dear Alma Mater as deserving of the honor that has now been bestowed upon me. For that I am proud. For that I am grateful.

Commencement Day should be a day of dedication. This is the day when you, graduates, still fired by the noblest impulses, still free from the shackles of Mammon or the exigencies of a materialistic world, should lay out the

course of your lives and determine irrevocably to follow that course. If your purpose is noble and your aim high, you may not gain wealth or influence, or power, but I am certain that you will achieve in the end an inner happiness which no wealth, influence or power can buy.

I urge you to consecrate your lives to your country and to the service of your fellowmen. But whatever you may do, you must never forget certain imperatives: Your resolutions are nothing, unless they are implemented by patience, self-sacrificing and intelligent toil; your resolutions are nothing, unless your conduct and your every act are characterized by prudence, reasonableness, probity and justice; your resolutions are nothing and your achievements will be worse than naught, unless your whole life is firmly anchored upon those moral and ethical principles which are the foundation of civilized society.

Turn a deaf ear to the allurements of ease and comfort. Never be guilty of any ignoble act. Even in the heat of the hardest conflicts, or in the face of danger to yourselves, to your fortune or the security of your family, fight fairly at all times. Never strike your opponents while they are down. Lift them up and give them every opportunity to fight back. Never take undue advantage of the generosity of others or bite the hand that sustained you when you were fallen and needed support. Be good, be patient and charitable always, even toward those who are unfair or unkind to you.

I should like on this occasion to speak upon the need for revitalizing our moral and ethical principles, not only because they seem to have been forgotten by some of our people as a result of our contact with the enemy during the occupation, but also because only by the strict observance of those principles can we enhance the well-being of our people and help insure the peace of the world.

Many centuries ago the great Confucianists proclaimed that one of the important functions of the State was to promote the "education in virtue which was essential to social order and the national welfare". They insisted on the virtues of simplicity, thrift, hardihood and the proper relations among men based on filial piety. This education in virtue, so clearly understood in the past and practiced by our parents in our homes, in the schools and in the churches, must be revived and intensified if we are to fulfill our hopes for the enduring happiness of our people.

When I was a young boy, my mother used to speak to me frequently about moral and ethical principles. She was acquainted with the teachings of Christianity. She spoke to me of the basic principle of the Torah, which we now know as the Golden Rule: "Do not unto others that which thou wouldst not have done unto thee." This was the basis of her philosophy, and she assured me that the practice of this principle would create in me a love of peace, kindness, patience, charity, honesty, and justice. What she taught me has definitely influenced my whole life. I shall never be able to repay her enough for it. I was still very young when she uttered this injunction to me: "Work hard," she said, "to achieve a worthy ambition; be fair and just to every man; never do anything which will make your mother or those you love blush or shed a tear in shame."

I made this principle the lamp for my footsteps throughout my life. I commend it to all of you. I found it an excellent touchstone to determine the wisdom or justice of all my actions. It conforms strictly to the requirements of the moral law which underlies our social order and our legal institutions. It could be made the moral creed of all our citizens.

Some years before the war I came across a book, an unpretentious little volume. I do not remember who had written it. Its title was something like this: "The Promises By Which We Live." I found in this book a rationalization of the principles which my mother had taught me as they are applied to dealings among men in the ordinary course of life. The author cogently expounded the thesis that human relations are governed by promises, express and implied, and that human conduct develops by the manner in which these promises are performed. In a way this concept is also applicable to the relations between individuals and the State, as well as the relations between nations. It is a remarkable philosophy which can reduce to a simple practical formula the application of the abstract moral and ethical principles that should govern the course of men and nations.

I recall some illustrations given by the author to support his thesis. When a man issues a check he promises that the check will be honored and paid upon presentation to the proper bank. When a man sells a piece of property, he promises to hold the purchaser safe against claims adverse to his title and guarantees that the property is in the

condition that he represented it to be. When a person accepts employment, he promises that he will serve loyally and render the service he contracted to perform to the best of his ability. The old Jewish philosophers expressed this obligation in this injunction: “Earn your wage.” These are, of course, contractual obligations the performance of which is prescribed and regulated by law.

But there are many other relations among men that must rely on the moral principles of the individual for the performance of the implied promises involved. When a man is appointed to public office, for example, he promises to be honest in the performance of his duties. He also promises to execute those duties in accordance with law, not for his personal benefit but for the benefit of the people at large. When a man enters a house, he promises to conduct himself politely and in accordance with his duties as a guest. When a man is invited to a feast, he promises not only to be civil but also to deport himself in such a way that he will not abuse the courtesy of the host and create embarrassments for him. When a school or a university accepts a student, it promises to give him the necessary training in accordance with the representations it has made concerning the excellence of instruction. When a man becomes a citizen of a nation, ne promises that he will be loyal to the government and its institutions and that he will pay his taxes, that he will render military and other services required of him that he will obey the laws and regulations, and that he will perform such other duties as are imposed upon him by law.

Innumerable other examples of everyday application may also be cited: When a lawyer accepts a case, he promises to be honest with his client, that he will truthfully advise him as to his rights, that he will defend his case to the best of his ability. When a physician accepts a patient, he promises to study his illness thoroughly, diagnose his disease and prescribe for his cure, and that he will advise consultation with other physicians if he should consider himself not fully prepared to handle the case. When a pharmacist agrees to fill a medical prescription, he promises to use the precise ingredients in their stated proportions and not to substitute them with less costly substances. When a man acquires a farm, he promises that he will put it into production and he will pay his laborers or tenants fair wages. When a man owns a building, he promises that he will use it not only for his profit but also for the good of the community; he also promises that he will not require exorbitant rentals from those who may lease it. When a man acquires large wealth, he promises that he will use it not only for his personal enjoyment but also for the welfare of the community where he lives. These promises result from the recognition that wealth, property, education, political or social influence or power impose upon those who have them certain definite social responsibilities clearly definable under the moral law.

In international relations the conduct of nations is governed by promises much in the same way as in the case of individuals. When a nation enters into friendly relations with another, they both promise that they will respect the freedom and the laws as well as the territorial integrity of each other. When an immigrant is admitted into our country, he promises that he will not violate our laws that he will not conspire to overthrow our institutions and that he will always conduct himself in a manner that will justify the privilege granted to him.

You may examine the whole field of human and international relations and you will find that it is true that all of them are subject to the fulfillment of certain promises which are either defined in law or controlled by ethical and moral principles accepted by civilized society. Even in the relations between parents and children we find this to be the case. When a child is born and raised by his parents, he promises under the natural law to obey his parents, to honor them, to serve them, to repay them at least in the form of satisfaction and happiness born of the success which he may achieve in life.

This world would really be a much better place to live in, and it would be a happier and a more peaceful world were the promises involved in human and international relations duly performed. The Ten Commandments are indeed a synthesis of the important moral precepts which should govern men in their conduct towards each other and in their relations to God. These Commandments should be made a part of our being, and they really are, if we could just listen to the small and still but stern voice that speaks from within ourselves, and which we call conscience.

It is sometimes very difficult to teach abstract moral and ethical principles. Confucius tried to expound them in their application to the relations between father and son, master and servant, and the government and the people. But his studies covered a limited field and some of his principles, which he rationalized in relation to the conditions prevailing at his time and for the purpose of sustaining a feudalistic system, can no longer be wholly accepted in these days of freedom and democracy and in the face of the principles of Christian morality which we have

embraced. But Confucius has shown the way to bring home to every individual and every nation the need for a continued regard and respect for moral and ethical principles governing every case. Many of the most intricate international questions of today could be solved by the mere application of the Golden Rule. We could insure the peace and progress of the world if every citizen and every nation would simply comply with the promises they have made.

The concept of justice as we understand it—justice based on moral principles and revealed by the conscience of every man—is the only secure foundation for civilized society. And justice requires that individuals and nations perform the promises they have made. Many generations before Christ the Jewish prophet Ezra said that rigorous observance of the law was the sole rule for righteous living. If he meant not only the written law but also the moral law which is likewise written in the hearts of men, he must be regarded as having enunciated a principle which is of inestimable value to mankind. It was left for Christ to clearly establish this principle. In His priceless philosophy He enjoined mankind to obey the laws of Caesar; and as for the Mosaic Law, He was most persuasive when He taught the duty to obey not so much the letter of that law, as the spirit of it, which is no other than the moral law, written upon the tablets of conscience at a summit higher than Mount Sinai—the pinnacle of the human spirit. Thus, He taught the observance of the fundamental virtues of justice, kindness, and mercy, and the respect for the rights of others.

I have often wondered how beautiful this world would be were every man and nation to practice the sublime virtues preached by Christ. I have often wondered how much easier would be the progress of all nations and all men towards the millenium, were everyone to embrace the principles of freedom and democracy which He taught and made the rule of our lives. I have often wondered how much happier all men would be, how much more fairly they, rich and poor alike, would share in the fruits of toil and in the wealth of the land, in accordance with their just deserts, if all were to apply and follow the moral principles that Jesus preached.

The chaotic conditions prevailing all over the world today are largely due to the abandonment of these principles, to the lack of faith in them, to the selfish purposes of men and nations who forget the promises they have made.

In our country, we must return to these first principles; we must go back to the home, to the school, to the churches for aid in the solution of many of our basic problems. Democracy is made of men and it cannot be stronger than the men who compose it. This Republic will not long endure unless we purify and strengthen the character of our people and imbue them with a better understanding not only of their rights but particularly of their obligations to their fellowmen and to the State. And this has to be done now. It has to be done now because we need it urgently to check the prevailing lawlessness and dishonesty which, like a cancerous growth, is eating up the substance and destroying the soul of our people.

Sojourners who view the ruins of our buildings are shocked at the extent of devastation suffered by our country during the last war. Well may they indeed feel sympathy toward our people for the material destruction such as few countries have undergone. But little do they imagine the moral havoc wrought upon many of our people. The war brought about a moral breakdown upon a large portion of our population, what with the peculiar war psychology and the injunctions merely to survive, regardless of the means, which we heard during the occupation, even at the sacrifice of the moral law. When we think, therefore, of rehabilitation, let us not forget that it has two aspects: material and moral. I am very much afraid that moral rehabilitation will take a much longer time and a much greater effort than material, because moral regeneration has to deal with the imponderables of the heart and of the soul. This moral revival cannot be achieved by mutual denunciations and recriminations, but by a frank recognition of the origins of the evil which sprang during the war, and by an intelligent study and application of the proper remedies.

I call upon all our countrymen to put their shoulders to this common patriotic task. I call upon parents, teachers, and the priests and ministers of every church, to help in this epochal undertaking. I call upon them to participate actively in a national crusade for the moral regeneration of our people. Let us do it for our country and for the world. Let us do it for our peace and happiness. Let us do it for the glory of this Republic we love so much. Let us do it for ourselves and for our children. Let us raise and educate men and women who can be depended upon to perform strictly the promises by which we live.

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NOTE.—In these commencement, exercises the President was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws, *Honoris Causa*, which was the second conferred on him in one month.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Last Address of President Manuel Roxas Last Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines

[Delivered on April 15, 1948]

MAJOR GENERAL EUBANK, OFFICERS OF THIS AIR BASE:

It is very gratifying for me and for the members of the Congress and other ranking officials of the Philippine Republic to visit this military base of the United States in the Philippines. The rapid progress in the development of this base attests not only to the friendship, the enduring friendship, that exists between Americans and Filipinos, but likewise it attests to the indestructible faith that Americans and Filipinos have for one another. I wish to congratulate General Eubank and the officers and men of this command for the progress, the extraordinary progress, that is being made in building this base as one of the most important outposts of liberty in the world. The establishment of American bases in the Philippines was the result of the voluntary and free choice of Americans and Filipinos. The purpose of this base is not to wage a war of aggression. It is a base established for the purpose of insuring the mutual security of America and the Philippines. I may also add that while its most important purpose is to insure the permanence of peace in the world during these hectic days when rumors of war are being spread throughout the earth, it is very gratifying to be able to see this field that is being rapidly built up so that it may be one of the strongest bastions of freedom and world peace in our part of the world.

President Roosevelt, on May 16, 1940, when he delivered that memorable message to Congress that preceded the entry of the United States in the last war, said. “Effective national defense requires the ability to stop and push back the aggressor while en route.” When he mentioned the phrase “en route” he did not refer merely to geographical distance; I believe he also referred to the operational movements in accordance with plans laid out to accomplish certain definite objectives.

World peace cannot be maintained if each nation acting separately should merely wait for the aggressor at its border. There must be a complete and final agreement on the part of peace- and liberty-loving peoples of the world to stop, and if necessary to fight any aggressor that may want to tramp upon the liberties of other peoples or to interfere in the free exercise of their sovereignties. The pattern of this day’s aggressors is well-known. One country after another is being occupied and subjugated. First the small countries—then the larger ones. When the whole stage is ready and prepared, the aggressor is ready and strong. He strikes! That is the possibility that confronts today the peace-loving nations of the world. What happened during the second world war is being repeated today. The difference merely lies in procedure. During the beginning of the second world war, the tactics used by aggressors were military force applied to small sovereignties in order to insure their subjection and cooperation. Today, activities are taking place—not in few countries—not in the small countries alone but all over the world—not one at a time, but all the world at the same time. Communist fifth columns are well-known everywhere. They have been able to maintain a civil war in China for almost seventeen years. Czechoslovakia was recently murdered. Her liberty was destroyed by the same method. The last one probably will be Austria. The struggling Greece has lasted now for almost a year and their liberty is in agony. In Italy, we will have a test in the next few days but no matter what the result of the test may be, the world will have to face the consequences. The struggle, the political struggle, in Italy today is no longer disguised. It is no longer between Communist parties or parties believing in democracy. It is being presented publicly and openly as a struggle between the United States on the one hand and supported by the liberty-loving people of that country and Russia on the other supported by those who believe in totalitarian government. If Greece should fall, if Italy should be smothered, if Turkey should also be subjugated, the Mediterranean will be lost to the freedom-loving peoples of the world and France will probably be the next objective. But as I said before, the pattern. the new pattern, of the present-day aggressors is to attack many countries at the same time, and thus only since last week we have seen the ugly head of this monster that is trying to destroy the peace of the world cropping up in South America. The incident that happened at Bogota is but a symptom that may be repeated in the other countries of that great continent.

The democracies of the world have to take a stand and they must make that stand unitedly. Conversations and every effort should certainly be made to avoid war. The freedom-loving peoples of the world do not want war. I know the United States hates war and I know the United States does not want war now or ever. The freedom-loving peoples of the world despite the abhorrence of war will take a stand and will fight when the situation reaches a point where they will have to fight or lose their liberties and the rights of the way of life that they cherish.

I am very happy that the President of the United States, supported by the American Congress, has at last shown an indication that it is going to prepare for war, that America is going to make a stand and say to the aggressor that "you can go this far but no further or we will fight." That attitude of the United States of America, the greatest, the noblest and the most altruistic nation in the world today, has inspired all the people of the earth with a new faith, with a new confidence that war may be averted. But if war should come, if God in His supreme wisdom shall will it that the scourge of war again visit the bewildered peoples of this earth, I am certain of one thing—probably the only thing about which I can be certain—and it is this, that in case of a new war waged by the aggressor against the forces of freedom and liberty, American and Filipino soldiers will again fight side by side in the same trenches or in the air in the defense of justice, of freedom and the other principles which we both love and cherish. In that event, I am sure that the American Air Force will again cover itself with glory as in the last war. In that event, I am sure that the officers and men of the American Air Force will fight as heroically and as gallantly as in the last war.

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NOTE.—The key idea of the President in this last address is: "IF WAR SHOULD COME . . . . AMERICAN AND FILIPINO SOLDIERS WILL AGAIN EIGHT SIDE BY SIDE". The topic was very apt and appropriately selected considering the circumstances of the occasion.

Since a few months before the delivery of this address, President Roxas was being already bothered by his high blood pressure, and his physicians ordered him to relax from his strenuous labours. But due to some important measures that he was anxious to place before the Congress, he slipped back since January into exceptional activity. During the last few days of his life, he led a specially strenuous program: on the 13th, he delivered with head uncovered and in a resonant voice a stirring address in the 34th commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines all the while that a strong drizzle was falling; on the 14th during the day, he received social guests who greeted him and Mrs. Roxas on the occasion of their 27th wedding anniversary; and in the evening he tendered a state reception in honor of Ambassador and Mrs. O'Neal.

But the following morning, as he boarded the train that brought the Presidential party to the Clark Air Force Base, he looked fit and full of vigor; and during the trip he visited several sections of the train and talked with members of the party. Upon arrival at Clark Field, he was given a 21-gun salute after which he was taken on a tour of inspection. He was particularly impressed with the housing accommodations built for the army and civilian personnel.

At 2:00 o'clock p.m. at the Collin Kelly Theatre, he delivered the above, his last address, "speaking with more emphasis and emotion than the usual Roxas style", as the Manila Daily Bulletin reporter recorded. The Officers and men of the Base gave him a prolonged ovation. After the address, General Eubank, commander of the Base, took the President to his quarters to retire while the parade in his honor was being prepared.

The following details of the fast succeeding events were related by the President's senior aide:

"When we reached General Eubank's quarters, the President went to the men's room. He was there for 10 minutes and when he came out I noticed he was very pale. He was also sweating. That was about 3:20 p.m. He said to me, «I am feeling dizzy». He called for Senate President Avelino and asked General Eubank to have Avelino take his place in the reviewing stand. Then he told me: «Corvera, call a doctor».

"I got hold of the first American army doctor I met and brought him to the President. . . We kept rubbing him, the doctor and I. His feet were getting cold. . . In the meantime he kept conversing with us. He said he was feeling a little pain in the chest, otherwise he was aLRight. Meanwhile we dispatched a special plane to bring in Dr. Antonio G. Sison and sent word to Mrs. Roxas about the President being stricken ill.

"The President found some difficulty breathing about 4 o'clock and an oxygen tank was brought in. . . About 6:10 Mrs. Roxas and the President's mother arrived by car. He seemed to be recovering. At about 8 p.m. the President was resting and getting some sleep.

"After dinner, Dr. Sison went to the porch and Mrs. Roxas went to the other end of the porch. It was about 9:20 when the army nurse must have noticed something was wrong with the President. She ran to Dr. Sison and immediately Dr. Sison came in.

"Dr. Ojeda also came in and started to prepare an oxygen tank. The President was gasping for breath . . . he had extreme difficulty breathing. He started choking with hiccups and at 9:25 at the sudden end of his hiccuping, Dr. Antonio Sison, who kept feeling the President's pulse, pronounced him dead.

"Mrs. Roxas came in at about 9:35. . . She kept praying and refused to believe the President was dead."

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

MESSAGES TO THE CONGRESS

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

President Roxas on First State of the Nation Address, June 3, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Second Congress
On the State of the Nation

[Released on June 3, 1946]

MR. SPEAKER, MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I am happy to return to the halls in which I saw my start in national public life. I feel perfectly at home here. It has been my great privilege to preside over both the houses of Congress in years past. No one is more jealous than I have been and still am of the proud prerogatives of the Legislative branch of Government. You share with me the responsibilities, the coordinate and co-equal responsibilities, of reflecting the will of the people in the great task, which faces the Government today. I see among you some few who were my colleagues in the drafting of the Constitution of this Commonwealth, of what will soon be a free Republic. Some few days ago, on May 28, I took an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the Philippines. This I intend to do with all the vigor at my command. I am firmly convinced that laws are wiser guides than individuals in regulating the proper conduct of human affairs. I pledge before you an administration based on law. The Constitution will be the "Ark of the Covenant" which I will protect from violation and desecration with every power and every force at my disposal. I do not take this pledge lightly. I have a profound conviction that constitutional government in all the subtle meanings of the phrase is the only type of government which can safe- guard the rights of the people even against the abuses of the Government itself. Constitutions may be perfected but the fabric of government once tom by disrespect for the basic law of the land can be repaired only with the greatest difficulty.

It is my constitutional duty to report to you on the state of the nation and to make to you such recommendations as I deem proper for dealing with the intricate problems which face us today.

I need not dwell too long on our present situation. I have referred to that situation in all its aspects in public speeches, both here and in the United States. All of you can see with your own eyes the destruction which surrounds us and the grave perils which threaten our survival as a nation. We have less than five weeks, 31 days to be exact, in which to make the necessary preparations for the assumption of independent nationhood. Even under ordinary conditions, this would be a short space for so great a task. There are many steps, which must be taken to provide for the transition. The legislation needed for this transition will be duly submitted to you. But the problems we must solve are much greater ones than those of crossing the line from Commonwealth status to the status of a free Republic. Our people are to inherit a prostrate and war-devastated land. The extent of that devastation was total. Despite the hum and bustle of activity in our cities, we have not yet started on the major premises of reconstruction. Let me describe briefly the aspects of the problems we face both as a Government and as a nation.

We are faced first of all by the fact that our Government is without financial means to support even its basic functions, not to speak of the great projects in rehabilitation and economic development, which we contemplate and which are, indeed, vital to our continued existence.

A tentative pared-to-the-bone budget estimate for the next year projects expenditures of over 250 million pesos. Using the present sources of government revenue as a basis for estimation of expectable income, we can count on only about 40 million pesos for the coming fiscal year. In our fiscal year of national existence we are budgeting a deficit of over 200 million pesos. We have little prospect of a balanced budget for some years to come. And these

figures are cited without including public works, irrigation and the many projects we must undertake to reconstruct our shattered land and provide for the care and protection of those of our population who today are suffering most acutely from the after-effects of war.

Our currency, sound in monetary terms, pegged to the American dollar and fully supported by dollar reserves in the United States, is nevertheless suffering from a vast over expansion in circulation. Today there are in circulation over 800 million pesos, compared to the pre-war total of about 200 million pesos. Partly a result of this over-circulation is the present inflation of value. Prices are far beyond reason. A scarcity of commodities and a super-abundance of currency in circulation have given us a national price structure shot through with confusion and injustices to our consumers, wage earners, salaried employees and even producers whose income cannot keep pace with the vaulting scale of prices.

Our national production itself is a pittance. Where we exported annually before the war 240 million pesos of goods, we may, with good fortune, expect to export 30 million pesos worth of goods this year .Our imports this year will exceed 300 million pesos, several times what we have ever imported before. The savings of our people and the windfall of money brought us by the liberation forces are rapidly disappearing. They will disappear at an even faster rate unless we arrest the unfavorable balance of trade with drastic measures. The most obvious remedy is to increase our production and exports. This we must do without delay.

Our basic production potential could not be permanently affected by war. But our productive facilities have been pitifully destroyed. Practically all our tractors and 60 per cent of our work animals disappeared through the war. There is a continuing tendency to divert work animals from the fields to the slaughterhouses. This tendency must be halted.

Our transportation facilities, as you all know, have been completely disrupted. Only in recent weeks has the United States Government been disposing of trucks and motor vehicles at a sufficient rate to enable us to look forward to some measure of transportation recovery. But our roads are a shambles, with a vicious tendency to deplete our usable motor vehicles and at the same time impede the rate of the flow of goods to market. Waterborne transport, especially in coastwise trade, is still only a fraction of what it should be.

Our communications, radio and telegraph, are completely disrupted. With many of our fellow citizens we still have no communication whatsoever. Business operations are seriously crippled by the lack of communications. The only radio broadcasting facilities now available are those owned and operated by the United States Government. Most of our people lack radio receiving sets with which to keep informed of world events or even of events in their own homeland.

Most of our railroads are depleted of rolling stock and the lines themselves are in a sad state of disrepair. Bridges and roads are in crying need of reconstruction.

Public health and sanitation have retreated far from the level, which existed before the war. Epidemic is a constant threat. The three great pests of our land–the rat, the mosquito, and the locust–have thrived on our misfortunes and threaten us with both disease and hunger. Control measures against all of them must be taken.

Famine is a strong possibility; shortages of food are even now critical. We are immediately faced by a shortage, which will grow more critical within the next few months- j in our staple food product-rice. In some sections of the country rice is not being planted because of the lack of carabaos and the threat of rats and locusts. In others, planting is diminished because of the absence of law and order and the fear that the harvest may be stolen. There is a world shortage of rice. Many nations of the earth are as unfortunate as we; in the case of our own shortage we can expect very little assistance from abroad. We are doing everything in our power to get as much assistance as we can. I fear that we must look to our own resources to supply a major part of our requirements over the next critical six months.

Housing is an urgent need in our urban areas. The squalor and congestion in which many of our people live are seriously affecting the health of our younger generation. In some areas of this very city the conditions are such as to shock the national conscience.

I need not describe the sad state of public buildings. The very hall in which I've sat is a tragic testimonial to what has occurred here. We are reduced to convening in a former Japanese schoolhouse while the proud Legislative Building we had built before the war lies in ghastly, ugly ruin. Most of our government functions are being carried on in crowded, temporary or bombed-out structures. Many government activities have been huddled together in congested quarters. Supply and equipment for government offices are at low level. Inefficiency, as a result, takes its toll.

But the central fact of our economic condition is the tragic destruction of the productive economy. Sugar, hemp, copra, coconut oil, cigars, tobacco, minerals and lumber those were once the staples, which we exported overseas. Today 60 per cent of our sugar mills are destroyed; most of the others are in complete disrepair. Machinery has been broken, stolen, or rusted away. Most of the lands themselves lie fallow.

In a land where coconut was once king not a single coconut oil mill remains intact. Many of our coconut plantations are without means of transport to carry copra to market, nor from market to export channels. I might go on to record our agricultural and productive ills, but they are known to all of you.

Our gold mines are still flooded; the timbers have rotted away. We have only now begun to work in our chrome and manganese mines.

The great carpet of timber, which covers a part of our land, is in need of sawmills and other equipment necessary to exploit this resource.

The one product for which we are known throughout the world and for whose supply the world depends chiefly on us abaca is in a similar situation. The great Davao lands are largely untended and their ownership is in controversy. We intend to settle this controversy and to rehabilitate the plantations at an early date.

There have been lately established increases in the price of copra. I have every reason to hope that a similar increase in the price of abaca will soon be authorized. These prices will give incentive to our producers. But there are many other measures, which must be taken to restore the economy of those products, measures which I shall bring to your attention at the appropriate time.

These are not yet all of our ills. The cruel scythe of war has left in its wake a chaff of violence and terror. In the Central Luzon provinces, and in one of the provinces of Mindanao, force prevails rather than law. Bands of men possessing illegal arms defy the forces of peace and order and have instituted their own misguided rule. It is estimated that over 300,000 arms are illegally held in the Philippines today. Social and economic injustices especially acute in those areas have been proper soil for the harvest of violence. We shall do our best to remedy the economic ailments, the best that is within our means and our under- standing. We will not permit for one unnecessary moment the defiance of law or the imposition of tyrannical terror. Peace and order will be restored with understanding, with tolerance and with proper regard for the causes which gave rise to this development. But there will be no compromise j with lawlessness, no trafficking with terror. Laws will be obeyed and arms will be surrendered. The welfare of the people of those areas will be safeguarded.

I have described in rough detail the obvious difficulties we face. Each of them requires prescriptive treatment of its own. Many of these situations require a combination of remedies. All of them will take money. Some of them will take time.

In war many of our bravest sons fell, others suffered great physical injury. Many have returned home to find their jobs no longer in existence and their opportunities for employment gone. Widows and orphans look desperately for the assistance and comfort they deserve. The veterans and their dependents must be given all the help we can muster.

In regard to labor, we are faced by the growing specter of unemployment. Hundreds have been discharged from jobs on Army and Navy installations. Hundreds and thousands more will soon be. There are no productive enterprises

available to absorb their energies. The labor force which was created by this war must have other outlet for employment. We must create those outlets.

There is no easy formula to solve this problem. It will require the aid not only of the United States, which we anticipate, but also a recognition by all our people of their duty to invest their savings in productive enterprises.

The United States Congress recently enacted two major pieces of legislation for our relief-one of them is the Trade Rehabilitation Act, and the other the War Damage Act. These Acts are major factors in our economic recovery. They have been the objects of great controversy in some quarters. One of them–the Trade Rehabilitation Act– requires implementation by the Philippine Congress. I shall address to this body within the next few days a special message dealing with this legislation. I will only say today that this legislation gives us our chance to activate our production potentials. Without this legislation we cannot immediately start our rehabilitation program; without this aid, I seriously doubt whether we would be able even to feed and clothe our people during the critical days ahead. Certainly we would be unable to establish the economic foundations required for the support of our independence.

I have lately returned from the United States in company with High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, to whom we are all indebted for the indefatigable and effective interest he has shown in all our problems. For his work in our behalf on our Washington trip alone, we must all be deeply grateful. The first and foremost subject on our Washington agenda was' a loan. I asked for a government loan of approximately 800 million pesos to be lent to us in five yearly installments, the first installment to be 200 million pesos and the second 12 per cent less, the third 12! per cent less than that, and so forth. I pledged the good faith of this Government and of the Republic that is about to be for the repayment of this credit. I will need from this Congress authority to effectuate this transaction. I have also asked the Export-Import Bank of the United States, a government-owned bank, for a rehabilitation loan. We discussed projects, which will require 500 million pesos. This loan may take some time to negotiate. I intend to see that every peso of this loan, when made is wisely and economically expended for self-liquidating projects.

In my report to the Filipino people on the results of my mission to Washington, I listed some 40 subjects, which were taken up. I will refer here to some of those subjects. I have already mentioned the loan.

We took up the matter of military bases which are to be established by the United States in the Philippines under the terms of agreements reached between my predecessors and the Presidents of the United States and implemented by resolutions approved by the United States Congress and by the Philippine Congress less than a year ago. The specific determination of those bases is now under negotiation. I have not yet been formally advised of all the specific sites considered by the United States as necessary for the protection of both countries; I expect that final agreement will be reached very soon.

We also discussed in Washington the formal treaties, which will be necessary-a treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce, and a treaty covering diplomatic recognition of our independent state. These treaties are the customary treaties between independent nations. We also made arrangements in Washington for the United States Government to invite all the recognized Governments of the world to acknowledge the independence of the Philippines and to enter into diplomatic relations with us. We shall have to negotiate similar treaties with them.

We discussed in Washington preparations for our Independence Day ceremonies. I had the privilege of inviting President Truman to be present in person to proclaim our free Republic. He expressed his eagerness to come, and will be here on July 4th, unless pressure of such public affairs as face him today prevent his leaving Washington.

We arranged for an exchange of ambassadors to be J effected very soon after July 4th. The United States Government is very anxious to establish here the highest ranking type of diplomatic representation and *we,* of course, are pleased to maintain our relations with the United States on the highest as well as on the most intimate level possible.

Perhaps next in importance among the many subjects covered in Washington was the treatment of our veterans. From the very beginning of his assignment as American High Commissioner, Governor McNutt has interested himself in the welfare of our veteran and in securing for them as nearly as possible all the rights and benefits available to

American veterans. He has also been active in behalf of the definition of American obligations for the redemption of guerrilla currency.

There is a great deal of misunderstanding here regarding the so-called GI Bill of Rights. There is also a lack of comprehension of the inapplicability of most of its provisions to the Philippines. American veterans residing in foreign territory are n6t eligible, generally speaking, for the benefits of the GI Bill of Rights. These benefits consist of guaranteed loans through banks, on homes, and on business ventures, of unemployment compensation on the basis of certification by the United States Employment Service that no employment is available, and of educational opportunities in certified and accredited schools, whose curricula are supervised by the Veterans Administration. The laws pro- viding for the administration of these benefits are closely correlated with the laws of the United States and of the several States of the Union. We have no comparable laws in the Philippines, nor do our banks or our universities fulfill the requirements established by the United States Veterans Administration. Thus it was found by American authorities that it was legally impossible to apply the GI Bill of Rights to the Philippines. It will be even less possible after July fourth. In fact, the Veterans Administration has no legal right to operate here in any capacity after July fourth without special United States legislation.

I was informed that it was for these reasons that the United States Congress specifically withdrew all veterans' benefits except insurance, and death and disability pensions from Filipino veterans.

During our stay in Washington we discussed this matter at considerable length with American officials. The President of the United States, cognizant of the great sacrifices made in war by our soldiers, submitted to Congress a bill, first of all, granting the Veterans Administration authority to operate in the Philippines after July fourth; second, providing hospitalization privileges for Philippine veterans; and third, providing a burial gratuity. After July fourth, these benefits alone will be greater in extent than those provided for American veterans living in foreign lands. But President Truman promised even more. He pledged that educational and employment opportunities would be made available to Philippine veterans as soon as a practicable program could be formulated. I shall recommend to the American authorities that these benefits be in the form of an outright grant of funds to provide free instruction to veterans in our educational institutions and for useful employment projects for veterans. Some legislation will be required to implement these benefits. A law will also be necessary punishing fraudulent representations made before the Veterans Administration. I shall recommend such a bill as soon as the United States Congress has acted on the Philippine Veterans legislation. I also recommend that legislation be enacted by the Philippine Congress making benefits received from the United States Veterans Administration non-taxable.

Some discrimination against our veterans is involved in the provision that benefits for Filipinos will be paid on a peso-for-dollar basis. I have instructed Commissioner Romulo in Washington to seek to have this discrimination eliminated if at all possible. It should be understood, how- ever, that these benefits are to be paid for by United States taxpayers including American veterans for generations to come. American veterans will be contributing to the cost of their own benefits. Filipinos will not be asked to make any such contribution. I point this out to show that in the matter of veterans benefits, we must rely more on the generosity of the United States than on any right we may claim. I have the assurance of the President of the United States that widows, orphans, the sick and the disabled will be cared for promptly and, to this end, legislation has been introduced in Congress. I have asked for the speediest possible action on this legislation for the emergency needs of those who suffered the most from this war.

I look forward to the day when our own Government can shoulder the burden of the care of our own veterans. We have that much pride in our freedom and in our independence. We have that much gratitude to those who helped save this nation and its freedom from a cruel and barbarous enemy.

After the United States Congress has completed action on Philippine Veterans legislation, I will submit to this Congress not only such legislation as is necessary to implement. United States Veterans measures but also such portions of the Filipino GI Rights bill passed by the Philip- pine Senate some months ago as are desirable to assure adequate justice and assistance to our fighting men.

In regard to emergency and guerrilla currency, we asked in Washington for the speediest determination by the War Department of its share of the obligation incurred. As soon as this determinati6n is made, we shall enter into

negotiations with the United States looking forward to the redemption of this money or of such a percentage of it as will be fair and equitable to those who received it in payment for goods or services. Meanwhile I will recommend to the Congress, if it proves necessary, steps to prevent the further drift of this currency into the hands of speculators and profiteers. I issue this warning now: That we will take every precaution against the realization of even a cent of profit by those whohave purchased for speculative purposes the currency which helped gain the victory.

The matter of guerrilla currency is not our only problem involving currency. It is necessary that this nation, when it becomes independent, have an entirely new currency as soon as practicable, replacing both the pre-war currency and the present victory money. We entered into negotiations with Treasury Department officials in Washington and have made tentative arrangements for the printing of a new issue of money by the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. Special legislation will be required to authorize the issue.

Another matter of most vital concern to us is the food situation. We canvassed prospects for obtaining more food imports with Herbert Hoover, with Mayor LaGuardia and with Agriculture Department officials. Rice is our critical requirement. But there is very little rice to be had anywhere in the world today. We were encouraged by Mr. Hoover to get what rice we can from Siam. We are in the process of conducting negotiations with the Siamese Government for the exchange office for surplus motor vehicles, but I do not have any great hope for the success of this undertaking. Our own agricultural experts tell us that we may expect a critical rice shortage in our land far exceeding anything that we have known up to this time, probably beginning in August. In anticipation of this situation, I have directed the National Rice and Corn Corporation to store and seal all available rice in order that we may distribute this rice on the basis of direst need to meet actual famine conditions. We shall not cease our efforts to obtain whatever rice we can from whatever sources we have. In Washington we were promised some shipments of corn and perhaps other cereal substitutes, but I must warn the Congress and the people of the Philippines that emergency action must be taken to husband our cur- rent food supplies. Voluntary rationing must be instituted. I also exhort all my countrymen to start immediately growing corn, root crops, vegetables, and all other foods, which can replace rice in the national diet. I have directed every agency of the Government to help me in planning a campaign of encouragement and assistance to our people in starting “Anti-Famine Gardens” and plantations. Only in this way can we hope to save ourselves from want.

I also discussed in Washington the controversial Property Bill. I discussed this with Congressional leaders, with the Alien Property Custodian and with the heads of other Government Agencies. I am convinced beyond doubt that the intentions of the American Government in this connection are without guile or motive, and that it is simply designed to facilitate the operation of rehabilitation and other assistance agencies in the Philippines after Independence. There has been some difference of opinion between us on provisions, which would affect the disposition of enemy properties, largely agricultural lands. I have taken the position that these lands must be turned over to the Philippine Government and that until such a transfer is agreed upon, we must oppose with all our vigor the so-called Property Bill to which otherwise we can have no valid objection. I expect this matter to come to a head within a few days.

The third vital legislative matter taken up in Washington concerned the War Damage Act. I have urged the utmost speed in setting up the War Damage Commission and in expediting its activities in the Philippines. This will necessarily be delayed until Congress appropriates the one billion forty million pesos authorized in that Act. While in Washington, we asked Congressional leaders and especially the chairmen of the appropriation committees to give this particular appropriation item every possible priority. I received definite assurances that prompt action will be taken to this end.

A minor but complicated problem is presented by our lack of sufficient trained personnel to take over the function of foreign representation in the several world capitals and other places where we require diplomatic and consular representatives. I was able to arrange in Washington for the intensification of training program being conducted by the Department of State in our behalf, and meantime I have arranged for the State Department to handle our diplomatic and consular representation until we are able to take over that function.

One of the factors which most critically impedes our economic rehabilitation is the lack of sufficient ship transport, especially for the coastwise service. In Washington we discussed this with the War Shipping Administration, with the Maritime Commission and with Surplus Property officials. We were assured that we would be given all the ships and watercraft suitable to our needs that are available for transfer. But there are administrative and other difficulties,

which must be met. Meanwhile I ask this Congress to make a study of the desirability of Government control of shipping to a much greater degree than has heretofore been undertaken. I suggest that an agency with powers similar to those of the United States Maritime Commission be established to encourage the growth of a Philippine Merchant Marine and to regulate its operations. I should like to see the Congress review our present ship- ping laws with a view to inducing ships from other lands to register under our flag and to be manned by Filipino crews. This is urgently desirable in order to capture a portion of Japan's pre-war shipping business. While I feel that shipping should be a private undertaking, we must keep in mind that shipping is as vital as food itself to the economy of some of our islands. It may not be profitable for private enterprise to extend lines to some of our more distant ports. If private enterprise will not undertake some of these operations, the Government must.

I have discussed at some length the problems that came up during the eight days of our stay in Washington and some of the solutions at which we arrived. I have yet to report to the Congress on the many urgent matters, which must occupy its attention, in addition to those I have mentioned. I do not think any Congress in Philippine history has ever faced the heavy responsibilities, which confront you. You will be called upon to consider a hundred complex legislative proposals, each of them marked with the red tag of urgency. Most of the bills, which will be submitted to you, will be *must legislation.* There is no way to ease this burden or slough off this responsibility. It is my plain duty to report to you now on all major problems we must consider. Because of the parallel urgency of these matters I will not arrange them in order of importance. I will deal with them by subject matter.

We must first of all attack as best we can the problem of our government finances. The projected loan from the United States Government will be only of transient value to us unless we immediately lay a sound and sensible basis for government financing. I propose that our entire budget procedure be reviewed and that a more flexible technique both for determining budgetary needs and for allocating our expenditures be devised. I propose the establishment in the Executive Office of a strong Budget Bureau authorized by Congress to review the budget estimates of the various departments and then to pass upon authorized appropriations before expenditures are made, on the basis of need. I propose that this Budget Bureau have the power of recommendation on revenue measures so that revenue and expenditures may be intimately correlated.

I have already directed that there be undertaken a detailed review of the functions of the Government Departments and the percentage efficiency not only of the Departments themselves but of the personnel employed. Inefficient operations of the Executive and Administrative departments will be eliminated. Unnecessary personnel will be dropped. Duplicate functions will be combined. In order to effect this, I ask the Congress for adequate powers of reorganization covering bureaus, divisions, agencies and commissions.

I urge the grant of this authority especially because of the imminence of independence and the consequent necessity of reorganizing government functions to meet the needs of our new status. For the period of the next few years some of our agencies will be required to be so organized as to function in cooperation with federal agencies established for rehabilitation purposes here. I ask this authority for a period of one year, subject to such review as Congress may deem proper.

I shall not have had the opportunity to make all the necessary budgetary adjustments in the budget, which I will submit to you shortly. But I shall submit toward the end of this session a Recession Bill, making such modifications and accomplishing such economies as can be effected after further study.

Having pared expenditures for the ordinary expenses of Government to their lowest possible level, we must proceed to study our sources of revenue. I believe our income tax to be entirely inadequate, in the light of the national need and the emergency situation we face. Taxes must be raised to reasonable levels without discouraging enterprise or business expansion. I believe firmly in the principle of taxation on the basis of ability to pay. An up-to-date tax system will be submitted for your consideration.

Some individuals have accumulated through the war years considerable fortunes, while others of our countrymen were offering their lives on the altar of freedom. As a measure to effect social justice as well as to obtain desperately needed revenue, I propose the imposition of a war profits tax based on taxable income and the increase in capital assets from 1941 to 1945.

There must be, in addition to these specific taxes, a general overhauling of our tax structure. I propose for this purpose to appoint a commission, with the power to engage technical and expert assistance from the United States. Taxes must be realistically readjusted to the inflation, which holds us in its grip. Taxes in a sense, represent forced savings. Under present circumstances, increased taxes are a type of bloodletting which will do much to cure the high blood pressure of the current inflation.

Meanwhile the people's confidence in financial and credit institutions must be strengthened further to lure savings into the productive streams of industrial and commercial credit rather than into mere competition for consumption commodities. The full rehabilitation of the banks and the strengthening of our banking laws will be another long step toward the trapping of inflation and its localization in the consumption market. A commission will be appointed to study our banking laws and to recommend, if it is found desirable, a central bank to become the fiscal agency of the Government in the control of credit, to act as the clearing house for inter-bank transactions, to manage bank reserves and to afford more flexibility in our currency system.

Insurance companies must come under the same type of review. We must tighten up our laws regulating insurance so that the people's savings in these institutions will be as safe and secure as we can make them.

Meanwhile, further to increase the general confidence in banks, we must enact legislation enforcing on all banks equal liability for deposits made prior to the war and transferred by the Japanese to the Bank of Taiwan and the Yokohama Specie Bank. These transfers affected Americans, allied nationals, and loyal Filipinos. Funds affected also include trust funds held for widows and orphans in the Philippines of American soldiers of past wars. Proper claims can be made by the banks against the Japanese Government, but meanwhile depositors must be protected.

Present law places nationals of neutral countries and even enemy nationals in a favorable position as compared to Americans, allied nationals and those Filipinos who were penalized in similar fashion. Such neutrals and enemy nationals can now collect their outstanding pre-war deposits while Americans, allied nationals and some loyal Filipinos are denied that right.

It is essential to economic rehabilitation that easy credit be made available to small investors; homebuilders and producers. It may be necessary for the Government to guarantee small business and farm loans. That matter should be studied.

Steps should be taken immediately to rehabilitate fully the Postal Savings Bank and to authorize the payment of deposits. When funds are available, I shall request Congress to appropriate the necessary funds for this purpose. Further to stabilize the national credit structure, every assistance should be given for the rehabilitation of Building and Loan Associations. Likewise Credit Cooperatives should be encouraged.

When we obtain the loan from the Export-Import Bank, I will propose that we organize in the Philippines a Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, capitalized with the amount of the loan, and authorized to make loans for rehabilitation and economic development projects. But these loans must be made on a sound self-liquidating business basis. I also propose that this corporation itself be authorized to under- take rehabilitation projects when in the public interest and when duly authorized by Congress or the President.

The United States Government is now maintaining here an office of Frozen Foreign Funds Control. Its functions will end on July 4th. I propose that we immediately establish a frozen fund control office in the Department of Finance to take over from the United States Treasury r Department this important function. Accounts and assets l of persons under indictment for collaboration with the enemy must continue to be blocked, pending the disposal of their cases. I propose, however, that the secret "watch list" based on administrative and not judicial evidence be abolished as soon as it is within our power to do so. The United States Treasury Department has offered to make available technical assistance as well as its records to any agency which we set up to handle this problem. I urge prompt action so that our own agency may be functioning before independence.

So much for our financial institutions.

In addition to the studies already discussed, I will ask funds for the expenses of commissions for the study of the following matters:

1. A study of water power development all over the country.

2. A study of our educational system, with a view to the development of an educational program in high schools and colleges oriented to the training of Filipinos in citizenship in an independent nation.

3. An agrarian commission to study the general and specific aspects of our land problem, the relationship between landlord and tenant, the redistribution of lands now held in large estates in congested areas, the opening of public land to settlement and exploitation by small farmers, and other approaches to this troubled situation.

4. A port commission to study the congestion in Manila Harbor and to recommend means and methods for relieving this congestion and to prevent pilferage. This commission will also pre- pare a program for port development throughout the Philippines.

There will be other commissions, whose formation I will propose or direct from time to time. I am not suggesting that this will be a government by commissions. Commissions are fact-finding bodies to ascertain the nature and scope of the problems assigned them and to recommend the best and most economical methods of solving those problems.

Another of our most serious situations, of course, is inflation. Fundamentally, inflation can only be cured by the production and the importation of sufficient goods to satisfy the market and to allow for free competition. That goal is far in the future. I do not know when we will reach it. For the moment and for some months to come we will be living in a land of scarcity-scarcity of food, scarcity of building materials, scarcity of textiles, scarcity of machinery. While we are building up our stocks from abroad, while we are getting our own production into gear, we must control prices, minimize the black market, prevent profiteering and obviate the suicidal race between prices and wages.

With the increase in the prices of the necessities of life come demands for increases in wages-demands, which are justified if there is no other way of enabling men to live. Upon the increase of wages there follows closely an increase in the price of the products whose producers have been accorded the increase. Laborers who do not get the in- crease in pay are likely to strike; and strikes curtail production, viciously worsening the situation in a never-ending cycle. I ask wider authority to control prices. That authority may be on a renewable basis; I do not intend to use it for any commodity nor for any longer time than is absolutely essential for the welfare of our people. But where it is necessary, it is my purpose to enforce to the limit price ceilings. The experience other nations have had in this matter indicates that expenditures involved in administering and enforcing price ceilings in periods of scarcity result in tremendous savings to the people themselves.

As we begin to rebuild under the terms of the war damage act and under the terms of such rehabilitation legislation as we ourselves may enact or provide, there will come a destructive scramble for building materials and for the hire of skilled construction workers. We must have authority to control the prices of these materials and to stabilize wages for certain types of workers in the skilled trades.

Control must also be established over rents, especially rents for dwellings occupied by small-salaried employees and workers. During a period of housing scarcity, rent ceilings are essential in any planned program of inflationary control. Profiteering based on scarcity of housing must be ended. The administration of rent ceilings will necessarily be confined to the urban areas where the shortage is critical.

I believe that price control should extend even to places of amusement such as motion picture theaters. The movie has come to be a major cultural institution looming large in the lives of many of our people. The price of this facility must be kept within the bounds of reason.

It may seem to some that we in the Philippines are about to encumber ourselves with controls and irksome regulations while other peoples of the world are discarding them. But we are just beginning to fight in our current war, our war against destruction and prostration. Just as in the war against the Axis, we cannot, we dare not, lose.

As we start out on the road to rehabilitation, as we make our plans for the reconstruction of our country, we must work along two lines. The first is the simplest–to rebuild those industries and those enterprises, which were destroyed by the war. But that is only half our goal. We must also plan and work in terms of broadening our economy, of securing wider and wider participation in business and industry of greater and greater numbers of individuals.

One answer to this, of course, is small business. Small business is one of the bulwarks of democracy. Small factories, small shops, small processing plants attracting the ingenuity of individuals and the enterprise of small groups, are economically essential and socially desirable. I recommend that we establish, perhaps within the framework of a general Rehabilitation Authority, a small business division, the sole task of which will be to encourage and promote small business. I have already suggested that special financial and credit facilities be made available and I suggest now that technical advice and assistance be also provided.

When the War Damage Commission begins to function here, it will be faced by the problem of weighing claims of approximately one million claimants. It will be a monumental task to assay and decide these claims. Each claimant, small or large, will be forced to present his claim in legal and standardized form with supporting affidavits. The same thing, incidentally, is true and will be true for the presentation of claims before the Veterans Administration. I therefore ask, in order to assist small claimants, that the Government establish a Legal Service Bureau for the purpose of helping the poor to prepare their claims for the War Damage Commission and the Veterans Administration. This service should be free in cases where need is shown. I do not think we are unduly prejudicing the legal profession in the Philippines for they will have many more claims than they can handle. The War Damage Commission especially is bound by a time limit for the submission and consideration of claims. We must do everything in our power to expedite the payments and permit the orderly progress of the reconstruction work.

I come now to what I would consider the most urgent problem we have, if I should select one. That is the law and order situation. For the proper, intelligent and impartial enforcement of law, I propose that we establish a State Police, authorization for which is already embodied in our Constitution. I ask that the Congress grant me the discretion to assign the State Police either to the Department of the Interior or retain it directly in the Executive Office of the President. The police force must be a civilian body although its members will be selected largely from our defense forces. But it will not be a military force. By intensive training and, we hope, with the aid of the United States law enforcement agencies, we plan to fit the members of our police force for their difficult and trying task. They must know the law and the constitutional premises of our Government. They must enforce law in the manner prescribed by law, impartially and without fear.

I also ask for the strengthening of the Division of Investigation in the Department of Justice, whose function will be to apprehend violators of national laws, and to guard against bribery, corruption and graft in government. This force will not be a Gestapo but rather the watchman for the public conscience.

I recommend an increase in the penalty for the illegal possession of firearms, especially automatic rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, bombs and heavier armaments.

I also propose that the assembly of more than five persons carrying illegal firearms shall constitute presumption of conspiracy to commit acts of banditry.

As to the Army, I have already made my position clear. The standing regular Army should consist of approximately 12,000 mobile, well equipped, well trained troops, an Army of which the State Police would be a reserve. These troops must be trained in the latest mechanics of combat, in the use of modem weapons and modem tactics.

While we are maintaining a small compact professional force, we must also train our reserves. We must continue to train at least 5,000 reserve officers annually in the universities end colleges. The training should be as modem and as

forward-looking as possible. Students who elect medical training or other professional branches will be admitted into the reserve corps without standard and routine training in arms. I propose that we continue universal military training with this modification: that there be one year of training for all youths upon reaching the age of 18, except those training in colleges, But training in mechanical and technical skills will be provided when aptitude for such skills is shown. We must train technicians as well as infantrymen for our citizen army. Training of air corps pilots and of a ground maintenance force should also be provided on a modest scale. Commercial air pilots, navigators and engineers should be made automatically eligible for membership in our reserve forces.

In the Philippines we have inherited from the United States a happy tradition of a non-political army, an army whose personnel take no part in national or local politics. A professional army must be a non-political army. There was some weakening in the fabric of this restriction in recent months, I shall take every step within my power to restore the doctrine of abstention from politics for the army.

We are already training an offshore patrol and we have arranged to obtain from the United States Navy such ships, boats and other watercraft as will be required, For the time being, the offshore patrol will be under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Army but I shall propose at some time in the future that a separate service be established so that it may become the nucleus of a naval force. The patrol's present function will be to prevent smuggling and illegal entry, to cooperate with the merchant marine, to maintain all maritime services, and .to assume jurisdiction over the coast and geodetic survey.

There is pending in the United States Congress today a bill authorizing the Army and Navy to cooperate with us not only in the training of personnel but also in the transfer to the Philippine Army of ships, aircraft; arms, equipment, stores and supplies. I am confident that the United States Congress will approve this proposal before July 4th, We could not maintain an Army or an offshore patrol without it.

As I have already stated in my summary of activities in Washington, we are facing problems in the establishment and arrangement of our foreign relations after July fourth. One of our immediate tasks is to arrange for the orderly liquidation of the Office of the Resident Commissioner in Washington and the establishment of an embassy, I propose that all employees of the Resident Commissioner be given a service bonus amounting to one month's salary for every year of continuous satisfactory service in that office, Those accepting employment with the new Embassy will not be eligible for this bonus.

I propose that all properties of the Office of the Resident Commissioner be transferred to the Philippine Embassy when established.

It will be necessary to make legal provision for the establishment of a Department of State which will have, among its functions, jurisdiction over all properties to be acquired for foreign service purposes abroad and over foreign service personnel under such rules and regulations as Congress may prescribe.

I have asked the Department of State in Washington to assign to us a foreign service expert to help us draft these rules and regulations and also an over-all pattern for our Department of State, When these studies are completed, I will submit the proposed legislation to this Congress.

I shall also ask the Congress to make provisions by appropriation and otherwise for adequate representation of the Philippines in all international bodies in which the interests of our country are involved. I propose that blanket authorization be given the President to name representatives to international bodies and that adequate funds be provided in a discretionary appropriation for the pay, transportation and subsistence of such representatives pending the inclusion of such an item in a general budget for our independent Department of State.

For the further promotion of our trade and commerce, the Congress should study ways and means for the establishment in the Philippines of a free port zone so that it may become the transit point for goods flowing from the western hemisphere, the assembly area for heavy machinery, equipment and motor vehicles, the site of oil refineries for export petroleum products, and the distribution and ware- housing center for goods destined for all

parts of the Orient. Future developments might include shipyards and ship repair facilities for the vessels of the Far East.

Another of our major problems is transport and communications, some of whose aspects I have already discussed. I consider harmful to the public interest the present practice of Congress of retaining the authority to issue licenses and franchises for radio broadcasting stations, airlines and some public utilities. This is a practice which legislative bodies in other parts of the world have long abandoned. Public utilities must be regulated and controlled in the public interest. This can be done effectively only if the power to regulate is combined with the power to license. In the case of major public utilities, the Public Service Commission should be given that authority. Transport facilities and radio stations flourish best in competitive circumstances. Competition among them must be encouraged for the best public service. Because they partake of the nature of a public utility, they, too, must be closely regulated in the public interest. And, as in the case of utilities, the power of regulation must be combined with the power of licensing. The details of regulatory supervision of these facilities are far too great to be handled by legislative bodies. Congress should establish the regulatory and licensing bodies and lay down policies and requirements and leave to the administrative agencies the semi-judicial function of licensing and regulating. There is an intrinsic evil in maintaining this power in legislative hands, le3.ding as it does, to log- rolling, legislative lobbying and, too frequently, to monopoly. The practice of democracy and free enterprise demands that competition in those fields where competition is practicable be encouraged. I, therefore, propose that an Air Transport Authority and a Communications Authority be established, their general policies to be laid down by Congress. The chief criterion of the operation of these public facilities must be public interest and public convenience. Authority must be granted to these bodies to issue rules and regulations to enforce compliance with the public interest and convenience. It should be provided that licenses to operate will be issued on a periodically renewable basis and may be revoked for sufficient and legally definable cause. The Communications Authority should be authorized to assign wavelength frequencies allocated to the Philippines by international agreement. Broadcasting stations can be required to include in their program educational and instructive material; advertising can be regulated to prevent unfair and unethical practices. Radio can and should be a major educational influence in the life of our people. Only a regulatory body can guarantee this in practice.

With regard to aviation, every encouragement should be given to expansion and improvement of air services on the basis of free competition. Airlines should provide transportation links to unify our land and bind it together more closely than ever before. A proper regulatory body can carry out this policy and, at the same time, enforce the rules of aviation safety, establish standards of operation and fix rates. In no other way can this industry properly and safely expand.

I shall not at this time undertake an extensive review of the problems confronting our judicial system. They must be carefully and painstakingly studied, and some of our judicial practices revised. For the moment, however, there is one problem of paramount urgency which, if solved, will greatly expedite the work of our courts.

The Court of Appeals was established several years ago to relieve congestion of cases in the Supreme Court. Last year the Court was abolished in the belief that by increasing the number of justices in the Supreme Court, and by providing that the Court might sit in two divisions, that Court would be able to dispose of all cases coming from inferior courts. The result of this experiment has been to confirm the opinion of all those who were opposed to the abolition of the Court of Appeals, because the actual number of cases recently docketed in the Supreme Court and undisposed of by that tribunal removes any hope that the Supreme Court alone can dispose of all such cases. I, therefore, recommend that the Court of Appeals be re-established with the same jurisdiction granted to it under the laws of its creation.

I have enumerated my proposals for the re-establishment of law and order. I have discussed the measures that will be necessary to strengthen the police force and to increase penalties for the violation of law. An agrarian commission is to be established to study the economic problems of the areas where unrest now prevails. The Congress must realize, as I realize, that the means with which we attempt to solve these problems must be within our finances and our capacity. Some time may be required before we can put all of our program, or even a large part of it, into operation. But the people must be assured that we will move as swiftly as we know how. The laws against usury, for instance, will be enforced strictly and thoroughly; the practice of charging excessive rates of interest to the poor must and will be stamped out. As soon as the legislative proposals on our agrarian problems are formulated, I

will ask the Congress to give them every priority. I assure the Congress and the people of the Philippines that nothing will be left undone that can be done. Meanwhile, I should like to discuss briefly some of the other specific measures, which should be taken as soon as the means are available. We must import farm implements and make provision for their distribution and use. I propose that cooperatives be organized to make possible the general availability of tractors. We must import new livestock and poultry and develop varieties peculiarly suited to our own land.

I propose that there be established an Institute of Nutrition to study our dietary habits and make recommendations for suitable modifications.

Credit and technical assistance must be provided for the development of new commodity crops, such as ramie, peanuts, Soya beans and cotton.

To further increase our domestic food supply, we must take measures to stimulate the fishing industry. The United States Government has already voted us technical assistance and training facilities for deep-sea fishing. We must take advantage of those facilities to the limit of our ability.

To decrease the cost of fertilizers, we must establish fertilizing plants, both organic and chemical. These may be established in conjunction with waterpower sites. I have already listed waterpower development as a subject to which we must give intensive study.

Our natural resources must be carefully husbanded. Many a nation, once great, has fallen by the wayside of I history as a result of the reckless dissipation of its natural, resources. Our soil must be kept rich and fertile. Our subsoil riches must be exploited according to plan and in the public interest. Reforestation must keep pace with the cutting of lumber. The work of our experimental agricultural stations must be expanded and the results of their work conveyed to every comer of the Philippines. For this reason, I place great emphasis on the development of radio, provincial newspapers and other publication media. Congress must plan to promote and encourage the development of these media so that the messages of government may be circulated widely among the people.

Labor too must come into its own and must be given every protection in its right to organize. The powers of our Court of Industrial Relations must be revised. While we encourage and strengthen organized labor, we must make ample provision to insure the responsibility of labor and of labor unions. I propose that conciliation and mediation be recognized and emphasized as a proper procedure for the settlement of labor disputes and that a Conciliation Service be established in the Department of Labor. Legal provision should be made for labor disputes to be first submitted to the Secretary of Labor who would, only upon the failure of conciliation and mediation, certify a dispute to the Court of Industrial Relations. Compulsory arbitration should be the last resort. Voluntary agreement between management and labor should be the goal. The good offices of Government should always be available to prevent labor disputes before they reach the stage of strikes. When the vital public interest is involved, compulsory arbitration appears to be an essential device.

The stability of labor relations is one of the most important assurances which we can offer to private enterprise and to investors, large and small, for the planning and programming of economic ventures. Through the labor conciliation and arbitration methods I have suggested, a large measure of stability can be afforded. That stability must, of course, take into consideration the right of labor to have a living wage. Higher wages built on high and efficient production provide purchasing power for goods and start the cycle of production for consumption, which should be the goal of our economic development. For this great national need, we require the unstinted cooperation of both management and labor. Labor must be strong to shoulder its responsibilities; management must be intelligent and progressive to discharge its proper social functions.

In the present period of emergency, a Wage Stabilization Board to adjust inequities in wages and to operate in conjunction with the proposed Conciliation Service should be established. I believe that such a Board can best function as an independent agency under the Executive Office.

At an early date I shall direct the taking of an unemployment census in the Philippines, using available government personnel to do this important work. We must have the facts before we can attack successfully the problem of unemployment. I shall also direct the establishment of labor exchanges in each municipality, if possible, again attempting to use available government personnel. Should these prove inadequate, I will ask Congress to establish an employment service in the Department of Labor. As we proceed further in our program of social welfare, such a service will be essential for purposes of certification of unemployment as well as of placement.

Nor can we afford to forget the urgency of rehabilitating our educational institutions and our school system. I have placed this subject in the latter part of my message not because of its lesser importance. I can think of nothing, which is more vital to the nation in terms of our long-range growth and development. The functions of the school system from the primary grades through the universities are many. The spread of literacy is only one of them. Education, as we all know, is the hall maiden of liberty. The intelligent use of the ballot by the people in a democracy is in large measure dependent on the degree of enlightenment of the people. We must begin with the rehabilitation of our primary schools, the provision of adequate employment conditions for teachers and for their training. The University of the Philippines must be restored to its former primacy among the educational institutions of our land. Its facilities for scholarship and research must be restored and expanded. The professional schools must be given every encouragement. Whatever economies may be necessary, we cannot afford to overlook the great need of education. I have already indicated that a special commission will be appointed to review our educational system. We must move promptly to effectuate whatever suitable recommendations are made. Institutions for vocational education should be established at the earliest opportunity. Special educational facilities for adults should be provided.

As with education, so, too, we must take proper measures for the protection of the public health. The promotion of sanitation and the stamping out of disease has been one of the fields of our greatest advance. For this we have to i thank the United States Public Health Service.

When we make the transition to independent status, the Bureau of Quarantine which is so essential for protection against epidemics and pests and parasites must be completely integrated in the Department of Health and Public Welfare. An amendment to our Administrative Code will be necessary. The requirements of the quarantine service in personnel and facilities, as well as in legal authority, must be met so that it can carry out its many functions, not the least of which is the enforcement of vaccination against plague, cholera, smallpox, typhus, and yellow fever. To permit the introduction of plagues into our land would be to expose ourselves to a loss as great as that of war itself.

Our hospitals must be rehabilitated. Whatever financial aid is necessary must be provided. We can look forward to some assistance from the United States Government in terms of surplus property and training facilities. But much of that task must be undertaken by us.

We must provide for strict enforcement of food and drug standards and insure the cleanliness and sanitation of public eating places and processors of food. The health and vigor of our people is our first natural resource.

I recognize the importance which reparations may play in our economic rehabilitation. Everything possible is already being done to lay our claims before the proper international organs. Pending the settlement of reparations on an international basis, we are trying to obtain interim reparations payments in kind. It may be necessary, after independence, to establish a formal reparations body. But for the time being that will not be required.

In our great concern with the economic and social problems, which surround us, we must not omit to do honor to our heroes of the recent past. I have already described the measures that we propose to take for the benefit of the widows and orphans of our soldier dead and for our veterans. In addition to the benefits I have described, veterans must be given priority in government employment, service and training facilities.

The greatest of our war dead was not a soldier on the field of battle. He was a statesman and leader whom we have enshrined in immortality. I am referring, of course, to the late President Quezon. We made arrangements in Washington to transfer his remains from the United States to the Philippines, to arrive here on August 1. I ask that Congress provide a special appropriation of P50,000 for a state funeral and for the erection of a temporary

mausoleum to contain the remains of the great leader. I say temporary because I am also proposing that funds be raised by contribution for the erection of a great memorial in which finally to house his casket. I am recommending also a second great memorial, this one to America, in recognition of the 48 years of our historic relationship, and in recognition of the greatness of mind and heart of the American people who have done and are continuing to do so much to make our national existence possible.

These two great memorials should be so situated that they will be focal points of the capital city of the Philippines. In this connection we must speed to completion our work of city planning. I will soon send to the Congress legislation providing a definition of our capital city-planning proposals. Meanwhile, I have asked the planning commission now at work to complete its studies as rapidly as possible.

When United States Government agencies are ready to begin the' reconstruction of our public buildings, we must be ready with the plans and with a program of priorities. I propose the establishment of a special commission to study this matter and to formulate proposals for submission to the Philippine War Damage Commission of the United States.

We must see in the ruins around us the vision of a great national capital rising in resplendent beauty from the ashes and rubble of destruction.

Gentlemen of the Congress, I have addressed you at great length and have touched sketchily upon many subjects, which deserve more attention than I have given them. There are many matters which I entirely omitted but which you will be called upon to consider. It was impossible to include them all in a single message. I know that in the tasks I have outlined, this Congress, this representative body of the Filipino people, will be equal to its responsibilities. I am sure that you will discharge your duties in the best and highest traditions of the long line of great Philippine representative bodies. Yours is the duty and the responsibility of legislating, mine, that of administering. I will undertake to the best of my ability to carry out the policies you finally determine, and to enforce the laws you enact. I will not intrude upon the legislative functions of this body.

I hope there will always be, as I am sure there is now, complete understanding between us and a spirit of cooperation which will enable us to move together along the bewildering paths of our immediate future toward the bright day of prosperity and security.

With faith in each other and in the people of the Philippines, we will succeed in our tasks, so help us God.

NOTE.-The President's report to the Filipino people, referred to in this message, was contained in a statement jointly issued by him and Commissioner McNutt on May 22, 1946, the day after his arrival from his mission in the United States. That statement listed the various matters more or less successfully taken up by his mission. Many of them are discussed in the above message on the state of the nation. Those not specifically mentioned therein are enumerated herein below.

Post-independence relationship between the Philippine peso and the U. S. dollar.

Refunding to the Philippine Government of $6,500,000 deposited in 1941 with the War Department as a bond guaranteeing the return of arms and supplies issued by the U. S. Army to the Philippine Army. Those arms were lost in the war.

Settlement of fiscal balances held by the U. S. Treasury for the account of the Philippine Government.

Acquisition by the Philippines of surplus property held in the United States, especially rolling stocks for railways.

Training programs for engineers, meteorologists, merchant marine officers, fishing experts and others in the United States under the terms of the War Damage Act.

Extension of the life of U. S. passports held by Philippine citizens abroad beyond July 4, 1946, pending the issuance of Philippine passports.

Rehabilitation of abaca lands discussed with officials of the U. S. Reconstruction Finance Corporation, U. S. Commercial Company, and Alien Property Custodian.

Establishment of a consulate in Hawaii after July 4, 1946.

Sending by the United States of missions to consult on technical phases of the rehabilitation program.

Status of Filipinos in the United States after independence.

Legislation granting an immigration quota to the Philippines and providing for naturalization rights in the United States for Filipinos. Also legislation to continue the civil service status for- Filipino employees of the U. S. Government.

Request to officials of the War and Navy departments for the transfer to the Philippines of equipment for the Philippine Army and for a Coast Guard; request for assignment of supplies and subsistence for these forces for a temporary period.

Acceleration of reparations deliveries of machinery and industrial equipment from Japan.

Message of President Roxas on the National Appropriations, June 10, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the National Appropriations

[*June 10, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

As anticipated in my message of the 8th instant on the National Budget, I am submitting herewith a bill to extend the effectiveness of the appropriations authorized for the operation of the various departments, bureaus and offices of the National Government for the current fiscal year beyond the date of its expiration, June 30, 1946.

Presentation of this bill is premised on the supposition that as the current fiscal year ends in but a matter of days, the Congress will in every probability find it impossible to enact the General Appropriation Act before then. However, it is important that appropriations be authorized before the current appropriation law lapses. Government functions must continue uninterrupted. I need authority to carryon.

There are proposed in the enclosed bill a number of new items which are also contained in the Budget I have submitted, together with certain amendments on other items in the present General Appropriation Law likewise introduced in the Budget for the coming fiscal year, which I consider of such importance that they should be acted upon by the Congress at the earliest practicable date. Upon the approval of the General Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1946-1947, all expenses actually incurred by authority of the act proposed in this bill will be charged against the corresponding items of appropriations in the General Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1946-1947.

I hereby certify to the urgency of the passage of this bill.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

Manuel Roxas, State of the Nation Address, June 12, 1946

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS

BY MANUEL ROXAS

5TH PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

[Delivered on June 12, 1946]

On this very spot 48 years ago our revolutionary armies declared our independence and proclaimed the Republic of the Philippines. All the ties which bound our land to the Crown of Spain were severed and dissolved.

That Declaration of Independence, in language and spirit, stemmed directly from America's own Declaration of Independence. Our declaration affirmed the inalienable right of Filipinos to govern themselves and to be free. It was a consummation of our age-old struggle for liberty and national individuality. In this sense it was much more than a war measure against Spain. It was the sculptured spirit of a whole people, exhibited for the first time to the world in all its simple grandeur. Freedom! Liberty! Independence! Those words, spoken by us in 1898, made the rulers of the Orient pause and listen.

The great heart of America heard. Although our Revolution was short-lived in form, it achieved its purposes in substance.

That celebration on June 12, 1898, was held in the presence of American officers who, under Admiral Dewey, had participated in the sinking of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. While these Americans looked on, our national flag was raised for the first time over our land, and the inspiring tune of our national anthem rang out over these historic acres.

We did not attain our full freedom then. The United States, feeling a deep sense of responsibility for our enduring welfare, and an international obligation for our security, took upon herself the task of gradually training and preparing us for self-government. Our forces valiantly resisted the forcible imposition of this strange benevolence. We had no way of knowing that those professions of good intention were sincere. Our resistance was overcome and we laid down our arms, but in the act of acquiescing to American rule, we accepted American protestations of good intentions. We put our faith in the American declaration that she had come not as conqueror, but as liberator, not to exploit but to help us husband our resources and to develop them for the benefit of our countrymen. We soon discovered that that faith was well placed.

We learned, and we may well profit today from that lesson, that freedom and progress may move in paths of peace even more surely than in paths of violence. We learned that in a pattern of order and security, based on good faith and mutual confidence, peoples may move forward to their goals in irresistible strength, unmarred by force or hate.

At first our country was governed by Americans with the help of Filipinos, later, by Filipinos with the gradually diminishing intervention of Americans. Today our government is practically in our own hands. The intimate and unselfish collaboration between our two countries has no parallel in history and is the inspiration of subject peoples in many lands. On the part of the United States, there was shown the purest altruism and disinterest, and on our part, undivided loyalty, and eagerness to learn and work for the attainment of common aims and purposes.

As we are about to reach the end of the road we have traveled under the guidance of the United States, and to attain the fulfillment of our aspirations, there is nothing in our hearts except gratitude to America and the abiding hope that she will continue to assist us in the trying days ahead.

Veterans of the Revolution! You are members of a glorious generation, now passing from the scene. Your ranks are broken and your numbers are less by the heroes who are not with us today…Luna, Bonifacio, Del Pilar, Malvar, Jacinto, Quezon, Leyva and uncounted others who do not answer today's roll call. But our people will never forget

them, nor you. You have taught us to fight, to die for freedom. You have proved to us that liberty is more precious than life itself. You have shown us, by brilliant example, that it is the duty of those who survive the struggles of war to live for their country as valiantly and as courageously as those who die. You have shown us the example of unstinted service and sacrifice for the nation's good.

I pledge to you here and now that the torch of liberty you lighted 48 years ago will not go out during our time. I pledge my own efforts to hold that flaming brand aloft with every fibre of my being. The proud banner of liberty you unfurled here will fly proudly over your children and those who come after them. We will maintain our freedom, we will maintain our national honor, we will maintain the institutions of democracy and our faith in God and in human dignity with the same perseverance and sacrifice that you showed and offered so many years ago.

We do not fear any nation. We do not suspect any people of having designs against us. We ask for assistance, from friends who are in a position to give assistance. I do not look for evil purpose in the offer of assistance. But we will resist, even as you resisted, with our lives and our treasures any assault against our institutions and our national independence.

In the name of the cause for which your comrades died and struggled, we pledge ourselves on this sacred soil, enriched now by the blood of two generations of soldiers of liberty, to carry on this noble work, so nobly begun.

Message of President Roxas on the liquidation of the Financial Interests Protection Bond Fund and the Application of the Proceeds, June 17, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the House of Representatives

[*June 17, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

On February 1, 1922, and as provided in Act 2999, the National Government issued bonds in the amount of $5,000,000 the proceeds thereof to be used for the protection of the financial interests of the Government. The bonds were sold above par and the total proceeds from the sale amounting to P10,156,000 were credited to the Financial Interests Protection Bond Fund. Inasmuch as there had been no occasion for its use as provided in Act 2999, and in order that it may not remain idle, the Bond Fund was invested in accordance with the authority granted under Act 3723, as amended by Act 3829.

Because of the war, the maintenance of the sinking funds for the bonded indebtedness of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, its provinces, cities and municipalities, was suspended. As a result the sinking funds were impaired. The total deficiency in the sinking funds for the outstanding bonds issued prior to May 1, 1934, amounts to P18,422,048.62.

The rehabilitation of these sinking funds presents a financial burden, which should not be imposed on the General Fund of the Government. Nevertheless, for the purpose of presenting as complete and as reliable a financial statement as could be prepared at this time, provision for the said deficiency has been made in the Budget Statement I submitted to the Congress with my Message of June 8, 1946.

To the extent that the proceeds of the liquidation of the Financial Interests Protection Bond Fund proposed in the accompanying bill will be applied to the settlement of the deficiency mentioned, corresponding relief to the General Fund will be accomplished.

Under section 6-g-4 (ii) of the Act of Congress of March 30, 1934, known as the Philippine Independence Act (Tydings-McDuffie Law), the Philippine Government is to pay before July 4, 1946, to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States for deposit in a special trust account (set up to pay interest and principal on the outstanding amount of such bonds) all of the sinking funds maintained for the payment of such bonds. I consider it imperative that the Philippine Government does not default in this obligation which we assumed ten years ago when we accepted the Tydings-McDuffie Law. We must preserve the credit of the Philippine Government in the only great bond market of the world, the United States. We shall need that that credit be unassailable. The action proposed in this bill is to keep faith with the holders of these bonds.

For the purposes of Article VI, section 21, paragraph (2) of the Constitution, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of the corresponding legislation.

Very respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas to the Second Congress on urging ratification of Executive Agreement with the USA, June 21, 1946 Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Ratification of the Executive Agreement with the U.S.A

[*June 21, 1946*]

MR. SPEAKER, MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS:

I have asked that this joint session be called in order that I may report to the Congress on the actions now required to provide for future trade and economic relations with the United States.

The American Congress has lately passed a Philippine Trade Act and a Philippine War Damage Act Those two acts provide the pattern of United States aid for our reconstruction and for the rehabilitation of our national economy. Without this assistance we are faced immediately by disaster. Without the helping hand thus extended to us, I do not believe we can survive.

I do not pretend to tell this Congress that this legislation or the money voted us by the United States Congress will automatically accomplish the rehabilitation of the Philippines. It is my duty to advise you that we must look forward to years of sacrifice and toil to accomplish our aims. Our future is grim, brightened only by the patriotic determination of the Filipino people to succeed, at whatever cost.

In my report to the Congress on the state of the nation, I described our present precarious economic condition. We are today living through the most crucial period of our life as a nation. Each day brings its crisis to our attention. We are faced by difficulties and decisions which test our capabilities to lead our people.

The obstacles are great and numerous. They will require all our wisdom and courage. One of our sources of hope is the help we have been offered by the United States. That nation which is about to grant us our freedom has also tendered to us the means of solving our economic problems, a protected place in the American market for 28 years and funds to help us rebuild our shattered land.

Such are the purposes of the Trade Act and the War Damage Act. I am directing your attention today largely to the Trade Act which grants us the protection of American tariff preferences.

The American Congress, in order to provide those trade preferences, had to cut across all the protective features of American tariff law. These preferences are being offered exclusively to the Philippines.

A new and unprecedented legal formula had to be devised. That formula consists of an Executive Agreement to be negotiated by the President of the United States with the President of the Philippines. Authorization for the Agreement is contained in section 401 of the Trade Act. That section also requires the acceptance by the Philippine Congress of the Agreement and the implementation by law of all the terms of that Agreement. We must agree to continue these provisions in force after we become a Republic and finally we must agree to take steps to amend our Constitution to provide certain rights for American citizens which are now at variance with the Constitution. I am already authorized by the United States Congress to enter into such an Executive Agreement with the President of the United States but it is expressly provided that this Agreement cannot be proclaimed and put into effect until this Congress accepts the Agreement by law.

I wish to report to the Congress, therefore, that I am proceeding to negotiate this Executive Agreement in accordance with the provisions of the Trade Act. As soon as it is complete and duly signed, I will submit it to this

Congress for approval. I hope to be able to present the Agreement to you early next week. I am making every effort to hasten the conclusion of negotiations in order to give the Congress as much time as possible to reach a decision.

This Congress has never been asked to deliberate upon a more vital matter. Your decision will determine the fate of this nation for the next generation. I need not ask the gentlemen of the Congress to lay politics and political expediency aside. I know that regardless of party or faction every one of you recognizes his heavy responsibility. I ask merely that you examine all the facts and make your decisions accordingly. My recommendations are well known by now. I propose that you approve the Executive Agreement that I will soon transmit to you. It is my considered judgment that to do otherwise would be to invite economic and finally political catastrophe.

The Trade Act and some of its provisions have been under violent attack in some parts of the press and in some public circles during the past two months. I would like to be able to say that public discussion has been in progress. I am afraid I cannot describe what has been going on as discussion. There have been misrepresentations and misstatements of fact. Some political leaders have been willing to make capital out of a question which should be above politics. I shall undertake, in the course of this report, to present the facts regarding this legislation and to correct some of the gross misrepresentations which have been made. I have no doubt as to what your decision will finally be. Yet I feel that the Filipino people have the right to be correctly informed, to have their fears set at rest, and to view in intelligent perspective the proposals which have been made.

There are perhaps some plausible arguments against some portions of the Philippine Trade Act. If I had been permitted to promulgate it by personal edict, it would have been different in many respects from the Act we are considering today. But no one man can hope to see his own ideas completely accepted in an act of Congress. It is well if that this is so.

Let me recall, for the benefit of those who might not know, the procedure by which the United States Congress enacts legislation. There are introduced into the Congress at every session an average of 8,000 different measures. Of this tremendous number no more than a few hundred are ever acted upon. The rest die in committee. Many desirable proposals suffer this fate. Any controversial measure to be approved by Congress must have a support so widespread as to demand priority over all others clamoring for congressional attention. Many proposals urgently desired by the national administration never see the light of day. In a Congress occupied by so many various and conflicting concerns, there is no other way.

Those of us who are old enough to remember can well recall the difficulties we faced in getting Philippine legislation through past Congresses when national problems in the United States were far less complex than they are today. It was only by a coalition of divergent interests that the first independence act was forced through the American Congress. It took that same coalition, backed irresistibly by an administration in the first flush of its early prestige, to secure the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act.

Today we have one strong advantage in Congress that we never had before: wholehearted and unselfish concern for our welfare. But all the sectional and economic interests must still be reckoned with and must be reconciled in any piece of major legislation affecting them.

Moreover, each administrative department of the federal government is called upon to make a minute inspection of all legislation to insure that it is in conformity with the overall policies of the United States. The views of all these departments must be taken into consideration. There is established by these means a long and dangerous gauntlet of individual guardians of particular interests and policies. Such a system is inevitable for the maintenance of a continuous national policy in a nation so huge and with interests so vast.

I have gone into some detail in sketching this background. It was not without reason. I hope you will now realize how difficult it is to get legislation which satisfies any particular group or which conforms to any ideal plan.

The Trade Act had to run such a gauntlet. For six months it was considered by the various committees of Congress. It was entirely revised no less than five times during this process. In the end it required no less than the personal intervention of President Truman to effect a reconciliation of many viewpoints and interests.

Filipino officials representing this Government during the framing of this legislation desired at first perpetual free trade but later agreed to 20 years of free trade. Senator Tydings proposed twelve years of gradually increasing tariffs. The State Department insisted upon the elimination of preferences at the earliest possible date. The Agriculture Department was opposed to granting the Philippines a sugar quota. There were other departments which had similar strong views on various aspects of the legislation. In September, 1945, the first Bell Bill was introduced providing 20 years of free trade. A few weeks later the first Tydings Bill was introduced providing twelve years of gradually increasing tariffs. In October, Senator Tydings introduced a second bill prescribing twelve years of declining trade preferences and authorizing 100,000,000 dollars in war damages. In November, President Truman brought about the compromise between the Bell and Tydings proposals. Senator Tydings, President Osmeña, Representative Bell, High Commissioner McNutt and representatives of the administrative departments agreed to a plan for 8 years of free trade and 25 years of gradually decreasing preferences. The period of declining preferences was later shortened to 20 years. That is substantially the proposal which is before us today.

Many hearings were held on this measure before both the House Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committees. Those hearings extended over a period of six months. The Philippine representative in Congress, Commissioner Romulo, testified many times. High Commissioner McNutt testified at great length and on many occasions. President Osmeña sent letters to the Congress which are in the record for all to read. As long ago as last October 12 he appealed for the passage of the Bell Bill. Commissioner Romulo has consistently asked the approval of this measure in all its various forms. Commissioner McNutt spent two and a half months in Washington, from February until April, in a supreme and finally successful effort to get this legislation through. Without his patient and tireless efforts, I do not believe that any of the Philippine legislation would have been passed before now.

The Trade and War Damage bills were finally approved in April of this year. Much has been said recently regarding so-called onerous provisions in these Acts. But all the violent protests are of very recent vintage. It is a fact that there was no formal protest from Philippine sources until this legislation was on the point of passing—on the eve of our national elections, to be exact. Let us examine some of these protests, with some reference, perhaps, to their timing. I shall speak first of all of section 341 of the Trade Act, which provides as follows:

"The disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the United States citizens."

This is the so-called equal rights provision. In order to fulfill the obligations imposed upon us by this provision we must amend our Constitution. Had I been in Washington at the time, I would have vigorously protested against its unilateral quality and, had it been insisted upon, I would have suggested other means of accomplishing the same objective. If we trace the legislative history of this provision, we will find that it was in the first version of the Bell Bill introduced on September 25th, 1945. It was accepted at that time by the Commonwealth Government. I have assurance that it was approved by a former Secretary of Finance as well as by the head of the Commonwealth Government. No opposition to it was even expressed until November 16th, when it was mildly suggested by the Resident Commissioner that this provision should better be, included in a treaty of friendship. But the same provision persisted in every successive version of the Bell Bill. It was insisted upon most vigorously by Representative Harold Knutson, the author of what is now known as the Knutson Amendment.

Today we are faced by the fact that section 341 is a part of the Trade Act. There is no way of divorcing it from the Trade Act. If I could, I would remove it, not because of the alleged dangers it holds for us—I believe these to be non-existent—but rather because of the manner and form in which it is included. I do not believe that these reasons should weigh too heavily with us at this time, confronted as we are with the fact that this provision is part of the law. I have no fear whatsoever that the granting to American citizens of rights equal to those of Filipinos in the development of our natural resources will bring about an imperialistic exploitation of our country. This was not the intention of Congress. I am certain it will not happen.

It is perhaps too distant in the past for most of us to remember, but it is most interesting to note, that the provision in our Constitution protecting our natural resources from exploitation is not of Filipino but of American origin. The

prevention of this exploitation has been the constant concern of the American Government from the very beginning of the occupation in 1898. Our laws restricting the acquisition of public lands and the development of our mineral resources can be traced back to the first Philippine Bill approved by the United States Congress in 1902. These wise provisions were implemented by the Philippine Commission and consistently repeated in the successive organic acts until finally these provisions found lodgment in our Constitution.

It seems to me therefore that to suspect the American Congress of conspiring to open the flood-gates to an imperialistic deluge, is to deny every fact we know. To impute this motive to the United States Government is to ascribe evil to virtue itself and to put an ugly countenance upon the noble stewardship maintained here by the United States for the past 48 years. A nation that for these many years has striven patiently and at great cost to uplift us politically and socially, a nation that has preserved for us our national patrimony so that when we shall become independent we may enjoy it in full measure and pass it on to our posterity—such a nation does not deserve the scurrilous attacks which have lately been made. I can ascribe those attacks only to lack of information or to malice. They do not befit our dignity as a people or nation. They arouse resentment among our trusted friends in Congress to whom it is proposed that we appeal for redress.

Today those who make these attacks are furnishing ammunition to the enemies of democracy elsewhere in the world. They are besmirching the good name of the nation which, more than any other, is the hope of all the underprivileged and defenseless peoples of the earth.

No, I will not attribute such motives to the American Congress. I will not believe that Congress intended any unworthy purpose. The Congressional intent was simply to invite and encourage American capital to invest in the Philippines and aid in our rehabilitation. The equal rights provision was not designed as a protection for American interests already here—it is intended to reassure potential investors that the Philippines is a safe area for enterprise, safe against discrimination for the next 28 years. Every responsible Filipino leader I know desires American capital enterprise and know-how to participate actively in our reconstruction. Our rehabilitation would be impossible without such assistance. The only question is the means of inviting that capital to venture here. Congress selected a means with which we may disagree as to form. We cannot disagree as to the objective. To seek the elimination of that provision at this time would be to warn American investors and American enterprise not to come to the Philippines. That would be suicidal for us. I will not propose it.

That does not mean that we should not be on guard against ruthless exploitation and imperialism. We must maintain a constant vigilance against the dangers of such exploitation by persons of any alien nationality, or even by Filipinos. We now have ample legal safeguards to accomplish that. The Government need not open up lands or resources for development or can halt at any time the dissipation of such resources. The Government itself can assume the responsibility of their development. The Government has the power to expropriate public utilities; the Government has the power to tax and control conditions of employment. Of course we shall not use those powers except to prevent abuses. But if abuses occur, we shall not hesitate to use the legal authority that is already available or set up new devices of restriction and control to protect our national interests. The Executive Agreement will set up no barriers to our exercise of all legal means to prevent predatory exploitation or the domination of our economy by selfish economic interests. Commissioner McNutt himself has publicly urged us to maintain such safeguards. And in the very remote possibility that the American Government should ever change its policy and seek to further imperialistic designs here, we have the recourse of terminating the Executive Agreement on five years' notice.

I wish to emphasize again and again that all the arguments which have been made against this provision have been based not on facts but on fears. I refuse to be frightened by the ghost of imperialism. Americans have had equal rights—potentially more than equal rights— for 48 years in the Philippines. America could have made of the Philippines a Belgian Congo. I look about me and see no evidence of outrageous exploitation. Instead of being made slaves we have been freed. Instead of teaching us obedience, America has taught us love of liberty. Instead of overseers, America has sent us teachers. Since 1913, the balance of trade between the United States and the Philippines has been heavily in our favor in every single year until the outbreak of the war. If this provision, whatever its form, will help us survive economically as an independent nation, I will go along with it for the emergency period. I do not propose to sacrifice the national welfare on the altar of pride. I will not be Lazarus on a heap of ruins.

At the proper time I shall propose the required amendment to our Constitution but I shall recommend it as an Ordinance appended to the Constitution to be effective only during the life of the Executive Agreement.

I will now refer to section 402, sub-section *(f)*. This is the provision pegging the peso to the dollar. It has been cited as an infringement upon our sovereignty and free choice. Those who make that citation forget, perhaps, that the peso is already pegged to the dollar in the Bretton Woods International Monetary Agreement which has been duly ratified by the Philippine Senate. In a world searching for security, the stability of monetary values is an economic essential. We cannot expect to retain the freedom to raise or lower the value of our peso and retain the confidence of traders in other parts of the world. As far as pegging the peso to the dollar is concerned, the dollar is the standard of value for all world currencies today. By connecting our peso with the American dollar, we stand within the magic and charmed circle of standard value, the dollar area, to which all currencies are being attracted today. This provision does no more than require us to do something which it is to our own unquestioned interest to do. But if this arrangement should work a hardship on us, we are not without recourse. The ratio of the peso to the dollar can be changed with the approval of the President of the United States.

Some voices have been raised in protest against the absolute quotas provided for certain of our exports to the United States. It is said that this is discrimination. Such a charge cannot in my judgment be maintained. These quotas are the very same—in the case of cigars, our new quota is greater—that we had in the American market before the war. The quotas were originally established as a compromise to allay the opposition of American commodity interests who had protested in years past against unlimited imports from the Philippines on a duty-free basis in competition with similar American commodities.

These quotas are now being continued in the post-independence period as an offset against the trade preferences we are given. But these fixed quotas are now a source of considerable advantage to us. By establishing a ceiling on the amount of these commodities we can ship to the United States, we are automatically forced, after our production reaches quota limits, to diversify in other non-quota fields. That is one advantage we gain. A second benefit lies in the 28-year insurance of these quotas. We are assured for that period of time of having a market for these goods up to the amount of our quota. No other country has such an assurance.

In the case of sugar, all producing areas including those inside continental United States are under quota, but none of these areas has a quota assurance for a period longer than two years. In the Philippines we are given a 28-year guarantee, a guarantee which supersedes any sugar act which Congress might pass in the future. The same is true of cordage.

The President of the United States is given authority to establish quotas on other Philippine commodities entering the United States when those imports threaten American producing interests. That is also a fair safeguard. As long as the United States grants us the privilege of preferential tariffs, we must respect America's right to safeguard her own interest against Philippine products which have a market in the United States as a result of tariff protection.

We are told that there are no quotas on American commodities entering the Philippines. For the time being we desire none. We want as many imports as we can possibly get. If, during the course of the 28 years of the Agreement, we find any Philippine industry threatened by imports from America, we are free, in my judgment, to establish quotas on those imports or devise other means of protecting our infant industries. I find nothing unreciprocal about this provision.

One other aspect of the rehabilitation legislation against which criticisms have been leveled is the so-called tie-up between the Trade Act and the War Damage Act. That connection is established by section 601 of the War Damage Act which provides that no war damage payments in excess of 1,000 pesos may be made to private individuals or corporations until the Executive Agreement has been proclaimed to be in effect by the President of the United States. This provision has been described as a club to require our acceptance of the Bell Act. I consider this allegation to be completely baseless. Honestly speaking, I see no particular purpose in section 601 since to my mind the Trade Act is as essential, if not more so, to our national welfare as the War Damage Act and it is inconceivable to me that the Executive Agreement provided in the Trade Act could be rejected. There is a natural and organic connection between the two Acts. In the original Tydings version they were both in the same bill and were separated

only for reasons of legislative convenience to make simultaneous consideration in the Senate and the House possible.

Actually and legally section 601 associates only part of the war damage payments with the Executive Agreement. Regardless of whether we accept the Executive Agreement, the P240,000,000 for the reconstruction of our public buildings, roads, bridges, and harbors are still to be spent in our behalf. The P200,000,000 worth of surplus property will still be transferred to us. Private war damage payments up to 1,000 pesos are to be made in any event. The other payments are made contingent upon the effectiveness of the Executive Agreement only because they are part of the pattern of economic reconstruction. It would be senseless, for instance, to make payment for the reconstruction of a sugar central or a coconut mill if there were no market for the sugar or the coconut oil. It was the clear and consistent intention of Congress that the War Damage funds be used for the rehabilitation of industries destroyed by war. Special and careful provision is made in the War Damage Act to prevent individuals from collecting war damages and transferring the payments out of the Philippines. Buildings and structures must be rebuilt or in process of rebuilding, as a condition precedent to receiving war damage payments. Hence it was decided that these payments would not be authorized unless there were trade provisions permitting these industries to exist.

Let us not imagine that the war damage authorization represents a windfall of dollars ready to be distributed among us for whatever purposes might meet individual fancies. These funds are carefully earmarked and their expenditure safeguarded so that they must be used for rehabilitation purposes. But these funds alone are only a part of the amount of money that will be needed to rebuild our land. Vast amounts of fresh capital must be attracted to accompany the war damage money to give us a productive economy adequate to our needs. Of the $620,000,000 authorized for war damage payments, $400,000,000 is set aside to compensate for damage to private property. That $400,000,000 must be divided among all the claimants and the number of claimants will total more than half a million. According to the survey of the War Damage Corporation of the United States Government, total losses suffered by private persons and corporations amounted to $464,420,000. Damage inflicted on church property amounted to $139,000,000. These figures are today considered extremely conservative. All these losses must be met out of the $400,000,000 authorized by Congress. These losses include automobiles, household furniture, and office equipment. The buildings which were damaged include club houses, auditoriums and theaters. The amount of money which will be paid out for the rehabilitation of productive enterprises is but a part of the total available amount. And if that amount is the only money we have for the rehabilitation of our economy, those who pin all their hopes on war damage payments may look forward to a rude awakening.

It was not the intention of Congress to make these payments a bribe to induce our acceptance of the Trade Act, because Congress well knew the war damage money is but a fraction of the capital we require. The Bell Act provision and the subsequent encouragement of trade and productive enterprise are in themselves intended as an inducement and as a lure for capital investment here. Without that investment we are lost. No bank will lend us money unless we have a productive economy. We cannot have a productive economy without markets and without the capital required to produce for those markets. The three elements of our rehabilitation are first, a market for our goods; second, capital to enable us to revive our production; and third, labor and enterprise to produce. To coordinate this trilogy the United States Congress provided, first, trade preferences; second, assurances to capital; and third, a part of the funds we will need to rebuild and reconstruct. To strike out any one of these elements is to destroy the whole of the master plan for our rehabilitation.

I have gone into great detail in regard to the so-called onerous provisions of the Trade Act. It might be well by contrast to recite the beneficial provisions regarding which there can be no question.

The Trade Act provides eight years of completely free trade and twenty years of gradually increasing tariffs or declining duty-free quotas as the case may be. For sugar and cordage, for instance, increasing tariffs are provided. For coconut oil, tobacco products and some others which could not withstand the imposition of any tariffs, declining duty-free quotas are stipulated.

These are provisions which have never been made for any other foreign country on earth. These are provisions which violate America's basic international trade policies. Yet without these provisions, our industries cannot even begin to function. The tariff preferences are basically and fundamentally essential to us.

When consideration of this legislation was begun seven months ago, it was believed an impossible task to secure congressional approval of such provisions. But in the end, they were approved.

The tariff duties, when they begin to be assessed against our products in 1954, are to be assessed at the lowest world duty charged to any nation in the world including Cuba. That means that Cuba, for instance, which has enjoyed a 20 per cent preferential in the American market since 1901, will be at a disadvantage compared to the Philippines until 1974.

It also means that products which are found on the free list for Cuba, and for Cuba alone, as, for instance manganese, will be on the free list for the Philippines for the full 28-year period of the Agreement.

We are guaranteed a two-cent preferential in processing taxes on our copra, also for 28 years, thus guaranteeing for that period an exclusive market in the United States for Philippine copra. No other country can compete in the face of this preferential.

Whereas, the United States agrees to tie its hands in the allocation of sugar quotas and in the assessment of processing taxes on coconut oil for those 28 years, we make no such concession. This is a provision completely unilateral in our favor, completely non-reciprocal.

The United States, under this Act, in effect revises all its tariff laws, all its reciprocal trade agreements with all the countries in the world, departs from its own international trade policy, and sets up a special trade relationship with the Philippines.

It might be well for us to remember that our forthcoming independence is a free grant by the United States. Added to that grant are the economic privileges I have already referred to. The nation whose productive power and armed might brought Germany and Japan to their knees is committed to the guarantee of our security and of our survival. We could have no more magnificent sponsor of our independence.

We are a prostrate nation. The apparent well-being of some of our citizens today leads them to puff up with dignity, like the bullfrog of Aesop's fable. But let us look at the real plight of our people, and the real situation which stares at us from every quarter.

What if we reject the Executive Agreement, and assert our pride and dignity and demand that Americans stay out of the Philippines and refrain from making investments here? What is our situation then? What are our prospects, on the one hand of obtaining a better bill, and on the other of getting along without the Trade Act at all? In the first place, I do not believe we could at this time get a better Act. After July 4th, we will be without congressional representation. Any proposition submitted to Congress in our behalf after July 4th must be the product of an inter-departmental agreement within the United States Administration. I do not think such an agreement possible without months of deliberation. And while these deliberations are going on, the Congress will adjourn. This is an election year in the United States.

While the present Congress is favorably disposed toward us, I cannot forecast the complexion or attitude of the next Congress.

We, ourselves, are not agreed on what a perfect trade formula would be. Some are against free trade. Some are for perpetual free trade. Some wish our pre-war industries revived. Some wish them to remain destroyed.

Should we be so foolish as to ask the United States Government to reconsider, I doubt if there would be legislation enacted before 1948. I doubt whether it would be as satisfactory legislation as that which we have today.

What of the other alternative, of dispensing with the Trade Act entirely?

Let us look at the facts of life. After July 4th, without this Executive Agreement, we will be on a full foreign duty basis, like any other foreign nation, with respect to the United States.

The sugar, tobacco, and coconut oil industries will be dead. So, too, will be embroideries, and pearl buttons, and probably cordage. Our exports for some years to come will consist of copra and abaca, and chrome. There will even be a tariff against our manganese. It will be many months before we can mine gold again.

That means, at pre-war production levels, an income from exports of approximately 60 million pesos, using current prices as a standard. Our imports this year from the United States will be valued at approximately 600 million pesos. If we are to rehabilitate ourselves, the amount of imports must be increased next year. The result will be that at the end of 1947, we will have denuded the Philippines of practically every peso and every centavo which the American GI's and others brought in here, the so-called nest-egg on which we have been living and doing business for the past 18 months. We will be penniless.

It is easy to say that we can raise our own food and live, as we lived under the Japanese. Do we wish to push our people back into the middle ages of subsistence and economic isolationism? Of course, we do not. But unless we attract capital from abroad, and even more important, unless we can begin immediately to increase our exports of our major cash crops, we are doomed to disaster and worse.

We must be reminded that should we reject this Trade Act, and deprive ourselves of preferential markets, we prejudice completely our applications for loans from the United States Government. No government would lend us money in the absence of a productive economy that would permit us to repay the loan.

I do not think that there is any question of confronting such a situation. There is no reason to expect that this Congress will refuse to meet this question in its true light.

I have described and defended the Trade Act at great length. I sincerely believe that we have only one choice, and that is, to accept it. Let me point out to the Congress, that were we to be actuated by partisan considerations, the majority party might oppose this legislation. We are not responsible for it. We had nothing to do with its formulation or passage. But we do not intend to take a partisan attitude toward a question which involves our national existence.

One supplementary reason for this stand is our strong conviction that, as we approach independence, we must establish firmly the principle of continuity of foreign policy. I know of no more vital principle for the promotion of the respect of the world for our nationhood, for our stability, for our political maturity. I will not put this Government in a position of denying the commitments entered into with the United States by the last administration, merely for a doubtful political advantage. I believe it my patriotic duty to follow this policy. I hope to see developed among our people an understanding that politics halts at the water's edge. We will not, we must not, play politics with our commitments abroad.

I have placed before you a momentous choice. There is no time for delay. We cannot gamble with the lives of our people. They must have assurance of future work. We must draw now the pattern of national reconstruction to permit the development of a broader, a richer, a more productive economy, than we ever had in the past.

All the dreams we have dreamed, of democracy, of social security, of agrarian reform, of prosperity and happiness for our people, hinge on your actions and your debates. By the wisdom of your decisions hangs the fate of this nation. In imposing this responsibility upon you, I need not go further. I need not indicate to you at any greater length the course you should follow.

I appeal to your patriotism and to the love I know every member here holds for his native land, to act in good conscience for the welfare of his country. Chart now the course this nation must follow in the years to come. Tell our people now that you have faith in our nation and in the ability of their Government to safeguard them from evil. Tell them that their struggles and sacrifices of the past four years were not in vain, and that the Republic of the Philippines is soon to reap the benefits of those sacrifices and struggles.

The basic blueprint of our economic recovery is here. It is for you to accept. It is for you even to reject. I assure the Congress that in accepting and in implementing the program that has been designed, they will be giving to the people of the Philippines, and to our friends and well-wishers throughout the world, the signal that we are on our way in a great crusade, 18,000,000 strong, to reach the haven of economic security which all the world is seeking today.

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NOTE.—The President was authorized by Congress on July 3, 1946, in the last law of the Commonwealth, No.733, to enter into this executive agreement by which the Philippines binds itself to carry out the provisions of U. S. Public Law 371, approved on April 30, 1946, entitled "An Act to Provide for the Trade Relations between the United States and the Philippines, and for Other Purposes."

The Bell Act, or Philippine Trade Act of 1946 as this law is generally known, required the amendment of the Philippine Constitution so as to allow American citizens and corporations to exploit the natural resources and operate public utilities, which privilege was restricted to Filipino citizens and corporations. Without this constitutional amendment, the Philippines would not be able to enjoy the trade and other privileges offered in the Trade Act as well as in its companion measure, the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946, otherwise known as the War Damage Act.

Message of President Roxas on Recommending the Creation of a Department of Foreign Affairs, June 24, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On Recommending the Creation
of Department of Foreign Affairs

[*June 24, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have the honor to recommend the enactment of a bill creating the Department of Foreign Affairs. In view of the need for the establishment of this Department on July 4, 1946, the immediate enactment of legislation to this effect is urged.

It is not possible at this time to envision the organization which will be needed to handle the foreign relations of the Republic of the Philippines, the size of its personnel and their emoluments, privileges, and allowances. Neither is it possible at this time to determine in advance in what countries the Republic of the Philippines will establish and maintain foreign missions. These will depend upon many factors which, for the present, cannot be ascertained with any degree of definiteness. I therefore ask from the Congress plenary authority, within the limits of the appropriation which may be provided by you, to organize the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Service of the Republic of the Philippines along the lines and in accordance with the requirements of the public service and the public interest. Inasmuch as the creation of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Service of the Republic of the Philippines would naturally produce the abolition of the Office of Foreign Relations created under Commonwealth Act No. 683 and the Office of the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, there should be a declaration to this effect and also authority for the transfer of their properties, equipment, supplies, records and funds to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of, legislation as above outlined.

Respectfully,

(SGD.) MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas on recommending the creation of an Export Quality Authority, June 26, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Creation
of an Export Quality Authority

[*June 26, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

The Export Control Authority, established by the United States Government in the Philippines, will stop operation on June 30 of this year. In view of this fact, in order to prevent the exportation from the Philippines of much needed supplies and material such as foodstuffs, textiles, lumber and other building materials, etc., the Philippine Government should immediately establish a similar authority. This agency of the Government is also necessary to permit the Executive Department to protect the interests of the Philippines in matters of trade during this abnormal period and to facilitate the importation in larger quantities, of essential materials urgently needed in this country.

I earnestly recommend that the Congress approve the necessary legislation to carry into effect the above purposes.

In view of the urgency of this matter, and pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of such legislation.

Respectfully,

Message of President Roxas on submission of a draft of the Executive Agreement with the U.S., June 26, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the draft of the Executive Agreement
with the United States

[Released on June 26, 1946]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Pursuant to the announcement which I made in my message to Congress on the Trade Act, I am submitting herewith for the consideration of the Congress draft of a bill accepting and implementing the Executive Agreement contemplated in said Act. This bill is strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Trade Act.

You will note that the attached bill contains a verbatim copy of the Executive Agreement entered into by the President of the United States with the President of the Philippines. This Agreement has not yet been signed. I expect that all the formalities required and the signing of said Agreement will take place in a day or two. I do not anticipate that any substantial change will be made in this draft of the Agreement. Should, however, any change be agreed upon I shall immediately report it to the Congress.

I am transmitting this information to the Congress in order to gain time and permit the Congress at its convenience to start deliberation over the proposed measure. I shall transmit to the Congress a signed copy of the Agreement when it is completed.

Considering the need of taking action on the proposed measure before July 4, I earnestly urge the Congress to begin as early as possible its study and discussion. Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of this bill.

Respectfully,

(SGD.) MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas on the submission of the final draft of the Executive Agreement, June 29, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the submission of the final draft
of the Executive Agreement

[*June 29, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

A few days ago I transmitted to the Congress a preliminary draft of the Executive Agreement to be entered into between the President of the Philippines and the President of the United States in accordance with the Philippine Trade Act. I am now transmitting to the Congress the exact and final form of the Agreement. This draft does not differ from the first draft except that it contains a correction of typographical errors and a few other changes in form. There are no changes in the substance or meaning of the terms and conditions .of the Agreement.

After consultations with the President of the United States and with our respective legal advisers, it has been agreed that it would be legally proper and add solemnity to the compact to be entered into if it be signed following approval by the Philippine Congress of the terms and conditions of the Agreement and after the President of the Philippines has been duly authorized to conclude such an Agreement.

I am therefore submitting for your consideration a modified form of the bill to be enacted by the Congress concerning this matter. This bill approves the Executive Agreement and authorizes the President of the Philippines to enter into that Agreement after the proposed bill is approved rather than before such approval. If the proposed bill is approved by the Congress, I will sign the Executive Agreement on July 4. The President of the United States has already authorized his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to sign the Agreement on that date on behalf of the United States.

The perfection of the form and of the terms and conditions of the proposed Executive Agreement has been accomplished through extensive negotiations with the President of the United States and the State Department in Washington through the Office of the High Commissioner.

I now ask the speedy approval of the bill I am submitting to you. It complies with all the requirements of the Philippine Trade Act and its form and contents have been accepted by the High Commissioner of the United States to the Philippines. I earnestly urge the Congress to complete action on this bill before July 4, 1946.

Very respectfully,

(SGD.) MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas on the creation of the Philippine Office of Foreign Funds Control, July 22, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the creation of the Philippine Office of Foreign Funds Control

[*July 22, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Since liberation, the United States Treasury Department has been maintaining in the Philippines the Philippine Office of Foreign Funds Control, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Trading With The Enemy Act of 1917, as amended. The provisions of this Act are expressly extended to the Philippines even after July 4, 1946, under the terms of Philippine Property Act of 1946, approved on July 3, 1946. Therefore, the Trading With The Enemy Act of 1917 is now a law in force in the Philippines. Our government should immediately provide for its instrumentality to take over the functions heretofore exercised by the aforesaid Philippine Office of Foreign Funds Control of the United States Treasury Department. I have the honor, therefore, of submitting herewith the draft of a bill establishing the Foreign Funds Control Office and urge its immediate enactment into law.

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of the attached bill,

Respectfully,

(Sgd.) **MANUEL ROXAS**

Message of President Roxas on the emergency notes and other Guerrilla issues, July 26, 1946

Message of Manuel Roxas President of the Philippines on the emergency notes and other Guerrilla issues

[July 26, 1946]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

During the war, emergency notes and other guerrilla issues, including the so-called mountain money, were issued by civilian and army officers of the resistance movement in the areas comprised within the territories not subject to enemy occupation. How this currency was issued, under whose authority they were issued, and the amounts thereof issued, are matters of interest to the government, because only upon the basis of findings as to these facts could the Government of the Republic of the Philippines intelligently negotiate with the United States Government for the redemption of the said currencies. It is, likewise, essential that pending the negotiations between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States Government with respect to their redemption, speculation in such currencies be stopped. Therefore, I recommend the enactment of a law which will provide for the registration and deposit of emergency currency and the outlawing of all emergency currency not so registered and deposited, and which will prohibit and penalize negotiation and speculation thereon.

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of such legislation.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas to authorize the acceptance of military equipment, supplies and training facilities for the U.S., July 31, 1946

Message
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To authorize the acceptance of military equipment,
supplies and training facilities for the U.S.

[Released on July 31, 1946]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I am submitting herewith a bill authorizing the President to accept, subject to conditions set forth in the recent Military Assistance Act approved by the United States Congress, certain equipment, supplies, material, and training facilities which have been and will be made available to the armed forces of the Philippines by the United States Government.

It is my belief that Congressional authorization for acceptance of this assistance is desirable and necessary. I expect to enter into an agreement with the United States Government providing for the transfer to us of supplies, equipment, and material for our Army, and supplies, equipment, material, and naval craft for our Off-shore Patrol. The United States War Department has already turned over to us some of the equipment for our Army. I have requested, in addition to the supplies already made available, stocks of reserve supplies and material and the loan of military and naval advisers and personnel for the training of our armed forces, especially for the training of our naval personnel in the operation and maintenance of naval craft. The United States Government has indicated that it is willing, on the basis of the United States Congressional authorization contained in United States Public Law No.254, to grant us this assistance, although some of the details remain to be worked out by negotiation.

The press has reported that the United States Congress is about to approve a request by the War and Navy Departments for more than $19 million for this fiscal year for the purchase of food, clothing and other supplies and equipment for us, in addition to the supplies and equipment, surplus to the needs of the United States Army and Navy, which are being made available otherwise. It is estimated roughly that the original cost of the supplies and material and naval craft which will be made available to us is in excess of $100 million. I need not reiterate how grateful we must be to the American people and to the United States Government for this assistance, without which we could not at this time adequately equip either our national defense force, our national police, or our off-shore patrol, the latter being so vital for the enforcement of immigration and tariff and customs laws.

In order to expedite the conclusion of the arrangements described above, which are so essential to our national welfare, I ask that you consider this bill without delay and give me as early as possible the authority to proceed in this urgent matter.

Respectfully,

(Sgd.) **MANUEL ROXAS**

Message of President Roxas to the Congress "No Person Should be Allowed to Derive Profits from War", August 2, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Congress

[*August 2, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

A war imposes upon the governments and peoples involved tremendous sacrifices in blood and money. No person should be allowed to derive profits from war. This is a principle morally and politically sound. I am recommending that it be applied to extraordinary profits made by persons, firms and corporations operating in the Philippines for the duration of the war. This is the more urgently necessary because of the need of the Government for additional revenue to cover its fiscal requirements.

In line with the recommendation of the Tax Commission, I am recommending legislation imposing a special tax, to be known as "war profits tax", upon persons, partnerships, and corporations in the Philippines who accumulated wealth during the period from December 8, 1941, the date of the first Japanese bombing of the Philippines, to August 15, 1945, the date of the formal surrender of Japan. A graduated special tax should be imposed on such wealth. Every person who accumulated wealth or property in excess of P6,000 during the period from December 8, 1941, to August 15, 1945, is required to file a return or statement of his net worth, and graduated rates of tax are imposed on the increase of his wealth. Under the proposed legislation the minimum rate is 50 per cent on the first P44,000 in excess of P6,000 and this rate rises up to 99 per cent upon amounts over P1,000,000.

The effective amounts of tax payable under the proposed rates are as follows:

Increase in wealth		*Effective amount of tax*
Up to	P6,000	Exempt
On	50,000	P22,000
On	100,000	52,000
On	200,000	122,000
On	300,000	192,000
On	500,000	352,000
On	1,000,000	802,000

To avoid any possible evasion by unscrupulous persons it is necessary that a lien be established on all properties acquired by the taxpayer during the war.

Respectfully,

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NOTE.—This recommendation to impose war profits tax was immediately carried out with the passage of Republic Act No. 55, approved October 15, 1946, levying rates ranging from 50 per cent to 95 per cent. Despite these high rates, however, the collections from this source during the four fiscal years, ending June 30. 1949, were only around P600,000.

Message of President Roxas recommending the creation of a "Quezon Cross of Service", August 2, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
In recommending the creation of a "quezon cross of service"
for exemplary Service to the nation

[*August 2, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I am submitting herewith a proposed joint resolution which would authorize the creation of a distinctive memorial to the late President Manuel L. Quezon in the form of a decoration, to be called the "Quezon Cross of Service", which would be awarded for "exemplary service to the nation in such a manner and in such a degree as to add great prestige to the Republic of the Philippines or as to contribute to the lasting benefit of its people".

I am proposing that the President be authorized to make such awards, with the concurrence of the Congress. The resolution itself limits the type of nominations which may be made; this should be the highest national recognition of outstanding civilian service in the gift of the Republic.

It had been suggested that the Government award a high decoration to the late President Quezon, posthumously. I could think of no award, either presently available or which could be created, which would not itself be dwarfed by the unlimited tribute which will always be paid the late President by the overflowing gratitude of our people, a gratitude which will increase with the years as the stature of his accomplishments grow in historical perspective.

Instead of giving public recognition to one who certainly requires no formal tribute to enshrine his deeds, it would be preferable, in my judgment, to establish an award for others, in his name, establishing Manuel L. Quezon's great struggles on behalf of his people as the standard by which future contributions to the national welfare may be measured.

I, therefore, recommend that you consider and approve the attached resolution.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas on stamping the Seal of the Republic of the Philippines on the Treasury certificates, August 5, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On Stamping the Seal of the Republic of the Philippines
On the Treasury Certificates in Circulation

[Released on August 5, 1946]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have the honor to submit herewith a draft of a bill providing for the circulation of treasury certificates with the official seal of the Republic of the Philippines stamped, printed, or superimposed thereon, and for other purposes.

Upon the establishment of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, the circulating legal tender and medium of exchange obtaining under the Commonwealth passed into obsolescence. Ordinarily, it should be necessary for the Republic to issue new currency and to recall that which is in circulation. Such a step will, however, necessarily take time, besides being costly and beyond the means of the Government. The bill, therefore, provides for a substitute measure which would allow the present currency to continue in circulation, but which would be gradually substituted with notes that have been stamped, printed, or superimposed with the Great Seal of the Republic. In this manner, obsolescence of the circulating currency will be cured and a means will be provided whereby the actual outstanding value of the currency obligation of the Republic of the Philippines on account of its circulating treasury certificates will be accurately inventoried and determined, thus providing vital information in shaping financial policies.

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of this bill.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas to amend the budget submitted on June 8, 1946, August 5, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To Amend the Budget Submitted on June 8, 1946

[*August 5, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have the honor to propose herewith modifications of the 1947 Budget, which I submitted to you on June 8, 1946. These modifications should be considered for incorporation in the appropriation bill. Whenever practicable, it is desirable that all operating expenses of a given fiscal period be comprehended in a single legislative enactment.

The following items are authorized in Republic Act No.1 not proposed in the 1947 Budget:

(a) For traveling and other expenses of Committees of the Senate—P200,000; other services, including transportation and additional secretarial services or expenses—P100,00 for the Senate and P400,000 for the House of Representatives; and alteration, repair, rental, maintenance, and equipment of offices of the Senate—P200,00…….. P900,000.00

(b) For expenses of the inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines—P200,000; expenses of investigating committees or commissions-P200,000; and retirement gratuities to officers and employees in the office of the former Resident Commissioner of the Philippines—P300,000 ……. 700,000.00

(c) For carrying out activities in the restoration and maintenance of peace and order (in addition to P100,000 provided in the (1947 Budget)—P400,000… 400,000.00

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Total…….. P2, 000,000.00

The following are new expenditure proposals and minor budget adjustments:

(a) For expenses in connection with the organization and

maintenance of elementary school classes in the

public schools throughout the Philippines……. P16, 750,000.00

(b) For salaries and wages, including hospitalization

of disabled Philippine Army war veterans for a period

of four months beginning July 1, 1946…..……..……. 1, 859,040.00

(c) For equipment of post offices throughout the Philippines,

including salaries and wages in the construction and

installation of telegraph and cable lines and radio stations

of the Bureau of Posts…… 167,140.00

(d) Interest charges on proposed United States loan of

P150,000,000 ……. 1,500,000.00

(e) Budget adjustments …….. (23,584.00)

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Total …….. P20,252,596.00

New additional total……. . P22,252,596.00

After reopening of schools last month, representations have been made to me that 525,000 primary school children have not been admitted to classes for lack of teachers and school facilities. In 1941 there were 40,315 positions of elementary school teachers. Of this number, 40,253 had been filled in March, 1946, leaving only 62 positions unfilled. By the adoption of the double-single session plan, it will be possible to have the additional enrollment of 525,000 prospective pupils accommodated by the employment of 6,563 teachers (7,000 to give allowance for places where the double-single session program may not be feasible). The detail of the amount of P16,750,000 requested for this purpose is given in the accompanying statement.

On July 1, 1946, there were 2,090 Philippine Army war veterans, ill and disabled in line of duty, confined at the First General Hospital of the United States Army. The compensation, maintenance and care of these veterans have become, along with the Philippine Army itself, a charge against the Philippine Government, pending assumption of functions over them by the United States Veterans Administration. An interim of four months from July 1, 1946, is, therefore, being provided for in this budget adjustment.

I am informed that there is imperative need to increase from P200,000 to P300,000 the amount recommended for the purchase of post office equipment to replace those lost or otherwise destroyed during the war, and from P67,140 to

P134,280, the allotments for personnel service in the construction and installation of communication lines and stations.

The other minor budgetary adjustments, involving a net reduction of P23,584, include assignment as payable from corresponding receipts of the appropriations for supervision and regulation of motor vehicles and other public services, provisions for building custodial services for the Departments of Finance and Agriculture and Commerce, and adjustment of salaries of a limited number of positions to the minimum rate of the grade to which they are respectively allocated under Commonwealth Act No.402.

For interest on the loan of P150,000,000 being secured from the United States Government, an appropriation of P1,500,000 is proposed.

These adjustments will increase the ordinary expenditures by P20,352,596, and the extraordinary by P1,900,000 or a total of P22,252,596, of which P2,000,000 is authorized under Republic Act No.1.

The 1947 Budget as submitted gives a deficit of P51,437,808.35 as of July 1, 1946, and P247,881,596.35 as of June 30, 1947. Recent financial operations require substantial changes in these figures.

Reports completed show increased actual tax and other collections, the sum of P10,958,000 should be added to the statement of resources until June 30, 1946. Expenditure adjustments, particularly on interests and sinking fund contributions unpaid during the occupation, have been revised to a net decrease of P4,881,697.40. The deficit of July 1, 1946, is therefore to be reduced from P51,437,808.35 to P35,598,110.95.

Changing conditions likewise call for adjustments of the 1947 financial statement. The accelerated trend of revenues during the last half of the fiscal year 1946 justifies revision of the estimates for 1947. This favorable trend, however, although not expected to recede immediately, cannot be safely adopted as a steady index for 1947 calculations. All basic revenue resources have been destroyed. Production and exports are relatively nil. Imports of consumers' goods that drain buying power have reached unprecedented volume. Contraction of general economic activity is expected as currency circulation drops because of foreign payments. Nevertheless, I am prepared to revise our income estimates from P57,309,000 to P75,500,000, for the entire year, or an increase of PI8,191,000.

Negotiations for the sale of United States Government bonds carried in the books at P12,539,500, which were used to guarantee the safety of military equipment loaned when the Philippine Army was organized, will shortly be started. United States congressional legislation for the release of said bonds is practically a certainty. The liquidation of the Financial Interests Protection Bonds with a total value of P10,156,000, has been authorized by the Congress. However, the sum of P18,422,048.62, out of the proceeds of P22,695,500 expected from the sale of these bonds, is earmarked to cover deficiency contributions to the sinking funds on the bonded debt issued by the Philippine Government prior to May 1, 1934.

Consequently, the reduction of the initial deficit on July 1, 1946, by P15, 839,697.40, the increase of estimated 1947 income by P18,191,000, and the liquidation of bond investments in the sum of P22,695,500, give a total gain of P56,726,197.40, in new income for the fiscal year 1947.

Against these gains, however, I must mention that the initial amount of P200,000,000 I have asked for out of the budget deficiency loan of P800,000,000 negotiated in my last trip to the United States has been reduced to $75,000,000, or P150,000,000. This places the 1947 estimated deficit at P63,407,994.95.

I propose to cover the same by forced savings through suspension of the expenditure of authorized appropriations.

I wish to present for your information the following summary of our financial position for the fiscal year 1947:

Budget

DifferenceEstimated Ordinary Income……

Add—

P75,500,000.00

P57,309,000.00

P18,191,000.00

1. Proceeds from sale of investments in U.S. bonds to guarantee military equipment loaned by United States……..P12,539,500.00 2. Liquidation of Financial Interests Protection Bonds…… 10,156,000.00

22,695,500.00

…….

22,695,000.00

Estimated unappropriated surplus (deficit) on July 1, 1946…….

(35,598,110.95)

(51,437,808.35)

15,839,000.00

Estimated total resources…… 62,597,389.055,871,191.6556,726,000.00Deduct—Estimated total ordinary expenditures……

206,830,384.00

186,477,788.00

20,352,000.00

Excess of total resources over ordinary expenditures……

(144,232,994.95)

(180,606,596.35)

36,373,000.00

Deduct—Estimated total extraordinary expenditures……

69,175,000.00

67,275,000.00

1,900,000.00

Estimated unappropriated surplus (deficit) on July 30, 1947……..

(213,407,994.95)

(247,881,596.35)

34,473,000.00

Deduct — United States Treasury Loan……

150,000,000.00

200,000,000.00

50,000,000.00

Estimated net surplus (deficit) on June 30, 1947……

(63,407,994.95)

(47,881,596.35)

(15,526,000.00)

Less: Savings to be made……. 63,407,994.95 47,881,596.3515,526,000.00 Balance……. … ……..……

Respectfully,

(Sgd.) **MANUEL ROXAS**

Message of President Roxas on Stamping the Seal of the Republic of the Philippines on the Treasury Certificates in Circulation

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On Stamping the Seal of the Republic of the Philippines on the Treasury Certificates in Circulation

[Released on August 5, 1946]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have the honor to submit herewith a draft of a bill providing for the circulation of treasury certificates with the official seal of the Republic of the Philippines stamped, printed, or superimposed thereon, and for other purposes.

Upon the establishment of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, the circulating legal tender and medium of exchange obtaining under the Commonwealth passed into obsolescence. Ordinarily, it should be necessary for the Republic to issue new currency and to recall that which is in circulation. Such a step will, however, necessarily take time, besides being costly and beyond the means of the Government. The bill, therefore, provides for a substitute measure which would allow the present currency to continue in circulation, but which would be gradually substituted with notes that have been stamped, printed, or superimposed with the Great Seal of the Republic. In this manner, obsolescence of the circulating currency will be cured and a means will be provided whereby the actual outstanding value of the currency obligation of the Republic of the Philippines on account of its circulating treasury certificates will be accurately inventoried and determined, thus providing vital information in shaping financial policies.

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of this bill.

Respectfully,

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 1). Manila : Bureau of Public Libraries.

Message of President Roxas on Agrarian Reforms, August 8, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On Agrarian Reforms

[*August 8, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I am transmitting to you at this time for your earnest consideration proposed amendments to the Tenancy Law, and am accompanying these proposals with the first report of the Agrarian Commission which recently completed its studies of economic conditions in agricultural districts, and of the unrest which exists in some of these districts.

You will find from the report that the proposed amendments are highly recommended by the Agrarian Commission whose findings are based on a thorough, objective and detailed study of the major factors involved.

The Agrarian Commission was created by Executive Order precisely to study this situation. The members of this Commission have listened to every conceivable viewpoint and have made a first hand study at the very scene of these problems. The conclusions of this Commission are so finely devised, although they represent no new departure from views held by experts on this subject before the war that I have been assured of support for these proposals by representatives of both the tenants and the landowners.

This particular report deals chiefly with the relationship between tenant and landowner in the rice-producing areas the recommendations of the Commission were arrived at after a careful investigation of the economic and social problems of the individuals and groups involved in that relationship, and of the tenancy contract itself as prescribed by existing laws. The Commission also gathered information concerning the actual operation of these contracts and the resulting difficulties and conflicts which have arisen in widespread areas.

I have given much thought and study to this report have reached the conclusion that the recommendations of the Commission are based on sound principle and afford, for the present at least, a fair and just basis for the establishment of a vastly improved relationship between tenant and landowner. I, therefore, recommend to the Congress the amendment of the Tenancy Law in accordance with the recommendations of the Agrarian Commission. As soon as the necessary funds are available, I shall submit recommendations for the implementation of the other findings of the Commission, especially those proposing the construction of irrigation systems, the establishment of agricultural experiment stations, the organization of credit cooperatives for the benefit of tenants and small farmers, and the modernization of the technique of rice production.

Tenancy is an archaic and socially undesirable system as the basis for agriculture. It is a remnant of feudalism. It is a form of extreme paternalism which retards the economic and social progress of tenants and farm workers. It ties the laborer to the land as a chattel. It deadens his spirit of enterprise and makes him totally dependent on the landowner. The condition of many tenants is not unlike serfdom. This situation is repugnant to modern concepts of free enterprise and human dignity. It retards the economic advance of our nation. Wherever the system of tenancy prevails in the world, social and economic conditions are depressed. We must therefore look forward to a gradual but orderly abolition of the tenancy system; we must strive gradually and in an orderly manner to make of our farm laborers the owners of the land that they cultivate and thereby stimulate the creation of as large a class as possible of small independent farmers who can and will be the backbone of the social and political body of the nation.

To attain this end, I propose, first, to establish the fairest possible contractual basis between the tenant and landowner; second, wherever practicable and as soon as circumstances permit, to replace the system of tenancy as we know it with a system of fixed land rental, either in money or in produce; third, to acquire large estates for the purpose of subdividing them for sale at cost to the tenants; and, fourth, to open up large areas of public land for

development and distribution to farmers to be attracted from the congested farm areas. This program, together with scientific aid to agriculture and the credit and other facilities that small farmers require in the organization of new farms, necessitates the expenditure of considerable amounts of money. As soon as funds are available I shall propose to the Congress the immediate implementation of this program.

As an immediate measure I propose the following amendments to the provisions of Commonwealth Act No. 4054, commonly known as "The Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act":

1. In the absence of a written contract, (a) the tenant is to receive 70 per cent of the net produce of the land and the landowner 30 per cent for first class land—land whose normal production is over 40 cavans of palay per one cavan of seeds; (b) 75 per cent for the tenant and 25 per cent for the landowner for second class land—land whose normal production is between 25 and 40 cavans per one cavan of seeds; and (c) 80 per cent for the tenant and 20 per cent for the landowner for third class land—land whose normal production is less than 25 cavans per one cavan of seeds; provided the tenant supplies the work animals and farm implements and defrays all the expenses for planting and cultivation of the field. Expenses for harvesting and threshing shall be deducted from the gross produce. Expenses for the maintenance of irrigation systems within the respective areas shall be for the account of the tenant, but amortizations for the cost of construction of the system itself shall be for the account of the landowner. The expenses for construction and maintenance of privately-owned irrigation systems shall be agreed upon between landowners and tenants, but in case of disagreement, all expenses for construction shall be for the account of the landowner and the expenses of the distribution canals for the account of the tenant.

2. In case the landowner supplies the work animals and farm implements and the landowner bears all the expenses of planting and cultivation, the landowner shall receive 70 per cent and the tenant 30 per cent of the crop; but if the landowner and .the tenant bear equally the expenses of planting and cultivation, the crop shall be divided equally between the parties.

3. In case the land is planted to a second crop of rice or to other auxiliary crops, the tenant shall receive 80 per cent and the landowner 20 per cent of the net produce, provided all expenses of production are borne by the tenant.

4. In case a written contract is executed between landowner and tenant, it is to be declared against public policy and prohibited for the tenant to agree to receive less than 55.per cent of the net crop, if the tenant supplies the work to animals and farm Implements and is to bear 50 percent of the expenses of planting and cultivation.

5. In case of a contract for a fixed rental of the land, it is to be declared contrary to public policy and prohibited to stipulate a rental higher than 25 per cent of the estimated normal harvest.

6. The area to be set aside for the tenant for his house, garden and the raising of poultry and livestock should be increased from 500 square meters to not less than 600 square meters, nor more than 1,000 square meters depending upon the availability of suitable land belonging to the landowner.

The amendments I am proposing to the Tenancy Law are neither radical nor new in this country. They are virtually the same as those prevailing in the tenancy contracts in the Visayan provinces. In the Visayas, tenants and landowners are working in complete harmony, and the social condition of the tenants is relatively higher than that in the provinces of Central Luzon.

One of the most important effects of these amendments will be to induce the tenant to work harder and more continuously because of the prospect of receiving a major part of his produce. It will also induce him to avoid spending needlessly for planting and cultivating, since he will realize that such expenses will have to be borne by him exclusively. This is actually the case in the Visayan provinces. Whereas in Luzon, the usual expenses for planting and cultivation amount to a considerable sum, in the Visayan provinces few such expenses are being actually contracted because the tenant and members of his family do all the work of planting and cultivating. In cases where additional help is required, there exists a system of cooperative labor supplied by neighboring tenants and their families.

I fully realize that the proposed amendments will not solve all the economic problems of the tenants of rice lands. It is a fact, for instance, that the present methods of rice cultivation are such that no tenant can cultivate more than three hectares of rice land. And even if he were given all the produce of this land, he would still have an insufficient income to support a socially acceptable standard of living. The final answer must rather be found in gradually increasing the efficiency of the tenant by the adoption of modern methods of agriculture, the use of fertilizers, the use of mechanical implements, the stimulation of household industry, the development of seasonal employment, and the increase in the amount of land which the tenant can put into production with his own work. This is a gradual process which will require more than legislation to achieve; it will need greater efforts on the part of the tenant and a long process of education and demonstration in modern agricultural technique.

I have received letters and petitions from owners of small rice landholdings, protesting against the amendments which I am proposing in this message. These petitioners claim that if the tenants are to be given a larger share of the crop, the income of the small owners will be greatly reduced, facing them with economic disaster. My answer to this protest is that these small landowners should cultivate their own lands; thus they will not have to share the crop with tenants. We cannot deny justice to the tenants merely because the landowners do not want to work their own land and prefer to live on the work of others. These owners, if they prefer to have other employment, must be content with a fair return from land ownership.

I wish to emphasize that I am not proposing these amendments to allay threats of violence or in response to the demands of private organizations or their leaders. This is not a palliative. I am proposing these amendments because I consider them fair, just and necessary. The present crop-sharing system in Central Luzon is as old as organized production of rice itself. Crop-sharing tenancy dates back to an age, which preceded even the writing of the Old Testament, when tenants were really the slaves of the landlords.

The 70-30 crop division itself is not an especially novel concept. I recall proposing it several years before the war. The proposition was endorsed by President Quezon; it was only because of the outbreak of war that this reform was not carried out.

I desire to inform the Congress that before submitting this message, a meeting was held to discuss the Agrarian Commission report with representatives of the tenants and of the landowners. I am happy to advise the Congress that these representatives approved the recommendations of the Commission and agreed to support the' amendments which I am now submitting for your consideration.

In view of the fact that the planting season for rice is under way and that the harvest will take place before the next session of the Congress, I earnestly request that this matter receive your early attention and that the proposed amendments be enacted at an early date.

Respectfully,

(Sgd.) **MANUEL ROXAS**

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NOTE.—The Agrarian Commission was created by Administrative Order NO. 38 on June 4, 1946, to study rural conditions specially in the rice regions, in so far as they affect discontent and unrest among the people there. Among its recommendations which Congress embodied in Republic Act No.34 approved on September 20, 1946, was the fixing of definite percentage rates for the shares of the tenants and the landowners in the rice product. This law provides that not less than 70 per cent of the harvest goes to the tenant if he furnishes the necessary implements and the work animals and defrays all the expenses for planting and cultivation of the crop, except when there is a written agreement to the contrary.

This legislation is calculated to improve the conditions of the tenant in those congested rice regions where he usually received even less than 50 per cent of the crop and had to render to the landowner certain gratuitous services in addition.

Message of President Roxas recommending the extension of the Bank of Rehabilitation Law to Mutual Building and Loan Associations, September 5, 1946 Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Recommending the Extension of the Bank Rehabilitation Law
to Mutual Building and Loan Associations

[*September 5, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I am submitting, for your consideration and early approval, the attached bill which proposes to amend Commonwealth Act No.726 (Bank Rehabilitation Law) by extending the provisions thereof to mutual building and loan associations under certain conditions. This bill has removed the objectionable features contained in House Bill No.592, entitled "An Act to provide for the rehabilitation of mutual building and loan associations, appropriating funds for that end, and for other purposes," passed during the third special session of the last Congress, which was vetoed by the former Administration on the ground that no provisions were made in the bill against making the proposed aid to building and loan associations serve merely as a means of facilitating shareholders of the associations to withdraw their capital at will. The proposed Section 10 *(b)* of the attached bill furnishes the necessary safeguards.

In this connection, I wish to reiterate what I have said in my previous message to Congress that "to stabilize the national credit structure, every assistance should be given for the rehabilitation of building and loan associations.

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of the attached bill.

Respectfully,

(SGD.) MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas to the Congress on Amnesty Guerrillas

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON AMNESTY

TO GUERRILLAS

September 7, 1946

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Since my inauguration, and even before, I have been gravely concerned regarding the large number of members of guerrilla and other resistance organizations who are being prosecuted before the courts for alleged acts of murder assault, robbery, and general depredations committed during the period of the occupation of our country by the enemy. More than 1,000 such cases are now pending and there are many more in process of investigation. Most of the accused have been in jail for a long period, either because the courts have refused to grant them bail or because the individuals charged are unable to furnish the bail required.

Criminal complaints have been filed on the basis of the ruling by our courts that crimes committed during the Japanese occupation are subject to the provisions of the penal laws of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and consequently of the Republic. The courts have likewise ruled that the fact that these alleged offenses were committed against persons who actively aided in the war efforts of the enemy does not constitute a legal defense or justification for the commission of the act charged.

This ruling of the courts has placed in jeopardy the life and liberty of hundreds of patriotic Filipinos who risked their lives in the defense of our country and who acted in good faith in the furtherance of the resistance movement. These men—some of them among the outstanding heroes of our underground forces during the enemy occupation—are now being indicted because they killed, kidnapped, or assaulted persons believed to be cooperating with the efforts or designs of the enemy, or ordered others to perform such acts. There are also cases where members of the resistance forces are charged with having forcibly taken possession of property which the owners were unwilling to give to members of the resistance forces, despite offers to give proper receipts for such supplies, such supplies being required for the support of such forces in the field.

The majority of the cases now pending before the courts for alleged crimes committed during the occupation fall within the categories above mentioned. It is not only unjust but most ungrateful on the part of our Republic to allow these brave and patriotic men to be subjected to the indignity of a criminal prosecution for acts which they committed in their heroic endeavors to resist the enemy and to help in winning the war. Most of these accused men deserve rather to be hailed as heroes for the commission of such acts.

Inasmuch as no state of war existed between the Philippine civilian population, as such, and the guerrilla forces, there is no precedent in international law justifying the acts of violence committed by them. Nevertheless, it should be recognized in law, as it is in the moral conscience of the world today, that these acts were in support of the resistance to the enemy, or were deemed to be in support of the resistance by the perpetrators of such acts. It is also true that most of these acts were committed against persons who were considered enemies of the Filipino people and who were in fact part of the enemy forces actively supporting the enemy against whom the United States and the Commonwealth of the Philippines were waging war.

To resolve this unfortunate situation, I have decided that the most feasible and expeditious course is to grant an amnesty to all persons accused of acts penalized under the Revised Penal Code in furtherance of the resistance movement.

I have discovered, however, that some of the guerrillas or alleged guerrillas now indicted for offenses committed during the occupation committed these acts not in furtherance of the resistance movement, but purely for personal motives. Membership in the armed forces cannot, of course, be a justification for truly criminal activities carried on against our own people. Many brutal acts of rape, murder and robbery—which cannot in any way be associated with

the resistance movement—were unquestionably committed by individual members of guerrilla forces or by persons claiming to be guerrillas. These acts cannot be condoned; they must be punished.

The Constitution of the Philippines vests in the President of the Philippines the power to grant a general amnesty with the concurrence of the Congress. I desire to advise the Congress that in the exercise of this authority I have on this day issued a proclamation granting amnesty to all persons who committed acts penalized under the Revised Penal Code in furtherance of the resistance to the enemy, a certified copy of which is hereto attached. In order to determine what cases come within the terms of this amnesty, I propose to create, by administrative order, three Guerrilla Amnesty Commissions, each to be composed of three members appointed by the President from among the members of the judiciary. These Commissions will have the power to review the evidence and the facts of cases now pending in the courts or those which may be filed in the future, and, where necessary, to conduct summary hearings, for the purpose of determining whether the acts complained of were committed in furtherance of the resistance movement and, if they were, to so declare, so that the accused may be immediately entitled to the benefits of the amnesty and forthwith released or discharged. However, the decision of the Guerrilla Amnesty Commissions against the accused will not preclude him from presenting evidence before the competent court that he committed the act charged in furtherance of the resistance to the enemy; and if this Court shall declare this fact as proven, then the accused would be entitled to the benefits of the amnesty despite the previous adverse decision of the Commission.

I earnestly urge that the Congress give its concurrence as early as possible to the proclamation hereto attached.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

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NOTE.—The President issued Proclamation No.8 on September 7, 1946, declaring that members of volunteer armed forces of Filipinos and other nationalities and other individuals and groups who in their determined efforts to resist the enemy committed acts penalized under the Revised Penal Code, should not be regarded as criminals but rather as patriots and heroes. And to carry out the intent of this proclamation, amnesty commissions were created to determine who among those against whom charges have been or will be filed before the courts come within this grant of amnesty. Congress agreed to this proclamation of amnesty .in its concurrent resolution No.13 of September 11, 1946.

Message of President Roxas to the Congress on Amending the Constitution, September 11, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Congress
On Amending the Constitution

[Released on September 11, 1946]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Article VII of the Executive Agreement entered into between the President of the Philippines and the President of the United States on 4 July 1946, which Agreement was accepted and approved by Commonwealth Act No.733, provides as follows:

"1. The disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the United States citizens, except that (for the period prior to the amendment of the Constitution of the Philippines referred to in Paragraph (2) of this Article) the Philippines shall not be required to comply with such part of the foregoing provisions of this sentence as are in conflict with such Constitution.

"2. The Government of the Philippines will promptly take such steps as are necessary to secure the amendment of the Constitution of the Philippines so as to permit the taking effect as laws of the Philippines of such part of the provisions of Paragraph (1) of this Article as is in conflict with such Constitution before such amendment."

Section 3 of Article X of the Executive Agreement provides as follows:

"3. If the President of the United States determines that a reasonable time for the making of the amendment to the Constitution of the Philippines referred to in Paragraph (2) of Article VII has elapsed, but that such amendment has not been made, he shall so proclaim and this Agreement shall have no effect after the date of such proclamation."

The provisions of the Constitution affected by the foregoing Executive Agreement are Section 1, Article XIII, and Section 8, Article XIV. Section 1, Article XIII, of the Constitution provides as follows:

"SECTION 1. All agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines belong to the State, and their disposition, exploitation, development, or utilization shall be limited to citizens of the Philippines, or to corporations or associations at least sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens, subject to any existing right, grant, lease, or concession at the time of the inauguration of the Government established under this Constitution. Natural resources, with the exception of public agricultural land, shall not be alienated, and no license, concession, or lease for the exploitation, development, or utilization of any of the natural resources shall be granted for a period not exceeding twenty-five years, renewable for another twenty-five years, except as to water rights for irrigation, water supply, fisheries, or industrial uses other than the development of water power, in which cases beneficial use may be the measure and the limit of the grant."

Section 8, Article XIV, of the Constitution provides as follows:

"SEC. 8. No franchise, certificate, or any other form of authorization for the operation of a public utility shall be granted except to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or other entities organized under the laws of the

Philippines, sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by citizens of the Philippines, nor shall such franchise, certificate, or authorization be exclusive in character or for a longer period than fifty years. No franchise or right shall be granted to

any individual, firm, or corporation, except under the condition that it shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the Congress when the public interest so requires."

In view of the commitment which the Government of the Republic has made in reference to this matter, I have the honor to recommend that the Congress approve a resolution in this session in conformity with Article XV, Section 1, of the Constitution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution by appending an ordinance thereto, providing as follows:

"ORDINANCE APPENDED TO THE CONSTITUTION"

"Notwithstanding the provisions of Section One, Article Thirteen, and Section Eight, Article Fourteen, of the foregoing Constitution, during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement entered into by the President of the Philippines with the President of the United States on the fourth of July, nineteen hundred and forty-six, pursuant to the provisions of Commonwealth Act Numbered Seven hundred and thirty-three, but in no case to extend beyond the third of July, nineteen hundred and seventy-four, the disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber , and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprises owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by citizens of the United States as if they were citizens of the Philippines or corporations or associations owned or controlled by citizens of the Philippines."

The proposed amendment is in the form of an Ordinance Appended to the constitution because of its temporary character. Our obligation under the Executive Agreement is to maintain this provision in force only during the life of the Executive Agreement, namely, until 3 July 1974. As an Ordinance Appended to the Constitution, however, it is, for all legal and constitutional purposes, exactly the same as if it were embodied in the Constitution itself.

Our present Constitution contains three sections as an Ordinance Appended to the Constitution. These Ordinances, however, ceased to be operative upon the proclamation of our independence. They are, therefore, no longer a part of our Constitution and no action to repeal them is necessary. For this reason, the proposed amendment is to be a new Ordinance Appended to the Constitution.

I propose that the Congressional action be in the form of a resolution. The provisions of the Constitution are not clear on this matter but, in order to preserve the prerogative of the legislative branch in the matter of proposing constitutional amendments, it is my considered opinion that proposals to amend the Constitution should take the form of a Congressional resolution and not a joint resolution, which latter form requires executive approval.

In view of the foregoing, I earnestly recommend that the Congress take action on this matter as soon as practicable.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

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NOTE.—Conformably to the Presidential recommendation, the legislative body adopted on September 18, 1946, a Congressional resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution in the following form:

"ORDINANCE APPENDED TO THE CONSTITUTION

"Notwithstanding the provisions of Section One, Article Thirteen, and Section Eight, Article Fourteen, of the foregoing Constitution, during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement entered into by the President of the Philippines with the President of the United States on the fourth of July, nineteen hundred and forty- six, pursuant to the provisions of Commonwealth Act Numbered Seven hundred and thirty-three, but in no case to extend beyond the third of July, nineteen hundred and seventy-four, the disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprises owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by citizens of the United States in the same manner as to, and under the same conditions imposed upon, citizens of the Philippines or corporations or associations owned or controlled by citizens of the Philippines."

Soon after, Congress passed Republic Act No.73, which was approved on October 21, 1946, submitting the said amendment to the Filipino people, for their approval or disapproval, and setting March 11, 1947, as the date of the general election for the purpose.

In that general election, the amendment was approved by 1,696,753 affirmative votes, as against 222,665 votes cast against it. See Resolution of both Houses in Joint Session on April 9, 1947. See Nos. 44, 63 and 64 on this same subject.

Message of President Roxas to the Congress on a credit reservoir for rehabilitation, September 25, 1946

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Congress on a credit Reservoir for rehabilitation

[*September 25, 1946*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

For eighteen months this nation has been free of the enemy. For eighteen months our people have been in the process of readjusting their lives and their livelihoods to the democratic way of life we have chosen. For almost three months we have been an independent and free Republic.

Those eighteen months and those three months have seen progress. We can see order emerging from the chaos in which we were engulfed. We can see direction taking shape in the steady forward march of this Republic. Yet we would be blind indeed if we did not see that we have moved only inches on the high road to recovery and rehabilitation. Our progress has been even less in the general reshaping and reconstruction of our economy to free our nation of permanent dependence upon our one market and our one source of supply, the United States.

Yet, we face that need, and it is imperative that we fashion here an economy, though not entirely self-sufficient, positive in the sense that we cease to be merely a source of raw materials, and a market for manufactured goods. We must become a nation whose native genius is applied to the richness of our soil, our other natural resources, and the blessings of our climate in such a way as to produce goods for our own consumption; we must diversify our agriculture and plan our production. We must not be the mere source of a few crops and raw materials to feed the tables and factories of others. We must found here such industries as can process our native products and present them to the world's buyers with the proud label, "Made In The Philippines."

But we cannot be so simple and naive in our economic comprehensions as to believe that this can be done merely by willing it. Industries need accumulations of capital; all enterprises require capital, because this modern age is a machine age. Hand labor cannot compete against the machine in any field. The wonders of science have lightened the burdens of mankind, but the application of the machine to production has made capital essential. Machines must be bought. It is necessary that we have the capital to buy machines to free us from bondage to the hand plow and the carabao.

Capital can be saved or borrowed. When we were liberated eighteen months ago, we were nationally impoverished. There were few accumulations of acceptable capital in the Philippines. We could not borrow because our national economy was paralyzed and there were few private lenders who would issue credit against our prospects.

We have received a considerable influx of money from the United States, from the Army and Navy, and more recently from our exports of copra and abaca. But our imports are enormous and they are rapidly draining our money resources. Very little of it remains for productive investment. Credit, which is the fluid form of capital, is today grossly inadequate for even our elemental needs.

When I stood before you some weeks ago and urged the approval of the Executive Trade Agreement with the United States, I expressed the view that the establishment of preferential trade relations with the United States was vital to the rehabilitation of our national economy. I said then that only with a strong and growing productive economy could we hope to achieve an independent economy. Without this, we could not borrow capital, nor could we attract it. And what is more, there would be no hope that we could accumulate capital of our own. Under the protective structure of preferential trade relations, rehabilitation of the pre-war economy could get underway. Private capital could and would venture here from abroad. The Government, the Philippine Government, would, under such conditions, be in a position to plan, and to schedule positive rehabilitation and reconstruction measures. That was the

reason I urged the approval of that controversial measure. That is the reason I am glad it was approved, and that steps have been taken by this Congress to implement it.

Because of that action, private capital is venturing here, not in large amounts, but in considerable amounts, not in massive projects but in small projects. Some of our pre-war industries are being rehabilitated. Some of our sugar plantations are being restored. I think I can report at this time that next year we will be able to meet our own domestic sugar needs; by 1948 we will begin to export sugar. Coconut oil mills are also in process of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Yet I would not be honest with you if I did not state that I am impatient with the progress of rehabilitation, despite our trade preferences, helpful as they are. The War Damage payments will constitute a long drawn-out process. I judge that it will be a full year before payments in any considerable amounts will be made. It further appears that these payments will be far from adequate to enable private enterprise, otherwise unaided, to reconstruct war-damaged properties. Prices have gone far too high to permit reconstruction with the funds that will be available for this purpose from the United States Government. I believe that most of the larger payments will not represent more than a quarter of the cost of reconstruction. Because these payments are still so far in the future, private banks are unwilling to make long term loans on reconstruction projects at reasonable rates of interest. Without reasonable rates of interest, and without further credit, few of our plantations and industries can be rehabilitated. If interest rates charged for such loans are too high, the industries themselves cannot possibly operate at a profit within the present world price structure.

For these reasons, one of our greatest economic needs is a source of credit from which loans can be made, and at low rates of interest. Without such credit facilities rehabilitation will be a slow and painful process. Unless rehabilitation of our sugar and coconut oil industries proceeds at the maximum possible rate, we will receive minimum benefits from the trade preferences made available to us, at such a sacrifice to our national policy, and to that of the United States.

But the rehabilitation of the industries and enterprises laid low by war is but one part of the economic program which we must follow to relieve the Government's fiscal problems, give our people work, raise their standard of living, and cure the social and economic ills which now beset us. For the construction of a truly democratic economy, we must undertake projects of broader conception than the mere repair of that which has been destroyed. The economy, which we had before the war was not, to my mind, a satisfactory base for a free and democratic people.

There must be simultaneously begun undertakings for the broad expansion of our present economic potentials. Projects of immediate benefit to the people and to the nation, and promising returns on the financial investments made, must be gotten underway.

I refer to such projects as water power development, irrigation, land resettlement, mechanization of agriculture, establishment of pilot plants for experimental industries, construction of such self-liquidating public works as toll bridges, and the purchase and resale of agricultural and residential estates to tenants and home-dwellers.

The projects I have mentioned are but a few of those which can and should be undertaken. Others are suggested in the legislation now before you. These projects are completely sound and financially profitable. They are, however, social in nature, and can only be undertaken by the Government. They are not new, in that they have been long desired by our people. Hitherto we have been constrained by lack of capital. Now we must move boldly ahead, using all our devices and taking advantage of all our resources. We must not and cannot afford to wait until all the rest of the world has outstripped us in economic and social developments.

These undertakings will bring hope and confidence to our people. They will know by these means and by these signs that we are on our way to the modeling of a positive and independent economy, designed for the benefit of all the people, and for the progressive elevation of our standard of living. They will know that we do not intend to wait patiently or impatiently for our salvation from abroad, but intend to make of our future what we can by our own efforts, aided as we can by those who have confidence in our future.

But these high designs will need money…a great deal of money. The tools for these ambitious projects cannot be fashioned of bamboo or rattan. Because the projects I have in mind are self-liquidating, our basic need is credit…credit in dollars or in pesos which can be converted to dollars…so that with these dollars we can buy the machines and the tools, and hire the skilled and expert technicians that we will need.

These are the reasons I have come before you, at this special session, to urge the establishment of a Rehabilitation Finance Corporation. We cannot delay the organization of such an institution. We must act now.

There is still another imminent circumstance, which I have not mentioned, impelling me to make this proposal. It may be anticipated that surely within the next year I possibly in much less time than that, there will be available to us certain amounts of reparations equipment from Japan.

These will be reparations in kind…machines, turbines, complete chemical factories, engines, vats, drills, presses and machine tools of all kinds and varieties. When these reparations are offered to us, we will probably be required to transport them, to unload them, to locate them here, to re-erect them, and finally to operate them. Only the simple-minded would expect that we can utilize these reparations without vast expenditures of money, and vast extensions of credit for the acquisition of raw materials, for the labor required in erecting and repairing this equipment, for the long interval before these establishments can actually begin to turn out products for consumption or industrial use.

To meet these needs I have long contemplated the establishment of a huge national credit reservoir, a primary source of credit for government economic enterprises and for private enterprises…a source of credit that will start the wheels moving on rehabilitation and repair of war-damaged property, and permit us to plan and begin the larger and longer-term undertakings for the expansion of the national economy.

In these terms, which I have much compressed for the sake of brevity, I visualize the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation.

We have an excellent precedent in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of the United States, which has functioned successfully for 14 years in that country, and has been as instrumental as any single government agency, first in the recovery of private business from the deadly effects of the American depression of 1930, and second in the vast expansion of American industry and business which took place in the latter part of the recent decade. It was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which, in larger measure, provided the financial means for the almost miraculous conversion of a nation into the arsenal that won the war.

I am recommending to the Congress today three bills, which together provide the authorization for the establishment of the proposed Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, and appropriate and otherwise make available the funds which will be necessary for the capitalization of the Corporation.

I am proposing that the Corporation be capitalized, to begin with, at 300 million pesos which, in my judgment, together with the bonding powers likewise proposed for the Bank, should be sufficient for the presently contemplated operations. If at a later time…and it may be soon…we find the capitalization of the bank insufficient to meet the needs of sound and practical financing, I shall ask Congress to increase the capitalization. I already have been considering additional sources of capital and will report my views on this to the Congress at an appropriate time. But it is my purpose to proceed on firm basis, maintaining at all times the essential stability and liquidity of this vital governmental institution. Hence our progress must not be too hasty. It must also be borne in mind that since the amount of materials and machines which can be purchased at the present time is severely limited by shortages in the supplying countries, an excessive capitalization would be meaningless, just as the lending and other operations of the Corporation itself must be vigilantly restricted to the reasonable projects and purposes for which materials can be acquired immediately at reasonable prices. Of course, there are a number of projects such as irrigation, and the purchase and subdivision of large estates on which we can proceed at once. Likewise we can start providing credit facilities for the carrying out of a home building program which will be, I hope, one of our principal activities under this authorization. It is the purpose of this Administration to give priority to those whose homes were destroyed during the war. Especially our low-income groups, now crowded in slums and shacks, will be aided by this program.

One measure submitted to you today provides the Corporation with authority and circumscribes its activities. The other two measures now before you provide funds for the purchase of capital subscriptions by the Government to the stock of the Corporation. These measures will require some brief explanation, but in short, one makes available the income from the sale of surplus property up to the P200,000,000 provided for rehabilitation purposes by the United States Congress, while the second provides for the withdrawal, up to a maximum of 100 million pesos, of funds from the Treasury Certificate Fund which are in excess of reserve requirements.

Under the terms of the major measure creating the Corporation itself, the net assets of both the Agricultural and Industrial Bank and of the Financial Rehabilitation Board are added to the capitalization of the Corporation. These two organizations are absorbed bodily, functions, assets, liabilities and all, into the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, avoiding a duplication of effort. Their net assets made available for the subscription of capital stock in the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation are estimated at P22,000,000, P9,000,000 from the Agricultural Bank and P13,000,000 from the Financial Rehabilitation Board. I believe that the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation will be able to handle and promote better loan functions of the Agricultural Bank than the Bank has been able to do under its old organization.

It will appear from these statements, as well as from the language of the proposed legislation, that capital stock will be paid for as funds become available from the various sources provided. It is in part for this reason that it is requested that the Corporation be given that authority to issue bonds and debentures to an amount not to exceed its total capitalization and surplus assets at any particular time.

I fully recognize the hydra-headed dangers which arise with the creation of a fiscal instrument with such vast authority and with such great funds at its disposal. I therefore propose that we establish the most careful restrictions around the activities of those who have charge of the Corporation's business, and to provide adequately stringent penalties for violations of those restrictions. It is my intention that the members of the Board of Governors and the executive officials be of the highest possible type of citizen, with the highest qualifications, without regard to party affiliation, for these supreme responsibilities.

It is my firm and unalterable purpose that this Corporation, in all its personnel and activities, be completely removed from politics and political considerations. I hope that we may here establish a lasting precedent for this type of government institution in this regard. The machinery is provided for in a Board of Governors who will be beyond political approach. There must be a continuity of economic policy, extending beyond changes in national administration and certainly immune to political pressures of any kind.

At this point I should like to discuss briefly the authority proposed to be vested in the Corporation which is, as are all government corporations, a creature of the Congress, but so organized and established that it can function freely, with ample safeguards to protect the public interest.

The primary and in fact the sole purpose of the Corporation is to promote rehabilitation, construction, and reconstruction. It is not designed to finance ordinary commercial transactions or to compete in any way with private banking institutions, which should, on the contrary, draw strength from the activities of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation.

It must be remembered that the Corporation will be, in part, capitalized with funds from the sale of surplus property which the United States Congress clearly and specifically allocated for rehabilitation purposes. The Corporation is thus constrained from undertaking any activities which are not in furtherance of rehabilitation and permanent economic reconstruction and development.

The Corporation will be authorized to extend credit on rehabilitation projects to private individuals. In many such cases, war damage claims can be pledged as partial security.

The Corporation will grant loans to individuals and private corporations to finance agricultural, commercial or industrial undertakings designed to rehabilitate, expand or develop the national economy. This is a broad grant of authority and will be carefully used; but it is necessary to give private enterprise every encouragement and

assistance to fulfill its primary role in the production and distribution of economic goods. It is implicit that these credit facilities will be made available on specific loans where such loans, at reasonable rates of interest, are not obtainable from private credit institutions.

The Corporation will be empowered to finance through other government entities or corporations self-liquidating projects such as those I have already broadly described. It will also be authorized to enter into contracts with private individuals, groups or cooperatives for the financing of desirable projects.

The Corporation will be authorized to finance self-liquidating projects by provinces, cities and municipalities, accepting in return the bonds of such government entities and subdivisions. Such projects may include public markets, waterworks, sewage systems, toll bridges, and other undertakings of a similar nature.

The Corporation is authorized, of itself, to issue bonds for general sale, and for sale to the banks, bearing a sufficiently attractive rate of interest to encourage private saving and investment, as well as to furnish a suitable security for the portfolios of banks and insurance companies. These securities will be backed by the full faith of the Philippine Republic, and will be a primary obligation of the Government. We hope thus to bring private savings out of hiding, and to put it to work for the public good.

A special feature of the proposed bond authorization is the provision for the issue of special Rehabilitation Bonds which will be redeemable on demand.

These bonds will be of two kinds, and it will be up to the Corporation itself, on the basis of experience, to determine the amounts of each kind to issue. The first will be modeled after the War bonds issued by some governments in recent years. These will have a standard face value in the various denominations from 50 pesos to one thousand. They will mature in ten years, and will attain their face value on maturity. They will be sold to purchasers at a computed initial value equivalent to the face value minus the cumulated annually compounded interest of ten years at an average rate of three per cent. These bonds will increase in value annually by staggered amounts, and will be redeemable on demand at the corresponding values. But the stated increases are so adjusted as to encourage holding to maturity. These special bonds, which we hope will be widely acquired and retained by our citizens, will bear for the first year a very low rate of interest on the initial cost, for the second year a progressively higher rate up through the tenth year when the total interest accrued will amount to three per cent of the original investment with interest compounded annually over the full ten years, bringing the bond up to face value. Thus a 50-peso bond will cost approximately P37, but it must be held for the full ten years to earn the full rate of interest.

The second kind of bond will be the standard coupon issue, with interest collectible semi-annually, but only one per cent will be paid during the first year of possession, two per cent during the second, and three per cent annually thereafter. This bond will be sold at face value. In ten years it will earn P13.50 in interest. The other type of bond, bought at P37, will earn P13 in the same length of time.

Now as to the sources of capitalization provided for in the two companion measures…:

The first is simple, providing the authority for the President to use the proceeds of the sale of surplus property up to the limits set aside for rehabilitation purposes by the United States. This amount in pesos will become available gradually although, of course, the surplus property available may be considered an asset of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation and lend it strength thereby.

The second is somewhat more complicated, in that it involves the increment or seigniorage of the Philippine Government by virtue of the destruction and loss of certain amounts of currency which have been held in private hands during the war. In so far as this lost and destroyed currency is still secured by United States dollars on deposit in the Treasury Certificate Fund, there is represented an excess over reserve requirements. It is proposed to use this excess for the purpose of capitalizing the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation. The Secretary of Finance is authorized in this Bill to ascertain, by means already provided by the Congress, the exact amount of outstanding currency in circulation and available for circulation. When he has determined that amount, he will be able to withdraw from the Treasury Certificate Fund all dollars on deposit in excess of the amount required to maintain our reserves.

Meanwhile, pending his actual determination of that amount as provided by law, this Bill authorizes him to withdraw from time to time, such amounts as he estimates are actually in excess of treasury certificates in circulation or available for circulation. In no event will these withdrawals be in excess of P100,000,000. It has been unofficially estimated by currency experts, that the amount of this excess will be about P90,000,000. I intend to be on the conservative side in this matter. These withdrawals from the Treasury Certificate Fund will be as needed and required, and will follow the same progressive schedule laid down for the remainder of the stock subscription program.

I have thus outlined in a relatively brief space the scope, purpose and provisions of the proposed measures. This program marks a point of departure for our Government from the conventional patterns of the past in favor of the urgent needs of our independent status and the pressing demands of our war-torn economy.

This is a time to be careful in planning but bold in action. This is a time to venture bravely in undertakings which will, in the end, prove our right to nationhood. Of course this is not a radical proposal, or in any senses an economic innovation. Such programs as I have outlined, and the means that we here propose have been long tried in other countries, including the United States, and have proved their complete worthiness. The institution and the idea are unquestionably sound. The test will come in our execution of this idea. It will require the best thought and the unselfish devotion of us all. It will require, above all, the sage deliberations and counsels of the Congress. I now call upon the Congress to give this matter immediate and careful attention and to enact, at this special session, the provisions called for by our national need.

NOTE.—One month after this message, the Congress enacted Republic Act Nos. 85, 86 and 87 embodying the idea expressed therein, namely: the creation of a source of credit for use in the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the national economy. Act No.85 created the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation (RFC) whose entire capital stock of 300 million pesos was subscribed by the Government. As part payment for this subscription, Act No.86 appropriated "such sums as may be found to be actually in excess of the legal reserve requirement for treasury certificates in circulation or available for circulation." But the main source of the capital of the Corporation was to come from the net proceeds from the sales of the surplus property acquired from the United States Government, pledged by Republic Act No.87. Unfortunately, however, the proceeds from the sales of the surplus properties did not, for one reason or another, yield the amount expected from that source.

A minor source of additional capital was the ten-million-peso Financial Rehabilitation Fund (see Commonwealth Act No.726 of January 15, 1946) invested in preferred shares of stock of those banks that were in need of funds for their rehabilitation. The RFC was allowed to take over the above-mentioned shares.

Manuel Roxas, Second State of the Nation Address, January 27, 1947 Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the First Congress of the Republic during its second session
On the State of the Nation

[Delivered at the Opening of the Second Session, Manila on January 27, 1947]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Eight months ago I made my first report to you on the state of the nation. I did not draw a bright picture. I did not attempt to gloss over the tragic aspects of the scene that confronted us. I told as truly as I could of the mountainous problems we faced.

Six months ago we became a Republic. That development was the most transcendental of our history. You have assembled in the second regular session of the First Congress of the Republic. I can report today with deep satisfaction that this nation has ceased to retreat in disorder and confusion; it is moving courageously and confidently forward on the road to national health. We are well into a period of progress. The clouds of gloom which hovered over us eight months ago have dissipated. Hope and resolution have replaced despair and doubt; plan and program have come forward in place of distraction and aimless- ness; our economy is taking shape; peace and order have returned; employment is gradually increasing; business prospers; our exports are mounting daily; assistance of many kinds from the United States has come, and more is on the way.

I cannot report that our crisis is past. Such a claim would be obviously false. I shall speak in some detail of our still critical condition, and of the heroic efforts which are yet required for national success. What I bring is a message of hope and good cheer in this: we have gathered our forces, organized them and laid out our battle plans. We are no longer in disorganized flight. We have won initial victories on many fronts. We have every reason to believe that success can be ours.

I should be remiss if I did not tell you how deeply the nation is indebted to the collective wisdom of last year's sessions of Congress. It was you who enacted the laws, who issued the directives and granted the authority permitting the Government to undertake the measures, which have turned out so salutarily for our people. I have every reason to be humbly grateful to Congress for the cooperation given to me and to the Administration, in the enactment of recommended measures. Congress can claim the major share of the credit for whatever progress we have made.

I look forward to the same cooperation and friendliness in this session, the same unselfish devotion to the welfare of the nation, the same farsighted courage which will guide you, I trust, to further acts of bold resolution, and of courageous consideration of our problems. This is no time for hesitation or timidity. This is no time to draw back. This is the hour to press forward on all fronts, and to pursue with all vigor the advantages we have already gained.

We have, within the past eight months, established firmly the basis of independent government. We have gained, in full measure, the confidence of the vast majority of our people, and of all the groups of our population. Labor, farmers and tenants, merchants, importers and exporters, producers and middlemen, all know, and have good reason to know, that we are engaged in endless operations to insure adequate protection and advancement of their interests. In some cases, the interests of one group have had to be reconciled with the interests of another. In some cases, one group has had to be curtailed in its quest for power or profit in order to promote the welfare of the people as a whole. Yet all the groups know or should know that the Government weighs the interests of each, finally using as the touchstone of desirability the abiding welfare of the entire Filipino people.

The inertia, which we found in the Government eight months ago, has been overcome. Most government agencies have been assigned their individual problems in connection with rehabilitation and reconstruction. These agencies and departments are now producing the results, which we expect of them.

Some government agencies are still functioning at a lesser level of efficiency. The Administration is doing its best, however, to sweep away the cobwebs of red tape, delay, confusion and dishonesty from all the branches of government in every part of the Philippines.

These eight months have been months of critical developments. We have been fighting our way forward and have been required at the same time to settle among ourselves questions of basic policy which were and still are agitating portions of the public. From the welter of confusion and contradiction, there has, however, emerged the clear will of the Filipino people and nation. In accordance with that will, as I interpret it, the Government has taken many actions and entered into many arrangements, which have resulted in progress toward national rehabilitation. I shall summarize briefly the steps taken and the advances made during the past eight months and enumerate in the same manner the problems we still face.

The Philippine Government and nation have accomplished the following in the past months:

We have reestablished complete peace and order through- out the Philippines, except in a few limited areas in Central Luzon.

We have arrested the upward trend of the cost of living and in the case of our basic commodity, rice, we have virtually halved its cost to consumers. We have successfully fought the black market and our people are assured of an adequate rice supply this year.

We have set up a system of rationing of rice and other commodities in centers of population, a system which has been kept free of graft and corruption.

We are enforcing a rent control Act passed by the last session of Congress, resulting in a decrease in rentals in some cases, and an increase in government revenues through higher assessments in others. Ousters of tenants in efforts to increase rental returns have been curtailed.

We have, to some extent, broken the bottleneck of critical construction materials, including cement from our own sources; long-delayed construction and repair have started on a gradually increasing scale.

An agrarian reform program has been begun. The 70-30 formula for the division of the rice crop between tenant and landowner is being enforced everywhere. Church estates are in process of being purchased for redistribution to tenants. Plans are being made for waterpower development and expansion of irrigation systems.

We are beginning to mechanize production of rice. We have made available for sale to private individuals and have disposed to government entities more than 1,000 tractors obtained in surplus property from the United States. Many have already been sold. Some are already in use.

We have arranged to obtain much needed plows, and other agricultural implements, from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, to the value of P6,000,000, without cost to us.

We were able to obtain, in addition, through insistent representations to UNRRA, an allocation of approximately P8,000,000 in emergency supplies, foodstuffs and other materials. These are now being delivered to the UNRRA here and are being distributed as needed.

Through effective mediation and conciliation, we have forestalled major strikes in private industry and agriculture and have established the basis of labor peace.

We have increased our production of copra to pre-war levels and our production of abaca to 60 per cent of pre-war amounts. Unprecedented prices for these two commodities have brought a measure of prosperity to producers. We have insured a maximum return to the producers from the high market prices.

A threatened famine was averted by an all-out food production campaign, with emphasis on rice substitutes. Part of our rice deficit was met by government importations from Siam, the United States and Ecuador.

We have so utilized our emergency medical supplies and so organized our sanitation and health services as to prevent any serious epidemics and have successfully safeguarded the public health. Our hospitals are being gradually rehabilitated, and conditions in them improved.

Government revenues, although far from sufficient, have reached a total, which can compare favorably with our pre-war government income. It is five times what some anticipated eight months ago.

In accordance with the Reorganization Act of the last session of Congress, we have launched a thorough-going overhauling of the government machinery to achieve maxi- mum efficiency and economy in government operations. While this study has been underway, I have suspended the filling of vacant positions except in a few cases of public necessity.

Under the terms of the Philippine Veterans Bill of Rights, we have established a Veterans Board, which is extending maximum available aid to Filipino veterans.

Guerrilla amnesty commissions have been set up, under congressional authority, to examine cases of guerrillas charged with crimes committed in furtherance of the resistance movement. Charges of crimes against persons and property, clearly in furtherance or deemed at the time to be in furtherance of the war effort, have been ordered dismissed. These commissions are well along with their work. Hundreds of guerrilla officers and men have been freed from jail and cleared of pending accusations.

Water and land transportation facilities have in large part been reestablished. We have begun the rehabilitation of the Manila Railroad. We are arranging the transfer to private operation of interisland vessels made available to us as surplus property by the United States Government. We are assisting private operators to acquire by purchase or charter larger vessels for transoceanic routes.

There have been initiated the first international Philippine airline services. Interisland air transportation facilities have been increased. We are in the process of strengthening our Bureau of Aeronautics to regulate and stimulate the further expansion of the aviation industry.

With the aid of the United States, we are arranging for a vast program of construction and repair of public roads and bridges. With the aid of the United States, we are preparing to reconstruct our harbors and port works.

With the aid of the United States, we are in the process of reorganizing and reestablishing our weather observation system, our air navigation system, our fisheries, our merchant marine, our coast and geodetic survey, our lighthouse service, and other essential public facilities.

With the aid of the United States, we are beginning a large-scale program of public building construction and repair. We have already begun, on our own initiative and with our own funds, to rebuild schools, hospitals, roads and bridges. We have released this fiscal year P28,882,000 for this purpose.

We have largely reorganized and revitalized our courts and local and municipal governments. We have reestablished the Court of Appeals.

We have solved the urgent problem of congestion in Manila Harbor. Through a Harbor Commission established by Administrative Order, we are successfully coordinating harbor, dock, lighterage and warehouse facilities. A

threatened embargo by foreign shippers on shipments to Manila was withdrawn. Ships now unload in normal time. Thefts, looting and pirating from ships, docks and warehouses have been greatly minimized.

We have, in considerable measure, reestablished our radio and postal communications among our cities and centers of population. We have reopened many radio and telegraph stations and postal offices. Money order facilities are again available in most areas.

We have acquired from the United States Government, without cost, a radio broadcasting station, which we are now operating. Educational and informational programs are being broadcast to the schools and to the general public. We are now studying plans for the permanent operation of this valuable informational facility.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, authorized by the last session of Congress, has been duly organized and is already functioning.

We have rehabilitated most of our banking, insurance and other credit institutions, permitting them to operate on a sound basis. The Philippine National Bank has been revitalized, and has been able gradually to reduce interest rates and to make crop loans for the production of rice, sugar and other commodities. It has also been able to pay the pre-war deposits of those whose accounts were seized and transferred by the Japanese during the war. A number of other banks have followed suit.

Our government corporations have been reorganized and given new programs of vital activities in the economic sphere. The National Development Company, the Agricultural Machinery and Equipment Corporation, the National Trading Corporation, the NARIC, the PRRA, the NAFCO, the National Tobacco Corporation and the NACOCO are all at work in essential undertakings. Most of these government entities are now operating on a sound business-like basis.

We have negotiated an Executive Trade Agreement with the United States under terms approved by the Philippine I Congress, providing for free trade and preferential trade, relations for a 28-year period. We are in the midst of the consideration of a constitutional amendment, approved by the last session of Congress, required for the implementation of the Trade Act. We have provided for a popular referendum on this amendment on March 11th.

We have made arrangements with the United States Government for the transfer to us without cost of surplus property for which the United States paid P1,274,000,000. A Philippine Surplus Property Commission has been organized and is in the process of taking over surplus property f depots and of disposing of such surplus property as is not, required by government agencies and instrumentalities. We have made sales amounting to over P10,000,000, excluding the proceeds from watercraft.

We have concluded arrangements with the United States for the transfer to us at nominal cost of former Japanese-owned lands, title to which had passed to the American Government. We are already operating the properties formerly owned by the Ohta and Furukawa interests. The Bureau of Lands has taken over 15,000 hectares of hemp and coconut lands and has transferred them to NAFCO for administration. Some of these lands were acquired as the result of the expiration of leases; the remainder are lands held by private individuals under illegal leases, which are now in the process of being voided.

We have received from the United States Government P50,000,000 ($25,000,000) in cash, plus certain amounts of surplus property, in discharge of obligations acknowledged by the United States as a result of the war. Of this amount, P30,000,000 has been earmarked for the retirement of outstanding and duly authorized guerrilla currency.

We are in the process of concluding arrangements for the training of 500 Filipinos annually in technical fields at the expense of the United States. Some of the training programs have already begun.

Consistent with our new status as a Republic, we have organized a Foreign Affairs Department and a Foreign Service, and established an embassy at Washington and consular offices in a number of places abroad.

We have enhanced our international prestige by aggressive and brilliant representation in international bodies, including the United Nations and its instrumentalities, notably the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO.

Our Republic has been recognized by 49 nations of the world. Legations of China, Great Britain, France and Italy, and consulates of many other countries are established here. We have negotiated a treaty of amity and friendship with the United States and expect shortly to sign a similar accord with China. We have negotiated and signed an air agreement and a treaty of conciliation with the United States, and are in the process of negotiating a number of other treaties covering commerce and navigation, reciprocal taxation, air transportation, and conciliation.

Negotiations are in progress for the establishment of military bases in the Philippines to be maintained by the United States for the mutual defense of both countries.

We have received from the United States, without charge, arms and other equipment for our army and military police force.

We have tentatively arranged for the continued supply of the needs of our armed forces by the United States Army and Navy for the next five years. The same tentative arrangement provides for the transfer to us of84 naval vessels.

We have reestablished and expanded our public school system all over the country. Temporary buildings are being used in place of those destroyed. We have today a school enrolment of three million, compared with less than two million before the war.

We have established an effective system of export control and have thus retained in the Philippines scarce commodities necessary for consumption and rehabilitation.

We are in the process of reorganizing our army, stream-lining it, and providing the maximum incentive to able junior officers to advance in rank. We are aiming completely to democratize our army and inject new and vigorous blood, utilizing talent and leadership discovered in the war. An overall reorganization plan for our armed forces is being prepared.

We have, in all but name and administration, converted our military police into a civilian police force, subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

We have preserved our birthright of freedom and the forms and substance of democracy. We have fought and overcome the advances of totalitarianism. We have defended and expanded the frontiers of liberty. Nowhere is there a freer press, more unchecked freedom of thought, discussion and expression.

These are but titles on the pages of progress, which have been written, in eight swift months. I shall refer to some of these matters in greater detail. But first, I must summarize the problems and obstacles we still face.

The vast majority of our people are inadequately housed. The congestion and squalor in our cities are intense, threatening us with disease and epidemic.

Our ruined sanitation and sewage systems in the cities and centers of population are a menace to public health. We have inadequate hospital and medical facilities to meet the needs of our people.

The majority of our buildings not only in Manila but also in most of our provinces and municipalities, are in ruins.

Our public utilities, telephone lines, radio facilities, railroad, electrical power and light companies, and waterworks are in urgent need of additional rehabilitation, expansion, repair and replacement.

Many of our roads are in a pitiful state of disrepair. Some of our most important bridges are still down.

Our school facilities as a whole are still sadly inadequate because of destroyed school buildings, overcrowding and the shortage of trained teachers. We are conducting most of our schools in shifts, one group in the morning, another in the afternoon.

Our government revenues are one-third of our authorized expenditures.

Speedy rehabilitation is necessary for our sugar, lumber, coconut oil, tobacco, cigar, and mining industries.

Our economy is too much dependent on expenditures here by the United States, chiefly by the U. S. Army and Navy.

Our agricultural methods, still largely dependent on the hand-plow and the carabao, must be modernized. Many of our farmers are even without work animals.

Our livestock industry requires rehabilitation.

Too many of our farmers till small plots of land in congested areas while too few are settled in our vast undeveloped areas. Too many farmers are tenants rather than owners of the lands they till. Too many of our citizens do not own the houses and homes in which they live. The cost of living is still too high.

The present degree of inflation is still excessive and abnormal.

Too much of the energy of our businessmen is going into buy-and-sell, and not enough into production for consumption or export.

Too large a proportion of business and retail trade is in alien hands. Filipinos have not yet succeeded in obtaining their proper participation in these pursuits.

We have vast resources, but they are undeveloped. We lack the capital and technical skills to keep pace with the 20th century. Our water power potentialities are practically untouched.

Most of the cheap power and conveniences made available by modern science are still denied to a great majority of our people. Our veterans need speedy assistance to take their proper places in society.

Thievery, looting and banditry persist in some areas.

Small bands of lawless elements still roam on restricted areas of our land, engaging in acts of terror, intimidation I and gangsterism.

A great number of firearms are still illegally held by unauthorized persons.

Our courts are clogged with cases due to the great accumulation of cases during the war, a shortage of judges, and the destruction of records and of facilities.

Our national economy is still too limited in scope to support the needs of an independent Republic and the legitimate requirements of our population.

To meet these problems and others I shall from time to time during the present session submit to you special messages dealing with specific situations and legislative proposals. I shall, within a few days, for instance, submit a budget message, outlining in detail our fiscal problems, prospects and program.

What I have recited have been the headlines of my report on the state of the nation. There is much left which I feel it incumbent upon me to report to you and to the people regarding the Administration's program and problems during the past eight months and for the months directly ahead.

Our most pressing problem eight months ago was peace and order. There were areas in this country where the equivalent of anarchy reigned…groups caned Hukbalahaps and PKM's were usurping the authority of Government, with terror and violence as their instrument.

With the war over, the leadership of these organizations undertook to use the arms, which had been given them to fight the Japanese, to resist and to defy the lawful government of the Filipino people. When I assumed office, I was inclined to parley and reason with these people. Especially because some of them had been active in the resistance movement, I embarked upon a policy of tolerance and peaceful persuasion. We knew, of course, that there was some reason for the discontent existing in the area. The roots of the difficulties were set deep in the age-old tenant-landowner relationships and in the primitive production methods of the region. I determined upon the following program: first, to give assurance to the people that the Government intended to accomplish wide agrarian reforms; and, second, to strike with all possible speed at the roots of social discontent, in the hope of inspiring in the hearts of the common men and women of these provinces full faith and confidence in the Government's advocacy and support of their just interests. The Government made clear that the attack upon the causes of social discontent was to be multifold, and would include land redistribution and resettlement, modernization of agriculture, water power development, irrigation, and establishment of small industries…in other words, a broad program to diminish the exclusive dependence of the people of Central Luzon on their limited agricultural production and to provide more equitable distribution of the land and of its products. Such a program would, we hoped, constitute an answer to the ancient riddle of Central Luzon.

Pending the development of this program, the Government at first withheld the use of all-out force in the reestablishment of peace and order in the disaffected areas. However, it soon became clear to all the people, and to the Government, that the leaders of these organizations were not interested in agrarian reforms or in improving the lot of the people, but only in holding power and in wielding it for their own oblique and peculiar purposes. Acts of terrorism and violence against the civilian population, against property and against the police, continued to be committed. By documents captured in the headquarters of these organizations, we ascertained that plots were laid to murder prominent citizens and leaders of government, including the President. I, therefore, gave final warning, by press, radio and air-borne pamphlets, that armed bands must disperse, that illegally-held arms must be given up, and that the majesty of government authority must be respected. I gave assurance that constitutional processes would be adhered to and gave every inducement to the lawless elements to call a peaceful halt to their activities. The Military Police Command was then directed to disperse all armed bands, to seize all illegally-held arms, and to apprehend all persons violating the law, assembling in armed groups, holding arms illegally, or committing acts of terrorism or banditry. I directed the MPC to observe at all times the constitutional guarantees. There was to be no search and seizure without authority; no suspension of individual rights, no terrorism against those charged with crimes.

I can report to this Congress today that peace and order have been largely restored in Central Luzon. There are still a few isolated bandit units in hiding. Occasionally they conduct forays into some small barrios or towns. Swift counter-measures are being taken in such cases. There is no reason to call these groups by the name of Hukbalahap. They are not the people's army against the Japanese; they are not a guerrilla force; they have no unifying idea or purpose, except murder and plunder. They are law-breakers of the most vicious kind. A number of the leaders are escaped prisoners charged with murder, robbery, rape and other heinous crimes. I am informed that many plain bandits and criminals, gathered from other provinces, including Manila, now pass themselves off as Hukbalahaps, to gain some sort of sanction for their activities. If, however, there are truly elements which are still uninformed of the Government's beneficent intentions, if that is possible, then I shall continue to exercise a certain amount of tolerance for those who wish to give up their arms and to make their peace with the law. They are our fellow countrymen, some of them served gallantly in the war, and we can do no less. But for the incorrigibles, the deliberate flouters of government authority, there will be no excuse or consideration. Peace and order must be preserved…by the will of the Filipino people, it will be preserved.

The Secretary of the Interior has advised me that a total of 159,099 firearms have been confiscated, surrendered and registered with the authorities thus far. However, I am not satisfied with the situation. There are still a large number

of arms illegally held by private individuals in this country. In Lanao, during my recent visit, I saw 5,000 arms of various kinds and sizes, which had been surrendered to the local authorities. These included machine-guns, mortars, grease guns, automatic rifles, pistols, and many others. The day I visited Dansalan, I accepted the surrender by one datu of over 500 rifles, several machine-guns, and other automatic weapons. Incidentally, I found Lanao in most major respects restored to complete normalcy as far as peace and order are concerned. Cattle thievery and a form of indentured labor or slavery were the only exceptions to this situation. Steps are being taken to terminate both these practices.

Almost everywhere I went—in Mindanao, in the Visayas, from Davao to Marinduque—peace and order had been restored. Travel after dark is safe and routine. Houses may be left unlocked and automobiles unguarded. There are but few exceptions to this situation.

In some cases the local police are seriously remiss in their duties. I have recommended on many occasions, to numerous municipalities, that it is better that the local police be reduced in number but paid sufficiently to assure absolute honesty. I would rather have a police force of two honest men in a town than a police force of 20 men of uncertain integrity.

In my message to the Congress on the state of the nation in June, last year, I proposed that the Military Police Command be eventually converted into a civilian police force under the Department of the Interior. I have caused a study to be made of the exact mechanics of carrying out this program. It is rather complex, involving the benefits that accrue to the members of the MPC under their present military status, and also the matter of supply and equipment for the MPC, much of which is now coming from the United States Army. I urge the approval of proper legislation as soon as practicable, subject to a deferment of its effectiveness until the financial problems involved can be met.

In regard to the status and structure of the Government itself, the Congress knows that there is going on a thorough study of this entire matter.

A non-partisan and non-political Board appointed by the Chief Executive is now at work preparing a comprehensive report on the reorganization of government departments, agencies, bureaus and divisions. I directed the Reorganization Board to attempt to accomplish a saving of at least 25 per cent in government expenditures, and to promote simplicity and efficiency in government operations. I have received portions of that report already. I am making a very careful review and will effect such reorganizations as are in the best interests of the country. Congress gave the President one year to accomplish this reorganization. I shall proceed slowly in the use of that authority. Some of the changes to be made will be reflected in the budget to be submitted to you. Other reorganization measures will be effected as the study of them is completed. Congress will be kept informed.

The morale of the Government is, on the whole, high. The efficiency of our agencies and offices is improving. Cases of inefficiency have been dealt with by suspension or by assignment to other posts for which the individuals are better qualified. Cases of dishonesty have been summarily dealt with and continue to be dealt with in that fashion by dismissal and, in some cases, by prosecution under due process of law. I hear from time to time of instances of graft and corruption in the Government. Every case brought to my attention is promptly and thoroughly investigated, and suitable action taken. It is, perhaps, true that a certain tolerance has developed among some of our officials towards minor forms of bribery and favoritism. This is partly traceable to the general moral laxity, which set in under the cynical rule of the Japanese. We must do our best to eliminate, to stamp out, and to punish all such laxity. The government service must be the model of incorruptible integrity, an example for the nation. There is no greater imperative need confronting us, no more serious problem than the healing of this purulent disease which has appeared in our national bloodstream. I shall welcome proper legislation to increase penalties for such crimes and make punishment more speedy and certain.

I realize that many of our government employees are underpaid. I realize that the standard of wages and salaries is considerably lower than that available today in some branches of business and industry. The Government is helpless to do anything at this time to raise the general standard of wages and salaries. Every centavo, which we have or can obtain, is needed for essential public purposes. We are doing our best to make every possible saving and to reduce

expenditures in order to stretch out our available funds over as many functions as possible. Many activities and undertakings duly authorized by Congress cannot be carried out because of lack of funds. Other essential obligations must be curtailed for the same reason.

It must be remembered that as we are now obtaining in government income only about one-third of our authorized expenditures, the remainder of our needs must be met by borrowing. Every peso that we spend above our income is a debt, which we must surely repay. Although some of our fellow citizens are prospering in trade and commerce, the Government is receiving an income which, if we were unable to borrow money, would require us to abandon our Army, disband our military police, shut down half of our schools, suspend our health activities, our aids to agriculture, our public works, and dismiss two-thirds of our civil service employees. We must, therefore, realize that we cannot at this time do justice to all the deserving. We are trying, by every means at our command, to bring down the cost of living, so that present wages and salaries will be somewhat more adequate to meet essential requirements of livelihood.

We hope to be able to borrow from abroad during the next five years necessary amounts to meet the ordinary expenses of government. At the end of five years, our budget *must* be balanced. We must not borrow any more money for budgetary purposes after that, and we must immediately begin to repay what we have borrowed. We dare not fail in this. We must maintain our government credit at all costs and at all sacrifices. We must make sacrifices now.

I know of no more underpaid group of government employees than our teachers, although they are receiving twice their pre-war salaries. I know of no more important function than theirs. Yet we can only promise them…a promise which I mean to carry out…that justice will be done them as soon as is humanly possible. I make a similar promise to the rest of our employees. We can only ask them to be patient and to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to bridge over the critical period.

We have had, during the past eight months, very few strikes. The biggest strike was that of some government laborers in Manila. I have already made clear my policy with regard to strikes of government workers. I will not permit strikes against the Government. There have been no other outstanding strikes during the past eight months. We have had, in general, a period of labor peace. The Court of Industrial Relations is functioning well; the Secretary of Labor and his subordinates have been constantly vigilant to head off strikes with official and unofficial mediation efforts. A number of threatening situations have thus been averted. This has been a leading factor in the progress we have made toward a restoration of normalcy in the labor field. The Government has had the cooperation, in this, of both labor and management. A continuation of this situation is absolutely vital to continued progress in rehabilitation. I assure organized labor, and all men who work, that the Government will do them justice. The Government stands ready to mediate any labor dispute or any threatened labor dispute. That is an essential function of government. I give my pledge to labor unions and to workers throughout the Philippines that I will do my best to see that they get the fairest and squarest possible deal from employers if labor, in turn, will do its best to insure labor peace and to increase our productive capacities to the utmost. That is what we need most of all in the months ahead…production, production, and more production.

I recommend to Congress legislation to augment the authority of the Government to mediate in labor disputes. The Division of Mediation should be strengthened with adequate personnel. Our fundamental labor conciliation Jaw should be modified so as to provide for mediation before a strike has taken place, and before reference of the dispute to the Court of Industrial Relations. I believe the Department of Labor should certify cases to the Court of Industrial Relations only when voluntary mediation and conciliation fail. This is in line with the trend in other countries. I think it will be found that, in most cases, voluntary mediation will be successful. This, in turn, will relieve the Court of Industrial Relations of the tremendous overload of work, which now burdens it.

In the matter of local governments, I am much pleased by the initiative and leadership shown by many of our local officials. I believe firmly in a maximum measure of decentralization of government authority. The only criterion should be the capacity of local governments to absorb and successfully discharge increased responsibilities.

At the last session of Congress, an Act was passed permitting the election of provincial and municipal officials in the special provinces. As soon as I am convinced that the majority of the people of these provinces desire to assume this responsibility, I shall be happy to issue the necessary proclamation. On the first of this month, the province of Romblon was reconstituted…another step in the same general direction.

As a result of considerable shifts and redistribution of population, and the natural growth of population, our system of classification of provinces and municipalities is out of date, and a readjustment is long overdue. I shall recommend that some legislation be enacted at this session of Congress to fix the date of the next readjustment, and to prescribe a suitable basis for such readjustment. Likewise, I recommend that the Congress consider a revised scale of maximum salaries for local officials and employees.

As directed by Congress, I have appointed a commission to make a thorough study of the present system of local governments, and to report on proposals to achieve, in local governments, greater economy, efficiency and autonomy.

That commission has already begun to function. As soon as its report is received, I shall make the indicated recommendations to Congress. Just as I believe in greater autonomy for local governments, I also believe that they should, at the earliest possible date, assume an increased fiscal responsibility for their own affairs. The National Government must be relieved, as soon as possible, of the support of provinces, cities and municipalities which can afford, by improved methods of tax collection and new taxes, to maintain themselves, especially their schools, roads and hospitals.

The constitutional amendment for the grant of certain special rights to American citizens in the development of our natural resources and the operation of public utilities has already been acted upon by the Philippine Congress, and now faces a popular referendum. This matter has been so much discussed, that I shall not refer to it in detail in this message. I am happy to be able to report, however, that the Filipino people, having been acquainted with the true facts regarding the proposal, will, I am sure, overwhelmingly approve this amendment and open the way for our speedy national rehabilitation and industrial development.

In order to acquaint the people with the facts concerning this proposal, to inform them of what the Government is doing to advance rehabilitation, and to acquaint myself with the individual problems of the various provinces and municipalities, I have, during the past two months, made a number of visits throughout the country. Nothing which I have done during my eight months in office has given me greater satisfaction or a greater feeling of intimacy with our people. I have had an opportunity to listen to the views of provincial and municipal officials, of representatives of tenants, landowners, laborers, operators, market vendors, government employees and many others. I have had a chance to see with my own eyes the energies and anxieties of our people for the achievement of our national goals. I have had an opportunity to answer doubts, to grant allocations of funds for approved projects, to discuss health control measures, and to comprehend, more clearly than ever, the needs of the nation, not from the representations of callers at Malacañan, not from the reports of government departments, but from first-hand observations of the people in their homes, in their towns and in the countryside. I was accompanied on these tours by members of the Cabinet, by congressional leaders, and by government experts in various fields of activity. Each of my colleagues benefited immeasurably from his contacts in his fields of operation. We have seen some of our government bureaus, offices, courts and fiscals working under almost impossible conditions, because of shortage of funds or facilities. In most cases, they were carrying on their duties in an efficient and orderly manner. I was so pleased with the results of these visits that I hope to make it a practice, once a year, to visit every province in the Philippines.

When we became independent on July 4, 1946, we were in some measure already involved in world affairs. The United States Government, in its wisdom, had already introduced us to the world scene. We had long been a member of the United Nations, of the Pacific War Council, and many other bodies, long before we were an independent republic. But in spite of the recognition thus accorded us, we were still uncertain as to how we would be received when we became an independent republic. The United States invited all the countries, which maintain friendly relations with her to recognize our independence. Our first international treaty, a Treaty of Amity and Friendship, was of course signed with the United States. Our second international instrument, the Executive Trade Agreement, was also signed with the United States. Our independence was simultaneously recognized by more than

a score of the great and small nations of the world. To date we have been formally recognized by 49 different countries. Only one of the Great Powers has not yet officially acknowledged our independent existence.

The last Congress authorized the creation of a Department of Foreign Affairs. To the high post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, I appointed, with the assent of the Commission on Appointments, the Honorable Elpidio Quirino, Vice President of the Philippines. Vice President Quirino organized his Department, and submitted to Congress a plan for the creation of a Foreign Service. The Congress approved that plan and we have attracted many of our most brilliant young minds into that service.

We have established an Embassy in Washington which will be, for the time being, our only embassy. We have opened Consulates-General in New York, San Francisco and Honolulu, and a consulate in Amoy. We propose during this year, to establish legations in London and Nanking and perhaps elsewhere, and to increase the number of consulates.

In the conduct of our foreign policy, I have laid the greatest emphasis on our representation in the United Nations and in other international bodies. I shall continue to do so. I named members of Congress to be delegates to some of the recent international meetings and I shall continue that practice. These members represented us most creditably and with honor to themselves and to our nation. I should like to see the foreign policy of the Philippines brought as closely home to the people as possible. I should like the world to know and to meet the members of our Congress and share the respect that I have for the high caliber of our democratic representation. Through the work of our international representatives and delegations, and of Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, our Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, we have gained prestige in the eyes of the World.

Our foreign policy has been well defined. It is non-partisan and non-political, as befits us as a nation. I have selected, as representatives to numerous international bodies, members of both political parties. I shall continue to follow this practice. Politics must halt at the water's edge. There must be no partisan considerations in our conduct of affairs with other nations. To the world we must present a united, indivisible and determined front.

Our foreign policy, as laid down and implemented during the past year, has now become clear to all. We yield to no nation of the world in our allegiance to the ideals of the United Nations, in our all-out support of collective security, of world disarmament at the earliest possible date, of world guarantees of noninterference in the internal affairs of free peoples, of world cooperation for the protection and promotion of all the freedoms, including freedom of expression and freedom from want, and of world cooperation to abolish trade barriers and discriminatory trade provisions.

Yet we also adhere to our primary relationship with the United States of America, a nation which gave us our II freedom, and which is doing so much to preserve it. We must preserve at all costs our intimate relationship with that great country, which stands today as the champion of our principles in world affairs. Many economic advantages which could not otherwise be obtained have been and will be available to us as a result of our special ties with that country.

I need not report in detail on surplus property. You are aware of the transaction which took place on September the first, which made available to the Philippine Government surplus property at $637,000,000 procurement cost. All surplus property that is not required by government agencies and subdivisions is being sold to the general public, with a general priority for our veterans. We have received an average return of over 25 per cent of the procurement cost on sales made up to now. The returns from these sales are being assigned, as provided by law, to the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation to serve as capital assets. Small boats and watercraft being given us as surplus property can be converted into fishing vessels, or be used for short-haul passenger and cargo transport. For inter-island traffic, there are being turned over to us 44 FS-type vessels of an original cost to the United States of over P400,000 each. A present value of P200,000 for each of these vessels has been set. We are offering them for sale to Philippine carriers, with preference to pre-war carriers. Failing that, the Government proposes to charter these vessels to private shippers for limited periods. With these facilities, our inter-island shipping bottoms will be more than 60 per cent of pre-war tonnage.

At the same time, we are endeavoring to buy large ocean-going vessels from the United States Maritime Commission. Philippine citizens and the Philippine Government have been granted priority immediately after American citizens in the acquisition of these vessels. In effect, we have the same priority as American citizens. We are trying to acquire several refrigerator ships to carryon trade in meat and other perishables with Australia. We are trying to buy other large vessels to transport rice and carabaos from Siam, Indo-China and other countries.

We must make every effort to build up a merchant marine. I intend to propose, at this session of Congress, legislation making it attractive to foreign ships engaged in foreign trade to register under the Philippine flag. I am recommending the establishment of a Maritime Commission. For the time being, the Shipping Commission, set up by administrative order to dispose of the ships we acquired as surplus property, is exercising some of the functions of the proposed permanent Maritime Commission.

I look forward to the development, somewhere in the Philippines, of a free port, to serve as a transshipment point for trade with Asia and Australasia. I think that if we create the proper conditions in the Philippines, our country can become the hub of trade, commerce and transportation between the Orient and the Occident.

We are, as you know, in the midst of negotiations for an agreement for bases for the mutual protection of the Philippines and the United States. Actually such an agreement is only an implementation of the commitments and agreements made between the Philippine and United States Governments during the war and immediately thereafter. In these commitments and agreements the Philippine Congress has fully concurred. The exact location of the bases and other military establishments to be maintained here by the United States has been engaging the concentrated attention of the officials of both Governments. I am able to report to you that the United States Government has shown every disposition to consider our wishes in this matter. It has in no instance been arbitrary, capricious or unreasonable in the location of the base sites.

Recently the American Government showed extreme anxiety regarding press reports that fundamental relations between the Philippines and the United States were being endangered by the presence of American troops here. It is my judgment that those press reports were largely inaccurate. Partly as a consequence of these reports the United States recently expressed herself as perfectly willing to withdraw all military forces from the Philippines, unless we desired otherwise. America, however, recognized her basic commitment to underwrite the security of the Philippines, in accordance with our wishes. When I advised the American Government that the Philippine Congress by unanimous resolution had agreed to the establishment of American bases here, and that the Filipino people desired the retention of these bases, it was decided to carry out the original program. To test the validity of this assurance that I had given, I polled the people in several of the base areas, notably in Guiuan and in Stotsenburg, as to whether they wished the bases to stay. In Guiuan there was a unanimous and full-throated expression of approval. It was the same everywhere I asked. I am informed that this is the sentiment of the people in Olongapo, in Cavite, and elsewhere.

I have been entirely motivated in these decisions and attitudes by a determination that we must not be left undefended. I cannot, in good conscience, overlook the absolute necessity of guaranteeing our security by every and all means available to us. In this troubled and critical period of world history, to do otherwise would be to betray our sacred trust.

The establishment of these bases, not for aggression but for defense, will guarantee our own safety and advance the cause of world peace and security, which is the aim of the United Nations.

Present plans, however, provide a much less ambitious schedule of bases than was originally contemplated. I believe that the views of our negotiators will be met; the basic guarantee of Philippine security remains.

Since the matter of the conduct of American troops here became of general concern, conditions have rapidly improved to a point where these troops and forces have again become welcome guests in our land. For this, we must thank both the diplomatic representative of the United States in the Philippines and Major-General George Moore, whose prompt and energetic actions resulted in a speedy elimination of the causes of difficulties that had existed. Our relations with the United States Army today are satisfactory .The Army and all its personnel are assisting us in

every possible way. With few isolated and probably inevitable exceptions, the American troops are conducting themselves in a manner that reflects credit and honor upon the United States Government. The same of course also holds true for the United States Navy, through the splendid cooperation of Admiral Good. I expect that the base agreement will be signed within a short time. I will then report upon it to the Congress.

Immediately following the signature of the base agreement, I shall undertake to reach an agreement with American authorities on a broad military assistance program, in accordance with the terms of the authorization by the United States Congress. This agreement will provide: (1) the United States will send a military mission to advise our Army and Navy in their organization and training; (2) the United States Army will provide our forces with assistance and cooperation during the next five years; (3) the United States Navy will turn over to us 84 ships for our offshore patrol, some of which will be available for use as lighthouse tenders and customs and immigration patrol boats. Among these ships will be a number of cargo vessels which will enable us to supply our forces stationed on our various islands. While not being used for these purposes, these vessels will be available for the hauling of critical cargo for government purposes. I do not know what we would do, how we could prevent illegal immigration and smuggling, and other illegal practices if these ships were not being made available to us. The United States Navy has but recently completed preliminary training of our offshore patrol personnel to take over, maintain and operate these vessels.

In regard to other aspects of our national defense, we face a vital question. That is the training of our citizen army under the terms of Commonwealth Act No.1. We have not carried on this training program since the liberation, depending upon the military training program in our schools and colleges to produce our trained reserves. Obviously, this is not a democratic method; it does not reach equally into our man-power reserve. Moreover, it does not give us the 10,000 trained men per year which is our goal. Nevertheless, I judge that it is more essential during the next years to concentrate the labor force of the nation upon reconstruction and rehabilitation than to divert 10,000 young men for military training. I shall therefore continue the suspension of the training program at least until 1948. With our security underwritten by the United States, I think that we can take the calculated risk of temporarily reducing the emphasis upon our own defense measures and concentrate upon the monumental tasks of rehabilitation.

Today we have some unemployment, but less than what we had eight months ago. We may expect a continuation of unemployment for some months to come. This is due to the shortage of building materials, the timidity of capital, and the lack of suitable conditions for large-scale construction. I expect that with the approval of the parity amendment, with the increase in the availability of building materials from the United States and with the release of funds for rehabilitation purposes by the War Damage Commission, this situation will disappear and that all who are willing to work will be able to find employment.

The United States War Damage Commission, after a necessarily slow start, is now getting into a position where it can begin to make some payments to private individuals and to make allocations to the National Government for repair and reconstruction of public facilities.

It may be necessary for the Congress to consider the imposition of controls on the allocation of building materials, and on the prices which can be charged for construction services, once money becomes available for reconstruction work. I am submitting this matter for your consideration and will present my final recommendations at a later time.

Although we have relative prosperity in the marts of commerce, although the copra and abaca industries are relatively flourishing, our national income is still far below the minimum levels required for national existence. We still import three to four times the value of what we export, the difference being made up by the visible expenditures of United States Government agencies in the Philippines. We must rebuild our sugar mills, our coconut mills and our cigar factories and resume in as brief a time as possible our export of sugar, coconut oil and cigars to the United States. Many sugar fields are being rehabilitated in the expectation that the parity amendment will be approved. Very little reconstruction of sugar mills, however, has taken place. This must be expedited. We must take advantage of the free-trade provisions of the Executive Trade Agreement in order to obtain as much income as possible, in terms of government revenue and in terms of national production, not only from sugar and coconut oil but also from the cordage, tobacco, embroidery and pearl button industries. We must work endlessly, make whatever sacrifices and adjustments are necessary, to achieve this end.

In regard to public works projects under the War Damage Act, there has been established by executive order the Rehabilitation Board under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Public Works and Communications. That board is charged with the study of a system of priorities in public rehabilitation and repair projects for submission to the federal government agencies in charge of these expenditures. The United States Congress has already appropriated $11,214,000 for this work during the coming months. The projects will be distributed in accordance with needs, with- out any political considerations. Every province and city that suffered damages will be provided for to the extent of available funds in proportion to the damage suffered.

Our roads in every part of the country need major repairs. The Public Roads Administration of the United States is now represented in the Philippines and is making surveys in consultation with the Philippine Rehabilitation Board to determine priorities in allocations. I have recommended that these allocations be made to all the provinces and cities in proportion to their first, second, and third-class roads and with due consideration to the economic and military importance of those roads.

The United States Corps of Engineers, with the cooperation of our Harbor Commission, is working on plans for the repair, reconstruction and improvement of our harbor facilities, concentrating first on Manila, Cebu, lloilo, and the other ports of entry. A total of $9,960,000 has been made available for this work this year.

The Civil Aeronautics Board of the United States, with authorization for expenditures of P16,000,000, has undertaken the construction and operation of air navigation aids in the Philippines and to assist in the construction of a national airport for international commercial aviation. Officials of this agency are already here working on this problem. The purpose of this program is to facilitate our development as the aviation center of the Far East. As this program unfolds, I will ask Congress for whatever additional appropriation is necessary to carry this development to its proper conclusion.

The last session of Congress appropriated P57,065,000 for a public works program. The Government is releasing this amount as quickly as funds are available. Up to now this amount, plus the motor vehicle and gasoline funds, are financing all the public works now under way. I do not believe that we should appropriate as large an amount for the coming year, not only because we shall lack funds for the purpose but also because of the bottleneck which will be presented by the shortage of supplies and building materials.

In the construction of bridges I urge that a maximum number of toll bridges be erected. Past experience indicates that toll bridges not only pay for maintenance and repair but also liquidate the original investment. Some funds for such projects will be made available by the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation.

The National Abaca and Other Fibers Corporation and the National Coconut Corporation have both been extremely active in insuring to producers of these products the maximum benefits from the high prices now prevailing. The NAFCO and the NACOCO have established offices throughout the Philippines offering to buy abaca and copra at a minimum fair price. If the producers can obtain a higher price elsewhere, the Government is pleased to have the purchases made by private interests. The Government's sole purpose is to insure the producers a fair return. The purpose is not to compete with private buyers, middlemen or exporters in the acquisition of copra, abaca or other commodities. In line with our general agricultural program, the Government is intensifying its studies of new products such as ramie fiber, which can be produced in many places in the Philippines and marketed abroad. We are also stimulating the production of cotton, peanuts, rubber, cacao, cashew nuts, and soybeans for local consumption and for export. These efforts will be intensified this year; every encouragement will be given to the development of such production as is found commercially feasible.

Resettlement of new lands is a cardinal point of our agrarian reform program. These lands will be distributed to the landless and to tenants on easy terms. The former Japanese-owned lands in Davao and elsewhere deeded to us by the United States Government will be distributed on this basis. The same will be true of the estates, which we are acquiring from the Catholic Church. This latter negotiation, which will be completed within a few days, brings to a happy conclusion negotiations and discussions which have been under way for the last 20 years. We are acquiring these properties at approximately their pre-war assessed value. They will be subdivided and sold at cost to the persons working the lands or to those who have built their homes there.

The law passed by the last Congress, at the recommendation of the administration, providing for a 70-30 rice crop division has been put into effect all over the Philippines and will be enforced with full vigor.

We are now studying a fair standard of division or rental for sugar lands.

We must accelerate our geological surveys and provide adequate funds for them so as to locate new sources of minerals and other geological materials for the use of industries and mills. We must rehabilitate our fishing industry not only with boats acquired from the United States but by the construction of fishing boats in this country.

The United States Government, under the terms of the Tydings Rehabilitation Act, will itself carry out a large-scale program designed to promote our fishing industry. Fishermen will be trained in scientific and practical fishing techniques. Experimental fisheries will be established and our depleted streams and lakes will be restocked. One practice, which must be halted, is dynamiting. Increased penalties must be provided against this vicious, selfish and unpatriotic method of catching fish.

The United States Government is providing an overall training program for 500 Filipino students annually in the merchant marine, mineralogy, meteorology, fisheries, highway engineering, harbor engineering, and like fields of endeavor. These trainees are being named by me, subject to examinations, and in accordance with qualifications set up by the responsible United States agencies.

The Department of Justice reports that during the past year 15,353 cases were disposed of by the Courts of First Instance. There were 16,985 cases pending at the beginning of 1946; there were 22,346 cases pending at the end of1946. During the year 1946, 20,714 new cases were filed. In other words, there were 6,000 more cases pending at the end of that year than at the beginning, despite the fact that the courts disposed of almost as many cases as were pending at the beginning of the year. This indicates that the work of our courts must be accelerated in order to insure speedy, swift and certain justice. I have done everything in my power to appoint competent judges on a non-political basis. We attempt to fill vacancies as rapidly as they occur. But 15 judges of Courts of First Instance are assigned to the People's Court. Sometimes we find it difficult to induce competent attorneys to accept judicial posts. One of the recommendations made by the Secretary of Justice, which will be submitted to you, is to increase the jurisdiction of justices of the peace, to provide them with original jurisdiction over cases where the amount involved does not exceed P1,000 and concurrent jurisdiction with Courts of First Instance where the amount involved exceeds P1,000 but is less than P2,000. This should serve to expedite justice and relieve the higher courts of the burden of cases, which can be disposed of at lower levels.

I have already referred to our precarious fiscal position. A joint Philippine-American financial commission, created under the terms of an agreement between President Truman and myself, has been set up and is now at work in Manila. Its membership consists of men of outstanding talent and experience in government finance. The recommendations of the commission, when made, will be the subject of a special message to the Congress. Pending the submission of their report, I shall not recommend any special fiscal measures. The Congress knows, however, that I favor the creation of a Central Bank to give more flexibility to our currency and to provide adequate administration of credit and exchange. I will submit appropriate recommendations when the studies of this subject are completed.

The last session of Congress enacted legislation providing for the registration of pre-war currency issues and of the Victory issues; the expiration date set for registration was November 30, 1946, with authority vested in the President to extend this limit to February 28, 1947. We now find that this period for registration is insufficient. It is physically impossible to complete the stamping of all treasury certificates in the reserve vault and in circulation within the specified time. Confusion and monetary chaos will inevitably result unless the period for stamping is further extended. I therefore ask the Congress to enact speedily a bill to authorize the issuance of treasury certificates not previously stamped with the seal of the Republic until January 31, 1948, and also to authorize the extension to the same date of the period during which unstamped certificates may be considered legal tender. Meanwhile the Government, by administrative process, is withdrawing as rapidly as possible all pre-war issues and is exchanging them with the Victory series. I propose that pre-war issues be declared non-legal tender after June 30 of this year, in order to accelerate their registration and conversion.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation set up under the authority of the last session of Congress is now functioning, with a capitalization consisting of the resources of the Agricultural and Industrial Bank, the P15,000,000 fund of the Financial Rehabilitation Board, the proceeds of the sales of surplus property, and the P50,000,000 recently transferred from the Exchange Standard Fund. This capitalization will be gradually increased until the full authorized capital of P300,000,000 is covered. The RFC will also issue small amounts of bonds during the coming year. The machinery of the RFC is being carefully set up to safeguard the loans to be made. The nation is depending heavily upon this organization to provide credit for vast numbers of essential rehabilitation projects and undertakings.

Meanwhile, other government corporations and entities will proceed with various programs to be integrated with the master plan of rehabilitation, and to be financed by the RFC. The National Power Corporation has been instructed to expedite its surveys of power projects and its submission of such projects as will be evidently self-liquidating. The National Development Company is engaged in similar planning. The National Land Settlement Administration, the Manila Railroad Company, and the Metropolitan Water District are also so engaged. I urge provincial and municipal governments to organize their plans for self-liquidating projects along similar lines. Private enterprises should make their applications in a like manner. The National Development Company has already set aside P5,000,000 to double the capacity of the Cebu Portland Cement Company and P800,000 for the reconstruction of the Insular Sugar Refinery.

In order to demonstrate to private business that it will have the same opportunity in economic undertakings as government entities, I recommend that the Congress make government corporations subject to the same taxes as private enterprise. Such a move will impress upon government corporations that they must conduct their activities on a business basis and must make the same provisions for taxation and other costs as private undertakings of the same kind. Some exceptions may be provided where government corporations are engaging in purely relief services.

The Philippine Veterans Bill of Rights enacted by the last session of Congress is operating satisfactorily. The Veterans Board has been established. The speed of its organization and the promptness with which claims are acted upon deserve commendation. I shall recommend in my budget message that the amount of money made available this year for the operations of this Board be continued next year. I have directed every agency of the Government to cooperate in the program of extending to our veterans every assistance authorized by law so that these men who: performed so valiantly in our country's darkest hour may have an equal opportunity to rehabilitate themselves and to assume their proper place in the life of the nation they did so much to preserve.

The present session of Congress will be called upon to reconsider a most difficult and controversial question in the settlement of the guerrilla currency problem. Thirty million pesos transferred to us by the United States Government has been earmarked for the retirement of guerrilla currency. It will be up to Congress to work out a practical formula for the redemption of this currency.

The registration of the guerrilla issues is now being effected. Until the registration is completed, you will be unable to act. Yet I urge Congress to begin the study of this matter, and to hold public hearings.

It is possible that additional amounts of money may later be made available for guerrilla currency redemption. That will depend upon our success in disposing of the portion of surplus property, which was given to us in consideration of this obligation.

I am glad to report that the United States Government is moving swiftly to complete the payment of back pay to guerrillas. I have asked the United States Government to reconsider the question of back pay for USAFFE officers and men. I hope that justice will be done to them as well as to the guerrillas.

A general review is now under way of all United States benefits available to Philippine veterans, in accordance with a request I made to President Truman. Some Philippine veterans' legislation, I am informed, will be introduced in the present session of the United States Congress. Additional benefits will be considered by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Philippine Veterans' problems composed of the United States Secretary of War, the Administrator of

Veterans' Affairs, and the Bon. Paul V. McNutt, American Ambassador to the Philippines. President Truman has made clear his feeling that our veterans should receive their due.

In the matter of payment of pensions to the widows and orphans of Filipino veterans and to disabled veterans, these payments are being adjudicated as fast as proper records can be reconstituted for the consideration of the Veterans Administration. The American Veterans Ad- ministration, dealing with 20,000,000 veterans, has rigid documentary requirements. It is inevitable that consideration of cases of Filipino veterans should involve delay.

To meet the problem of presenting carefully prepared claims not only to the Veterans Administration but also to the United States War Damage Commission, the Department of Justice is now organizing legal aid offices through- out the Philippines.

One of our sorest needs is the speedy rehabilitation of our schools and institutions of higher learning. In this period, of all periods, we require manpower trained in technological and vocational skills, as well as in the professions. A good share of the allocations for reconstruction of public buildings will be devoted to the reconstruction of our schools and of the University of the Philippines.

Under the United States cultural relations program, teachers, scientists and professors will be sent here from the United States. We should be ready, as soon as we can, independently to hire teachers from abroad and establish a school of physical science, and a department of industrial management. We must stimulate further scientific research, not only in our university but also in our government laboratories. I am studying a possible integration of government research laboratories and facilities, with the expectation of coordinating them with a projected Institute of Applied Science which I should like to see established to provide our industrial and agricultural enterprises, public and private, with assistance in improving their scientific techniques and methods.

Our schools must continue to function in the teaching of liberal arts so that we may develop citizens trained in leadership and dedicated to the principles of democracy and freedom. An even greater awareness of these principles than we now have must be developed in our youth.

For some time past, there has been needless excitement over the question of the national language. The matter is truly a closed issue. By virtue of a constitutional mandate steps have been taken for the development and adoption of a common language. The Filipino national language was declared one of the official languages effective July 4, 1946. The Government will give every support to the propagation of the national language so that it may truly become, along with English, a common vehicle of communication among our people.

In view of the mutuality of our defense interests with those of the United States, I propose, at this session of Congress, that legislation be enacted permitting the enlistment of Filipino citizens in the American armed forces without forfeiture of citizenship. At the present time members of the Philippine Scouts and other Filipinos in the armed forces of the United States automatically lose their citizenship. I recommend that the Congress make forthright provision, during the effectiveness of the Bases Agreement with the United States, that Filipinos serving in the American armed forces may, at their election, retain their citizenship. I believe that this is just and proper, since the Filipinos engaged in this service will, I believe, .be stationed in the Philippines and Philippine waters and assigned to the defense of the Philippines. They should be honored rather than penalized.

The consistent thread running through the entire program I have outlined for the immediate future of our country is industrialization. This plan integrates with our power development projects, our vocational training program, our establishment of credit facilities, our promotion of geological researches and surveys, our invitation of American capital to invest here, and the proposed constitutional provision for special rights for American citizens. We will insure the fullest participation by Filipinos in this program.

The Government has commissioned a firm of industrial engineers and technologists to survey the industrial potentials of the Philippines. The same firm is now engaged in a survey of industrial equipment in Japan. This equipment may be made available to us in the form of reparations, of which we hope to receive early delivery. The final reparations settlement will take years to achieve but the United States and other allied nations are urging that

intermediate deliveries of reparations equipment be made to damaged countries pending final settlement of percentage claims to be allowed each claimant-nation. The United States is leading the move for this program, although she herself does not expect to benefit from it. The American Government is, in a sense, merely acting as an advocate for the Philippines in this matter. I expect that we will soon receive from Japan a report on the equipment which could be useful here and which is available for reparations. At that time, we will present our claims.

We must be prepared to receive, install and operate this equipment. It will require a great outlay of money. Some of the money can be obtained in the form of loans from the RFC. In the case of major industrial operations, I propose to invite private enterprise here to operate these industries on a profit-sharing basis with the Government. There is no reason why the Philippines cannot capture a share of the former Japanese markets in this part of the world. No effort will be spared to achieve this goal.

I have laid down for Congress today a lengthy list of subjects for its consideration. You will have little time for politics. You must, and I am sure you will, give your patriotic efforts to the matters before you. The work, which we undertake, can, perhaps, be simplified if we wish merely. to return to our pre-war economic level, or if we are content to remain among the small backward nations of the world. This nation is not so content. Just as we have high ideals, we must have high aspirations. We have on our side the proven courage of our people; we have in our young veterans and in our youth an ample reserve of ii patriotic manpower to carryon the battle with fierce and fervid devotion; we have hope and we have confidence that f we can accept the challenge that is presented to us to, achieve a national destiny as great as our dreams will permit.

The future is ours. The freedom and liberty of our people must be insured. Shall we mortgage the precious heritage of opportunity, which is now available to us out of fear or indolence? The voice of the entire Filipino people answers in single accord, “NO.” We will press forward, we will not retreat. We will not hide our heads in the swift-running sands of time, lest the sands run out, and leave us naked, backward and alone.

We will be resolute in our march toward our lofty goals…carrying lightly the heavy burdens, which we now assume, in addition to those thrust upon us by Fate. We I will not abandon the contest. The greatness of our nation is at issue. The happiness and enduring welfare of our people are at stake. With the help of Almighty God, we will reach the summits we seek.

State of the Nation Address of President Roxas, January 27, 1947

State of the Nation Address
of
His Excellency Manuel A. Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the First Congress of the Republic during its second session

[January 27, 1947]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Eight months ago I made my first report to you on the state of the nation. I did not draw a bright picture. I did not attempt to gloss over the tragic aspects of the scene that confronted us. I told as truly as I could of the mountainous problems we faced.

Six months ago we became a Republic. That development was the most transcendental of our history. You have assembled in the second regular session of the First Congress of the Republic. I can report today with deep satisfaction that this nation has ceased to retreat in disorder and confusion; it is moving courageously and confidently forward on the road to national health. We are well into a period of progress. The clouds of gloom which hovered over us eight months ago have dissipated. Hope and resolution have replaced despair and doubt; plan and program have come forward in place of distraction and aimlessness; our economy is taking shape; peace and order have returned; employment is gradually increasing; business prospers; our exports are mounting daily; assistance of many kinds from the United States has come, and more is on the way.

I cannot report that our crisis is past. Such a claim would be obviously false. I shall speak in some detail of our still critical condition, and of the heroic efforts which are yet required for national success. What I bring is a message of hope and good cheer in this: we have gathered our forces, organized them and laid out our battle plans. We are no longer in disorganized flight. We have won initial victories on many fronts. We have every reason to believe that success can be ours.

I should be remiss if I did not tell you how deeply the nation is indebted to the collective wisdom of last year's sessions of Congress. It was you who enacted the laws, who issued the directives and granted the authority permitting the Government to undertake the measures which have turned out so salutarily for our people. I have every reason to be humbly grateful to Congress for the cooperation given to me and to the Administration, in the enactment of recommended measures. Congress can claim the major share of the credit for whatever progress we have made.

I look forward to the same cooperation and friendliness in this session, the same unselfish devotion to the welfare of the nation, the same farsighted courage which will guide you, I trust, to further acts of bold resolution, and of courageous consideration of our problems. This is no time for hesitation or timidity. This is no time to draw back. This is the hour to press forward on all fronts, and to pursue with all vigor the advantages we have already gained.

We have, within the past eight months, established firmly the basis of independent government. We have gained, in full measure, the confidence of the vast majority of our people, and of all the groups of our population. Labor, farmers and tenants, merchants, importers and exporters, producers and middlemen, all know, and have good reason to know, that we are engaged in endless operations to insure adequate protection and advancement of their interests. In some cases, the interests of one group have had to be reconciled with the interests of another. In some cases, one group has had to be curtailed in its quest for power or profit in order to promote the welfare of the people as a whole. Yet all the groups know or should know that the Government weighs the interests of each, finally using as the touchstone of desirability the abiding welfare of the entire Filipino people.

The inertia which we found in the Government eight months ago, has been overcome. Most government agencies have been assigned their individual problems in connection with rehabilitation and reconstruction. These agencies and departments are now producing the results, which we expect of them.

Some government agencies are still functioning at a lesser level of efficiency. The Administration is doing its best, however, to sweep away the cobwebs of red tape, delay, confusion and dishonesty from all the branches of government in every part of the Philippines.

These eight months have been months of critical developments. We have been fighting our way forward and have been required at the same time to settle among ourselves questions of basic policy which were and still are agitating portions of the public. From the welter of confusion and contradiction, there has, however, emerged the clear will of the Filipino people and nation. In accordance with that will, as I interpret it, the Government has taken many actions and entered into many arrangements which have resulted in progress toward national rehabilitation. I shall summarize briefly the steps taken and the advances made during the past eight months and enumerate in the same manner the problems we still face

The Philippine Government and nation have accomplished the following in the past months:

We have reestablished complete peace and order throughout the Philippines, except in a few limited areas in Central Luzon.

We have arrested the upward trend of the cost of living and in the case of our basic commodity, rice, we have virtually halved its cost to consumers. We have successfully fought the black market and our people are assured of an adequate rice supply this year.

We have set up a system of rationing of rice and other commodities in centers of population, a system which has been kept free of graft and corruption.

We are enforcing a rent control Act passed by the last session of Congress, resulting in a decrease in rentals in some cases, and an increase in government revenues through higher assessments in others. Ousters of tenants in efforts to increase rental returns have been curtailed.

We have, to some extent, broken the bottleneck of critical construction materials, including cement from our own sources; long-delayed construction and repair have started on a gradually increasing scale.

An agrarian reform program has been begun. The 70-30 formula for the division of the rice crop between tenant and landowner is being enforced everywhere. Church estates are in process of being purchased for redistribution to tenants. Plans are being made for water power development and expansion of irrigation systems.

We are beginning to mechanize production of rice. We have made available for sale to private individuals and have disposed to government entities more than 1,000 tractors obtained in surplus property from the United States. Many have already been sold. Some are already in use.

We have arranged to obtain much needed plows, and other agricultural implements, from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, to the value of P6,000,000, without cost to us.

We were able to obtain, in addition, through insistent representations to UNRRA, an allocation of approximately P8,000,000 in emergency supplies, foodstuffs and other materials. These are now being delivered to the UNRRA here and are being distributed as needed.

Through effective mediation and conciliation, we have forestalled major strikes in private industry and agriculture and have established the basis of labor peace.

We have increased our production of copra to pre-war levels and our production of abaca to 60 per cent of pre-war amounts. Unprecedented prices for these two commodities have brought a measure of prosperity to producers. We have insured a maximum return to the producers from the high market prices.

A threatened famine was averted by an all-out food production campaign, with emphasis on rice substitutes. Part of our rice deficit was met by government importations from Siam, the United States and Ecuador.

We have so utilized our emergency medical supplies and so organized our sanitation and health services as to prevent any serious epidemics and have successfully safeguarded the public health. Our hospitals are being gradually rehabilitated, and conditions in them improved.

Government revenues, although far from sufficient, have reached a total, which can compare favorably with our pre-war government income. It is five times what some anticipated eight months ago.

In accordance with the Reorganization Act of the last session of Congress, we have launched a thorough-going overhauling of the government machinery to achieve maxi- mum efficiency and economy in government operations. While this study has been underway, I have suspended the filling of vacant positions except in a few cases of public necessity.

Under the terms of the Philippine Veterans Bill of Rights, we have established a Veterans Board which is extending maximum available aid to Filipino veterans.

Guerrilla amnesty commissions have been set up, under congressional authority, to examine cases of guerrillas charged with crimes committed in furtherance of the resistance movement. Charges of crimes against persons and property, clearly in furtherance or deemed at the time to be in furtherance of the war effort, have been ordered dismissed. These commissions are well along with their work. Hundreds of guerrilla officers and men have been freed from jail and cleared of pending accusations.

Water and land transportation facilities have in large part been reestablished. We have begun the rehabilitation of the Manila Railroad. We are arranging the transfer to private operation of interisland vessels made available to us as surplus property by the United States Government. We are assisting private operators to acquire by purchase or charter larger vessels for transoceanic routes.

There have been initiated the first international Philippine airline services. Interisland air transportation facilities have been increased. We are in the process of strengthening our Bureau of Aeronautics to regulate and stimulate the further expansion of the aviation industry.

With the aid of the United States, we are arranging for a vast program of construction and repair of public roads and bridges.

With the aid of the United States, we are preparing to reconstruct our harbors and portworks.

With the aid of the United States, we are in the process of reorganizing and reestablishing our weather observation system, our air navigation system, our fisheries, our merchant marine, our coast and geodetic survey, our lighthouse service, and other essential public facilities.

With the aid of the United States, we are beginning a large-scale program of public building construction and repair. We have already begun, on our own initiative and with our own funds, to rebuild schools, hospitals, roads and bridges. We have released this fiscal year P28,882,000 for this purpose.

We have largely reorganized and revitalized our courts and local and municipal governments. We have reestablished the Court of Appeals.

We have solved the urgent problem of congestion in Manila Harbor. Through a Harbor Commission established by Administrative Order, we are successfully coordinating harbor, dock, lighterage and warehouse facilities. A threatened embargo by foreign shippers on shipments to Manila was withdrawn. Ships now unload in normal time. Thefts, looting and pirating from ships, docks and warehouses have been greatly minimized.

We have, in considerable measure, reestablished our radio and postal communications among our cities and centers of population. We have reopened many radio and telegraph stations and postal offices. Money order facilities are again available in most areas.

We have acquired from the United States Government, without cost, a radio broadcasting station which we are now operating. Educational and informational programs are being broadcast to the schools and to the general public. We are now studying plans for the permanent operation of this valuable informational facility.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, authorized by the last session of Congress, has been duly organized and is already functioning.

We have rehabilitated most of our banking, insurance and other credit institutions, permitting them to operate on a sound basis. The Philippine National Bank has been revitalized, and has been able gradually to reduce interest rates and to make crop loans for the production of rice, sugar and other commodities. It has also been able to pay the pre-war deposits of those whose accounts were seized and transferred by the Japanese during the war. A number of other banks have followed suit.

Our government corporations have been reorganized and given new programs of vital activities in the economic sphere. The National Development Company, the Agricultural Machinery and Equipment Corporation, the National Trading Corporation, the NARIC, the PRRA, the NAFCO, the National Tobacco Corporation and the NACOCO are all at work in essential undertakings. Most of these government entities are now operating on a sound business-like basis.

We have negotiated an Executive Trade Agreement with the United States under terms approved by the Philippine Congress, providing for free trade and preferential trade, relations for a 28-year period. We are in the midst of the consideration of a constitutional amendment, approved by the last session of Congress, required for the implementation of the Trade Act. We have provided for a popular referendum on this amendment on March 11th.

We have made arrangements with the United States Government for the transfer to us without cost of surplus property for which the United States paid P1,274,000,000. A Philippine Surplus Property Commission has been organized and is in the process of taking over surplus property depots and of disposing of such surplus property as is not required by government agencies and instrumentalities. We have made sales amounting to over P10,000,000, excluding the proceeds from watercraft.

We have concluded arrangements with the United States for the transfer to us at nominal cost of former Japanese-owned lands, title to which had passed to the American Government. We are already operating the properties formerly owned by the Ohta and Furukawa interests. The Bureau of Lands has taken over 15,000 hectares of hemp and coconut lands and has transferred them to NAFCO for administration. Some of these lands were acquired as the result of the expiration of leases; the remainders are lands held by private individuals under illegal leases, which are now in the process of being voided.

We have received from the United States Government P50,000,000 ($25,000,000) in cash, plus certain amounts of surplus property, in discharge of obligations acknowledged by the United States as a result of the war. Of this amount, P30,000,000 has been earmarked for the retirement of outstanding and duly authorized guerrilla currency.

We are in the process of concluding arrangements for the training of 500 Filipinos annually in technical fields at the expense of the United States. Some of the training programs have already begun.

Consistent with our new status as a Republic, we have organized a Foreign Affairs Department and a Foreign Service, and established an embassy at Washington and consular offices in a number of places abroad.

We have enhanced our international prestige by aggressive and brilliant representation in international bodies, including the United Nations and its instrumentalities, notably the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO.

Our Republic has been recognized by 49 nations of the world. Legations of China, Great Britain, France and Italy, and consulates of many other countries are established here.

We have negotiated a treaty of amity and friendship with the United States and expect shortly to sign a similar accord with China. We have negotiated and signed an air agreement and a treaty of conciliation with the United States, and are in the process of negotiating a number of other treaties covering commerce and navigation, reciprocal taxation, air transportation, and conciliation.

Negotiations are in progress for the establishment of military bases in the Philippines to be maintained by the United States for the mutual defense of both countries.

We have received from the United States, without charge, arms and other equipment for our army and military police force.

We have tentatively arranged for the continued supply of the needs of our armed forces by the United States Army and Navy for the next five years. The same tentative arrangement provides for the transfer to us of 84 naval vessels.

We have reestablished and expanded our public school system all over the country. Temporary buildings are being used in place of those destroyed. We have today a school enrolment of three million, compared with less than two million before the war.

We have established an effective system of export control and have thus retained in the Philippines scarce commodities necessary for consumption and rehabilitation.

We are in the process of reorganizing our army, streamlining it, and providing the maximum incentive to able junior officers to advance in rank. We are aiming completely to democratize our army and inject new and vigorous blood, utilizing talent and leadership discovered in the war. An overall reorganization plan for our armed forces is being prepared.

We have, in all but name and administration, converted our military police into a civilian police force, subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

We have preserved our birthright of freedom and the forms and substance of democracy. We have fought and overcome the advances of totalitarianism. We have defended and expanded the frontiers of liberty. Nowhere is there a freer press, more unchecked freedom of thought, discussion and expression.

These are but titles on the pages of progress which have been written, in eight swift months. I shall refer to some of these matters in greater detail. But first, I must summarize the problems and obstacles we still face.

The vast majority of our people are inadequately housed. The congestion and squalor in our cities are intense, threatening us with disease and epidemic.

Our ruined sanitation and sewage systems in the cities and centers of population are a menace to public health. We have inadequate hospital and medical facilities to meet the needs of our people.

The majority of our buildings not only in Manila but also in most of our provinces and municipalities are in ruins.

Our public utilities, telephone lines, radio facilities, railroad, electrical power and light companies, and waterworks are in urgent need of additional rehabilitation, expansion, repair and replacement.

Many of our roads are in a pitiful state of disrepair. Some of our most important bridges are still down.

Our school facilities as a whole are still sadly inadequate because of destroyed school buildings, overcrowding, and the shortage of trained teachers. We are conducting most of our schools in shifts, one group in the morning, another in the afternoon.

Our government revenues are one-third of our authorized expenditures.

Speedy rehabilitation is necessary for our sugar, lumber, coconut oil, tobacco, cigar, and mining industries.

Our economy is too much dependent on expenditures here by the United States, chiefly by the U. S. Army and Navy.

Our agricultural methods, still largely dependent on the hand-plow and the carabao, must be modernized. Many of our farmers are even without work animals.

Our livestock industry requires rehabilitation.

Too many of our farmers till small plots of land in congested areas while too few are settled in our vast undeveloped areas. Too many farmers are tenants rather than owners of the lands they till. Too many of our citizens do not own the houses and homes in which they live. The cost of living is still too high.

The present degree of inflation is still excessive and abnormal.

Too much of the energy of our businessmen is going into buy-and-sell, and not enough into production for consumption or export.

Too large a proportion of business and retail trade is in alien hands. Filipinos have not yet succeeded in obtaining their proper participation in these pursuits.

We have vast resources, but they are undeveloped. We lack the capital and technical skills to keep pace with the 20th century.

Our water power potentialities are practically untouched. Most of the cheap power and conveniences made available by modern science are still denied to a great majority of our people

Our veterans need speedy assistance to take their proper places in society.

Thievery, looting and banditry persist in some areas.

Small bands of lawless elements still roam on restricted areas of our land, engaging in acts of terror, intimidation and gangsterism.

A great number of firearms are still illegally held by unauthorized persons.

Our courts are clogged with cases due to the great accumulation of cases during the war, a shortage of judges, and the destruction of records and of facilities.

Our national economy is still too limited in scope to support the needs of an independent Republic and the legitimate requirements of our population.

To meet these problems and others I shall from time to time during the present session submit to you special messages dealing with specific situations and legislative proposals. I shall, within a few days, for instance, submit a budget message, outlining in detail our fiscal problems, prospects and program.

What I have recited have been the headlines of my report on the state of the nation. There is much left which I feel it incumbent upon me to report to you and to the people regarding the Administration's program and problems during the past eight months and for the months directly ahead.

Our most pressing problem eight months ago was peace and order. There were areas in this country where the equivalent of anarchy reigned . . . groups caned Hukbalahaps and PKM's were usurping the authority of Government, with terror and violence as their instrument.

With the war over, the leadership of these organizations undertook to use the arms which had been given them to fight the Japanese, to resist and to defy the lawful government of the Filipino people. When I assumed office, I was inclined to parley and reason with these people. Especially because some of them had been active in the resistance movement, I embarked upon a policy of tolerance and peaceful persuasion. We knew, of course, that there was some reason for the discontent existing in the area. The roots of the difficulties were set deep in the age-old tenant-landowner relationships and in the primitive production methods of the region. I determined upon the following program: first, to give assurance to the people that the Government intended to accomplish wide agrarian reforms; and, second, to strike with all possible speed at the roots of social discontent, in the hope of inspiring in the hearts of the common men and women of these provinces full faith and confidence in the Government's advocacy and support of their just interests. The Government made clear that the attack upon the causes of social discontent was to be multifold, and would include land redistribution and resettlement, modernization of agriculture, water power development, irrigation, and establishment of small industries…in other words, a broad program to diminish the exclusive dependence of the people of Central Luzon on their limited agricultural production and to provide more equitable distribution of the land and of its products. Such a program would, we hoped, constitute an answer to the ancient riddle of Central Luzon.

Pending the development of this program, the Government at first withheld the use of all-out force in the reestablishment of peace and order in the disaffected areas. However, it soon became clear to all the people, and to the Government, that the leaders of these organizations were not interested in agrarian reforms or in improving the lot of the people, but only in holding power and in wielding it for their own oblique and peculiar purposes. Acts of terrorism and violence against the civilian population, against property and against the police, continued to be committed. By documents captured in the headquarters of these organizations, we ascertained that plots were laid to murder prominent citizens and leaders of government, including the President. I, therefore, gave final warning, by press, radio and air-borne pamphlets, that armed bands must disperse, that illegally-held arms must be given up, and that the majesty of government authority must be respected. I gave assurance that constitutional processes would be adhered to and gave every inducement to the lawless elements to call a peaceful halt to their activities. The Military Police Command was then directed to disperse all armed bands, to seize all illegally-held arms, and to apprehend all persons violating the law, assembling in armed groups, holding arms illegally, or committing acts of terrorism or banditry. I directed the MPC to observe at all times the constitutional guarantees. There was to be no search and seizure without authority; no suspension of individual rights, no terrorism against those charged with crimes.

I can report to this Congress today that peace and order have been largely restored in Central Luzon. There are still a few isolated bandit units in hiding. Occasionally they conduct forays into some small barrios or towns. Swift counter-measures are being taken in such cases. There is no reason to call these groups by the name of Hukbalahap. They are not the people's army against the Japanese; they are not a guerrilla force; they have no unifying idea or purpose, except murder and plunder. They are law-breakers of the most vicious kind. A number of the leaders are escaped prisoners charged with murder, robbery, rape and other heinous crimes. I am informed that many plain bandits and criminals, gathered from other provinces, including Manila, now pass themselves off as Hukbalahaps, to gain some sort of sanction for their activities. If, however, there are truly elements which are still uninformed of the Government's beneficent intentions, if that is possible, then I shall continue to exercise a certain amount of tolerance

for those who wish to give up their arms and to make their peace with the law. They are our fellow countrymen, some of them served gallantly in the war, and we can do no less. But for the incorrigibles, the deliberate flouters of government authority, there will be no excuse or consideration. Peace and order must be preserved…by the will of the Filipino people, it will be preserved.

The Secretary of the Interior has advised me that a total of 159,099 firearms have been confiscated, surrendered and registered with the authorities thus far. However, I am not satisfied with the situation. There are still a large number of arms illegally held by private individuals in this country. In Lanao, during my recent visit, I saw 5,000 arms of various kinds and sizes, which had been surrendered to the local authorities. These included machine-guns, mortars, grease guns, automatic rifles, pistols, and many others. The day I visited Dansalan, I accepted the surrender by one datu of over 500 rifles, several machine-guns, and other automatic weapons. Incidentally, I found Lanao in most major respects restored to complete normalcy as far as peace and order are concerned. Cattle thievery and a form of indentured labor or slavery were the only exceptions to this situation. Steps are being taken to terminate both these practices.

Almost everywhere I went—in Mindanao, in the Visayas, from Davao to Marinduque—peace and order had been restored. Travel after dark is safe and routine. Houses may be left unlocked and automobiles unguarded. There are but few exceptions to this situation.

In some cases the local police are seriously remiss in their duties. I have recommended on many occasions, to numerous municipalities, that it is better that the local police be reduced in number but paid sufficiently to assure absolute honesty. I would rather have a police force of two honest men in a town than a police force of 20 men of uncertain integrity.

In my message to the Congress on the state of the nation in June, last year, I proposed that the Military Police Command be eventually converted into a civilian police force under the Department of the Interior. I have caused a study to be made of the exact mechanics of carrying out this program. It is rather complex, involving the benefits that accrue to the members of the MPC under their present military status, and also the matter of supply and equipment for the MPC, much of which is now coming from the United States Army. I urge the approval of proper legislation as soon as practicable, subject to a deferment of its effectiveness until the financial problems involved can be met.

In regard to the status and structure of the Government itself, the Congress knows that there is going on a thorough study of this entire matter.

A non-partisan and non-political Board appointed by the Chief Executive is now at work preparing a comprehensive report on the reorganization of government departments, agencies, bureaus and divisions. I directed the Reorganization Board to attempt to accomplish a saving of at least 25 per cent in government expenditures, and to promote simplicity and efficiency in government operations. I have received portions of that report already. I am making a very careful review and will effect such reorganizations as are in the best interests of the country. Congress gave the President one year to accomplish this reorganization. I shall proceed slowly in the use of that authority. Some of the changes to be made will be reflected in the budget to be submitted to you. Other reorganization measures will be effected as the study of them is completed. Congress will be kept informed.

The morale of the Government is, on the whole, high. The efficiency of our agencies and offices is improving. Cases of inefficiency have been dealt with by suspension or by assignment to other posts for which the individuals are better qualified. Cases of dishonesty have been summarily dealt with and continue to be dealt with in that fashion by dismissal and, in some cases, by prosecution under due process of law. I hear from time to time of instances of graft and corruption in the Government. Every case brought to my attention is promptly and thoroughly investigated and suitable action taken. It is, perhaps, true that a certain tolerance has developed among some of our officials towards minor forms of bribery and favoritism. This is partly traceable to the general moral laxity which set in under the cynical rule of the Japanese. We must do our best to eliminate, to stamp out, and to punish all such laxity. The government service must be the model of incorruptible integrity, an example for the nation. There is no greater imperative need confronting us, no more serious problem than the healing of this purulent disease which has

appeared in our national bloodstream. I shall welcome proper legislation to increase penalties for such crimes and make punishment more speedy and certain.

I realize that many of our government employees are underpaid. I realize that the standard of wages and salaries is considerably lower than that available today in some branches of business and industry. The Government is helpless to do anything at this time to raise the general standard of wages and salaries. Every centavo which we have or can obtain, is needed for essential public purposes. We are doing our best to make every possible saving and to reduce expenditures in order to stretch out our available funds over as many functions as possible. Many activities and undertakings duly authorized by Congress cannot be carried out because of lack of funds. Other essential obligations must be curtailed for the same reason.

It must be remembered that as we are now obtaining in government income only about one-third of our authorized expenditures, the remainder of our needs must be met by borrowing. Every peso that we spend above our income is a debt which we must surely repay. Although some of our fellow citizens are prospering in trade and commerce, the Government is receiving an income which, if we were unable to borrow money, would require us to abandon our Army, disband our military police, shut down half of our schools, suspend our health activities, our aids to agriculture, our public works, and dismiss two-thirds of our civil service employees. We must, therefore, realize that we cannot at this time do justice to all the deserving. We are trying, by every means at our command, to bring down the cost of living, so that present wages and salaries will be somewhat more adequate to meet essential requirements of livelihood.

We hope to be able to borrow from abroad during the next five years necessary amounts to meet the ordinary expenses of government. At the end of five years, our budget *must* be balanced. We must not borrow any more money for budgetary purposes after that, and we must immediately begin to repay what we have borrowed. We dare not fail in this. We must maintain our government credit at all costs and at all sacrifices. We must make sacrifices now.

I know of no more underpaid group of government employees than our teachers, although they are receiving twice their pre-war salaries. I know of no more important function than theirs. Yet we can only promise them…a promise which I mean to carry out…that justice will be done them as soon as is humanly possible. I make a similar promise to the rest of our employees. We can only ask them to be patient and to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to bridge over the critical period.

We have had, during the past eight months, very few strikes. The biggest strike was that of some government laborers in Manila. I have already made clear my policy with regard to strikes of government workers. I will not permit strikes against the Government. There have been no other outstanding strikes during the past eight months. We have had, in general, a period of labor peace. The Court of Industrial Relations is functioning well; the Secretary of Labor and his subordinates have been constantly vigilant to head off strikes with official and unofficial mediation efforts. A number of threatening situations have thus been averted. This has been a leading factor in the progress we have made toward a restoration of normalcy in the labor field. The Government has had the cooperation, in this, of both labor and management. A continuation of this situation is absolutely vital to continued progress in rehabilitation. I assure organized labor, and all men who work, that the Government will do them justice. The Government stands ready to mediate any labor dispute or any threatened labor dispute. That is an essential function of government. I give my pledge to labor unions and to workers throughout the Philippines that I will do my best to see that they get the fairest and squarest possible deal from employers if labor, in turn, will do its best to insure labor peace and to increase our productive capacities to the utmost. That is what we need most of all in the months ahead…production, production, and more production.

I recommend to Congress legislation to augment the authority of the Government to mediate in labor disputes. The Division of Mediation should be strengthened with adequate personnel. Our fundamental labor conciliation Jaw should be modified so as to provide for mediation before a strike has taken place, and before reference of the dispute to the Court of Industrial Relations. I believe the Department of Labor should certify cases to the Court of Industrial Relations only when voluntary mediation and conciliation fail. This is in line with the trend in other countries. I think it will be found that, in most cases, voluntary mediation will be successful. This, in turn, will relieve the Court of Industrial Relations of the tremendous overload of work which now burdens it.

In the matter of local governments, I am much pleased by the initiative and leadership shown by many of our local officials. I believe firmly in a maximum measure of decentralization of government authority. The only criterion should be the capacity of local governments to absorb and successfully discharge increased responsibilities.

At the last session of Congress, an Act was passed permitting the election of provincial and municipal officials in the special provinces. As soon as I am convinced that the majority of the people of these provinces desire to assume this responsibility, I shall be happy to issue the necessary proclamation. On the first of this month, the province of Romblon was reconstituted…another step in the same general direction.

As a result of considerable shifts and redistribution of population, and the natural growth of population, our system of classification of provinces and municipalities is out of date, and a readjustment is long overdue. I shall recommend that some legislation be enacted at this session of Congress to fix the date of the next readjustment, and to prescribe a suitable basis for such readjustment. Likewise, I recommend that the Congress consider a revised scale of maximum salaries for local officials and employees.

As directed by Congress, I have appointed a commission to make a thorough study of the present system of local governments, and to report on proposals to achieve, in local governments, greater economy, efficiency and autonomy.

That commission has already begun to function. As soon as its report is received, I shall make the indicated recommendations to Congress. Just as I believe in greater autonomy for local governments, I also believe that they should, at the earliest possible date, assume an increased fiscal responsibility for their own affairs. The National Government must be relieved, as soon as possible, of the support of provinces, cities and municipalities which can afford, by improved methods of tax collection and new taxes, to maintain themselves, especially their schools, roads and hospitals.

The constitutional amendment for the grant of certain special rights to American citizens in the development of our natural resources and the operation of public utilities has already been acted upon by the Philippine Congress, and now faces a popular referendum. This matter has been so much discussed, that I shall not refer to it in detail in this message. I am happy to be able to report, however, that the Filipino people, having been acquainted with the true facts regarding the proposal, will, I am sure, overwhelmingly approve this amendment and open the way for our speedy national rehabilitation and industrial development.

In order to acquaint the people with the facts concerning this proposal, to inform them of what the Government is doing to advance rehabilitation, and to acquaint myself with the individual problems of the various provinces and municipalities, I have, during the past two months, made a number of visits throughout the country. Nothing which I have done during my eight months in office has given me greater satisfaction or a greater feeling of intimacy with our people. I have had an opportunity to listen to the views of provincial and municipal officials, of representatives of tenants, landowners, laborers, operators, market vendors, government employees and many others. I have had a chance to see with my own eyes the energies and anxieties of our people for the achievement of our national goals. I have had an opportunity to answer doubts, to grant allocations of funds for approved projects, to discuss health control measures, and to comprehend, more clearly than ever, the needs of the nation, not from the representations of callers at Malacañan, not from the reports of government departments, but from first-hand observations of the people in their homes, in their towns and in the countryside. I was accompanied on these tours by members of the Cabinet, by congressional leaders, and by government experts in various fields of activity. Each of my colleagues benefited immeasurably from his contacts in his fields of operation. We have seen some of our government bureaus, offices, courts and fiscals working under almost impossible conditions, because of shortage of funds or facilities. In most cases, they were carrying on their duties in an efficient and orderly manner. I was so pleased with the results of these visits that I hope to make it a practice, once a year, to visit every province in the Philippines.

When we became independent on July 4, 1946, we were in some measure already involved in world affairs. The United States Government, in its wisdom, had already introduced us to the world scene. We had long been a member of the United Nations, of the Pacific War Council, and many other bodies, long before we were an independent republic. But in spite of the recognition thus accorded us, we were still uncertain as to how we would

be received when we became an independent republic. The United States invited all the countries which maintain friendly relations with her to recognize our independence. Our first international treaty, a Treaty of Amity and Friendship, was of course signed with the United States. Our second international instrument, the Executive Trade Agreement, was also signed with the United States. Our independence was simultaneously recognized by more than a score of the great and small nations of the world. To date we have been formally recognized by 49 different countries. Only one of the Great Powers has not yet officially acknowledged our independent existence.

The last Congress authorized the creation of a Department of Foreign Affairs. To the high post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, I appointed, with the assent of the Commission on Appointments, the Honorable Elpidio Quirino, Vice President of the Philippines. Vice President Quirino organized his Department, and submitted to Congress a plan for the creation of a Foreign Service. The Congress approved that plan and we have attracted many of our most brilliant young minds into that service.

We have established an Embassy in Washington which will be, for the time being, our only embassy. We have opened Consulates-General in New York, San Francisco and Honolulu, and a consulate in Amoy. We propose during this year, to establish legations in London and Nanking and perhaps elsewhere, and to increase the number of consulates.

In the conduct of our foreign policy, I have laid the greatest emphasis on our representation in the United Nations and in other international bodies. I shall continue to do so. I named members of Congress to be delegates to some of the recent international meetings and I shall continue that practice. These members represented us most creditably and with honor to themselves and to our nation. I should like to see the foreign policy of the Philippines brought as closely home to the people as possible. I should like the world to know and to meet the members of our Congress and share the respect that I have for the high caliber of our democratic representation. Through the work of our international representatives and delegations, and of Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, our Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, we have gained prestige in the eyes of the World.

Our foreign policy has been well defined. It is non-partisan and non-political, as befits us as a nation. I have selected, as representatives to numerous international bodies, members of both political parties. I shall continue to follow this practice. Politics must halt at the water's edge. There must be no partisan considerations in our conduct of affairs with other nations. To the world we must present a united, indivisible and determined front.

Our foreign policy, as laid down and implemented during the past year, has now become clear to all. We yield to no nation of the world in our allegiance to the ideals of the United Nations, in our all-out support of collective security, of world disarmament at the earliest possible date, of world guarantees of noninterference in the internal affairs of free peoples, of world cooperation for the protection and promotion of all the freedoms, including freedom of expression and freedom from want, and of world cooperation to abolish trade barriers and discriminatory trade provisions.

Yet we also adhere to our primary relationship with the United States of America, a nation which gave us our freedom, and which is doing so much to preserve it. We must preserve at all costs our intimate relationship with that great country, which stands today as the champion of our principles in world affairs. Many economic advantages which could not otherwise be obtained have been and will be available to us as a result of our special ties with that country.

I need not report in detail on surplus property. You are aware of the transaction which took place on September the first, which made available to the Philippine Government surplus property at $637,000,000 procurement cost. All surplus property that is not required by government agencies and subdivisions is being sold to the general public, with a general priority for our veterans. We have received an average return of over 25 per cent of the procurement cost on sales made up to now. The returns from these sales are being assigned, as provided by law, to the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation to serve as capital assets. Small boats and watercraft being given us as surplus property can be converted into fishing vessels, or be used for short-haul passenger and cargo transport. For inter-island traffic, there are being turned over to us 44 FS-type vessels of an original cost to the United States of over P400,000 each. A present value of P200,000 for each of these vessels has been set. We are offering them for sale to

Philippine carriers, with preference to pre-war carriers. Failing that, the Government proposes to charter these vessels to private shippers for limited periods. With these facilities, our inter-island shipping bottoms will be more than 60 per cent of pre-war tonnage.

At the same time, we are endeavoring to buy large ocean-going vessels from the United States Maritime Commission. Philippine citizens and the Philippine Government have been granted priority immediately after American citizens in the acquisition of these vessels. In effect, we have the same priority as American citizens. We are trying to acquire several refrigerator ships to carry on trade in meat and other perishables with Australia. We are trying to buy other large vessels to transport rice and carabaos from Siam, Indo-China and other countries.

We must make every effort to build up a merchant marine. I intend to propose, at this session of Congress, legislation making it attractive to foreign ships engaged in foreign trade to register under the Philippine flag. I am recommending the establishment of a Maritime Commission. For the time being, the Shipping Commission, set up by administrative order to dispose of the ships we acquired as surplus property, is exercising some of the functions of the proposed permanent Maritime Commission.

I look forward to the development, somewhere in the Philippines, of a free port, to serve as a transshipment point for trade with Asia and Australasia. I think that if we create the proper conditions in the Philippines, our country can become the hub of trade, commerce and transportation between the Orient and the Occident.

We are, as you know, in the midst of negotiations for an agreement for bases for the mutual protection of the Philippines and the United States. Actually such an agreement is only an implementation of the commitments and agreements made between the Philippine and United States Governments during the war and immediately thereafter. In these commitments and agreements the Philippine Congress has fully concurred. The exact location of the bases and other military establishments to be maintained here by the United States has been engaging the concentrated attention of the officials of both Governments. I am able to report to you that the United States Government has shown every disposition to consider our wishes in this matter. It has in no instance been arbitrary, capricious or unreasonable in the location of the base sites.

Recently the American Government showed extreme anxiety regarding press reports that fundamental relations between the Philippines and the United States were being endangered by the presence of American troops here. It is my judgment that those press reports were largely inaccurate. Partly as a consequence of these reports the United States recently expressed herself as perfectly willing to withdraw all military forces from the Philippines, unless we desired otherwise. America, however, recognized her basic commitment to underwrite the security of the Philippines, in accordance with our wishes. When I advised the American Government that the Philippine Congress by unanimous resolution had agreed to the establishment of American bases here, and that the Filipino people desired the retention of these bases, it was decided to carry out the original program. To test the validity of this assurance that I had given, I polled the people in several of the base areas, notably in Guiuan and in Stotsenburg, as to whether they wished the bases to stay. In Guiuan there was a unanimous and full-throated expression of approval. It was the same everywhere I asked. I am informed that this is the sentiment of the people in Olongapo, in Cavite, and elsewhere.

I have been entirely motivated in these decisions and attitudes by a determination that we must not be left undefended. I cannot, in good conscience, overlook the absolute necessity of guaranteeing our security by every and all means available to us. In this troubled and critical period of world history, to do otherwise would be to betray our sacred trust.

The establishment of these bases, not for aggression but for defense, will guarantee our own safety and advance the cause of world peace and security, which is the aim of the United Nations.

Present plans, however, provide a much less ambitious schedule of bases than was originally contemplated. I believe that the views of our negotiators will be met; the basic guarantee of Philippine security remains.

Since the matter of the conduct of American troops here became of general concern, conditions have rapidly improved to a point where these troops and forces have again become welcome guests in our land. For this, we must thank both the diplomatic representative of the United States in the Philippines and Major-General George Moore, whose prompt and energetic actions resulted in a speedy elimination of the causes of difficulties that had existed. Our relations with the United States Army today are satisfactory .The Army and all its personnel are assisting us in every possible way. With few isolated and probably inevitable exceptions, the American troops are conducting themselves in a manner that reflects credit and honor upon the United States Government. The same of course also holds true for the United States Navy, through the splendid cooperation of Admiral Good. I expect that the base agreement will be signed within a short time. I will then report upon it to the Congress.

Immediately following the signature of the base agreement, I shall undertake to reach an agreement with American authorities on a broad military assistance program, in accordance with the terms of the authorization by the United States Congress. This agreement will provide: (1) the United States will send a military mission to advise our Army and Navy in their organization and training; (2) the United States Army will provide our forces with assistance and cooperation during the next five years; (3) the United States Navy will turn over to us 84 ships for our offshore patrol, some of which will be available for use as lighthouse tenders and customs and immigration patrol boats. Among these ships will be a number of cargo vessels which will enable us to supply our forces stationed on our various islands. While not being used for these purposes, these vessels will be available for the hauling of critical cargo for government purposes. I do not know what we would do, how we could prevent illegal immigration and smuggling, and other illegal practices if these ships were not being made available to us. The United States Navy has but recently completed preliminary training of our offshore patrol personnel to take over, maintain and operate these vessels.

In regard to other aspects of our national defense, we face a vital question. That is the training of our citizen army under the terms of Commonwealth Act No.1. We have not carried on this training program since the liberation, depending upon the military training program in our schools and colleges to produce our trained reserves. Obviously, this is not a democratic method; it does not reach equally into our man-power reserve. Moreover, it does not give us the 10,000 trained men per year which is our goal. Nevertheless, I judge that it is more essential during the next years to concentrate the labor force of the nation upon reconstruction and rehabilitation than to divert 10,000 young men for military training. I shall therefore continue the suspension of the training program at least until 1948. With our security underwritten by the United States, I think that we can take the calculated risk of temporarily reducing the emphasis upon our own defense measures and concentrate upon the monumental tasks of rehabilitation.

Today we have some unemployment, but less than what we had eight months ago. We may expect a continuation of unemployment for some months to come. This is due to the shortage of building materials, the timidity of capital, and the lack of suitable conditions for large-scale construction. I expect that with the approval of the parity amendment, with the increase in the availability of building materials from the United States and with the release of funds for rehabilitation purposes by the War Damage Commission, this situation will disappear and that all who are willing to work will be able to find employment.

The United States War Damage Commission, after a necessarily slow start, is now getting into a position where it can begin to make some payments to private individuals and to make allocations to the National Government for repair and reconstruction of public facilities.

It may be necessary for the Congress to consider the imposition of controls on the allocation of building materials, and on the prices which can be charged for construction services, once money becomes available for reconstruction work. I am submitting this matter for your consideration and will present my final recommendations at a later time.

Although we have relative prosperity in the marts of commerce, although the copra and abaca industries are relatively flourishing, our national income is still far below the minimum levels required for national existence. We still import three to four times the value of what we export, the difference being made up by the visible expenditures of United States Government agencies in the Philippines. We must rebuild our sugar mills, our coconut mills and our cigar factories and resume in as brief a time as possible our export of sugar, coconut oil and cigars to the United States. Many sugar fields are being rehabilitated in the expectation that the parity amendment will be approved.

Very little reconstruction of sugar mills, however, has taken place. This must be expedited. We must take advantage of the free-trade provisions of the Executive Trade Agreement in order to obtain as much income as possible, in terms of government revenue and in terms of national production, not only from sugar and coconut oil but also from the cordage, tobacco, embroidery and pearl button industries. We must work endlessly, make whatever sacrifices and adjustments are necessary, to achieve this end.

In regard to public works projects under the War Damage Act, there has been established by executive order the Rehabilitation Board under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Public Works and Communications. That board is charged with the study of a system of priorities in public rehabilitation and repair projects for submission to the federal government agencies in charge of these expenditures. The United States Congress has already appropriated $11,214,000 for this work during the coming months. The projects will be distributed in accordance with needs, without any political considerations. Every province and city that suffered damages will be provided for to the extent of available funds in proportion to the damage suffered.

Our roads in every part of the country need major repairs. The Public Roads Administration of the United States is now represented in the Philippines and is making surveys in consultation with the Philippine Rehabilitation Board to determine priorities in allocations. I have recommended that these allocations be made to all the provinces and cities in proportion to their first-, second-, and third-class roads and with due consideration to the economic and military importance of those roads.

The United States Corps of Engineers, with the cooperation of our Harbor Commission, is working on plans for the repair, reconstruction and improvement of our harbor facilities, concentrating first on Manila, Cebu, lloilo, and the other ports of entry. A total of $9,960,000 has been made available for this work this year.

The Civil Aeronautics Board of the United States, with authorization for expenditures of P16,000,000, has undertaken the construction and operation of air navigation aids in the Philippines and to assist in the construction of a national airport for international commercial aviation. Officials of this agency are already here working on this problem. The purpose of this program is to facilitate our development as the aviation center of the Far East. As this program unfolds, I will ask Congress for whatever additional appropriation is necessary to carry this development to its proper conclusion.

The last session of Congress appropriated P57,065,000 for a public works program. The Government is releasing this amount as quickly as funds are available. Up to now this amount, plus the motor vehicle and gasoline funds, are financing all the public works now under way. I do not believe that we should appropriate as large an amount for the coming year, not only because we shall lack funds for the purpose but also because of the bottleneck which will be presented by the shortage of supplies and building materials.

In the construction of bridges I urge that a maximum number of toll bridges be erected. Past experience indicates that toll bridges not only pay for maintenance and repair but also liquidate the original investment. Some funds for such projects will be made available by the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation.

The National Abaca and Other Fibers Corporation and the National Coconut Corporation have both been extremely active in insuring to producers of these products the maximum benefits from the high prices now prevailing. The NAFCO and the NACOCO have established offices throughout the Philippines offering to buy abaca and copra at a minimum fair price. If the producers can obtain a higher price elsewhere, the Government is pleased to have the purchases made by private interests. The Government's sole purpose is to insure the producers a fair return. The purpose is not to compete with private buyers, middlemen or exporters in the acquisition of copra, abaca or other commodities.

In line with our general agricultural program, the Government is intensifying its studies of new products such as ramie fiber, which can be produced in many places in the Philippines and marketed abroad. We are also stimulating the production of cotton, peanuts, rubber, cacao, cashew nuts, and soybeans for local consumption and for export. These efforts will be intensified this year; every encouragement will be given to the development of such production as is found commercially feasible.

Resettlement of new lands is a cardinal point of our agrarian reform program. These lands will be distributed to the landless and to tenants on easy terms. The former Japanese-owned lands in Davao and elsewhere deeded to us by the United States Government will be distributed on this basis. The same will be true of the estates which we are acquiring from the Catholic Church. This latter negotiation, which will be completed within a few days, brings to a happy conclusion negotiations and discussions which have been under way for the last 20 years. We are acquiring these properties at approximately their pre-war assessed value. They will be subdivided and sold at cost to the persons working the lands or to those who have built their homes there.

The law passed by the last Congress, at the recommendation of the administration, providing for a 70-30 rice crop division has been put into effect all over the Philippines and will be enforced with full vigor. We are now studying a fair standard of division or rental for sugar lands.

We must accelerate our geological surveys and provide adequate funds for them so as to locate new sources of minerals and other geological materials for the use of industries and mills. We must rehabilitate our fishing industry not only with boats acquired from the United States but by the construction of fishing boats in this country.

The United States Government, under the terms of the Tydings Rehabilitation Act, will itself carry out a large-scale program designed to promote our fishing industry. Fishermen will be trained in scientific and practical fishing techniques. Experimental fisheries will be established and our depleted streams and lakes will be restocked. One practice which must be halted is dynamiting. Increased penalties must be provided against this vicious, selfish and unpatriotic method of catching fish.

The United States Government is providing an overall training program for 500 Filipino students annually in the merchant marine, mineralogy, meteorology, fisheries, highway engineering, harbor engineering, and like fields of endeavor. These trainees are being named by me, subject to examinations, and in accordance with qualifications set up by the responsible United States agencies.

The Department of Justice reports that during the past year 15,353 cases were disposed of by the Courts of First Instance. There were 16,985 cases pending at the beginning of 1946; there were 22,346 cases pending at the end of 1946. During the year 1946, 20,714 new cases were filed. In other words, there were 6,000 more cases pending at the end of that year than at the beginning, despite the fact that the courts disposed of almost as many cases as were pending at the beginning of the year. This indicates that the work of our courts must be accelerated in order to insure speedy, swift and certain justice. I have done everything in my power to appoint competent judges on a non-political basis. We attempt to fill vacancies as rapidly as they occur. But 15 judges of Courts of First Instance are assigned to the People's Court. Sometimes we find it difficult to induce competent attorneys to accept judicial posts. One of the recommendations made by the Secretary of Justice, which will be submitted to you, is to increase the jurisdiction of justices of the peace, to provide them with original jurisdiction over cases where the amount involved does not exceed P1,000, and concurrent jurisdiction with Courts of First Instance where the amount involved exceeds P1,000 but is less than P2,000. This should serve to expedite justice and relieve the higher courts of the burden of cases which can be disposed of at lower levels.

I have already referred to our precarious fiscal position. A joint Philippine-American financial commission, created under the terms of an agreement between President Truman and myself, has been set up and is now at work in Manila. Its membership consists of men of outstanding talent and experience in government finance. The recommendations of the commission, when made, will be the subject of a special message to the Congress. Pending the submission of their report, I shall not recommend any special fiscal measures. The Congress knows, however, that I favor the creation of a Central Bank to give more flexibility to our currency and to provide adequate administration of credit and exchange. I will submit appropriate recommendations when the studies of this subject are completed.

The last session of Congress enacted legislation providing for the registration of pre-war currency issues and of the Victory issues; the expiration date set for registration was November 30, 1946, with authority vested in the President to extend this limit to February 28, 1947. We now find that this period for registration is insufficient. It is physically impossible to complete the stamping of all treasury certificates in the reserve vault and in circulation within the

specified time. Confusion and monetary chaos will inevitably result unless the period for stamping is further extended. I therefore ask the Congress to enact speedily a bill to authorize the issuance of treasury certificates not previously stamped with the seal of the Republic until January 31, 1948, and also to authorize the extension to the same date of the period during which unstamped certificates may be considered legal tender. Meanwhile the Government, by administrative process, is withdrawing as rapidly as possible all pre-war issues and is exchanging them with the Victory series. I propose that pre-war issues be declared non-legal tender after June 30 of this year, in order to accelerate their registration and conversion.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation set up under the authority of the last session of Congress is now functioning, with a capitalization consisting of the resources of the Agricultural and Industrial Bank, the P15,000,000 fund of the Financial Rehabilitation Board, the proceeds of the sales of surplus property, and the P50,000,000 recently transferred from the Exchange Standard Fund. This capitalization will be gradually increased until the full authorized capital of P300,000,000 is covered. The RFC will also issue small amounts of bonds during the coming year. The machinery of the RFC is being carefully set up to safeguard the loans to be made. The nation is depending heavily upon this organization to provide credit for vast numbers of essential rehabilitation projects and undertakings.

Meanwhile, other government corporations and entities will proceed with various programs to be integrated with the master plan of rehabilitation, and to be financed by the RFC. The National Power Corporation has been instructed to expedite its surveys of power projects and its submission of such projects as will be evidently self-liquidating. The National Development Company is engaged in similar planning. The National Land Settlement Administration, the Manila Railroad Company, and the Metropolitan Water District are also so engaged. I urge provincial and municipal governments to organize their plans for self-liquidating projects along similar lines. Private enterprises should make their applications in a like manner. The National Development Company has already set aside P5,000,000 to double the capacity of the Cebu Portland Cement Company and P800,000 for the reconstruction of the Insular Sugar Refinery.

In order to demonstrate to private business that it will have the same opportunity in economic undertakings as government entities, I recommend that the Congress make government corporations subject to the same taxes as private enterprise. Such a move will impress upon government corporations that they must conduct their activities on a business basis and must make the same provisions for taxation and other costs as private undertakings of the same kind. Some exceptions may be provided where government corporations are engaging in purely relief services.

The Philippine Veterans Bill of Rights enacted by the last session of Congress is operating satisfactorily. The Veterans Board has been established. The speed of its organization and the promptness with which claims are acted upon deserve commendation. I shall recommend in my budget message that the amount of money made available this year for the operations of this Board be continued next year. I have directed every agency of the Government to cooperate in the program of extending to our veterans every assistance authorized by law so that these men who: performed so valiantly in our country's darkest hour may have an equal opportunity to rehabilitate themselves and to assume their proper place in the life of the nation they did so much to preserve.

The present session of Congress will be called upon to consider a most difficult and controversial question in the settlement of the guerrilla currency problem. Thirty million pesos transferred to us by the United States Government has been earmarked for the retirement of guerrilla currency. It will be up to Congress to work out a practical formula for the redemption of this currency.

The registration of the guerrilla issues is now being effected. Until the registration is completed, you will be unable to act. Yet I urge Congress to begin the study of this matter, and to hold public hearings.

It is possible that additional amounts of money may later be made available for guerrilla currency redemption. That will depend upon our success in disposing of the portion of surplus property which was given to us in consideration of this obligation.

I am glad to report that the United States Government is moving swiftly to complete the payment of back pay to guerrillas. I have asked the United States Government to reconsider the question of back pay for USAFFE officers and men. I hope that justice will be done to them as well as to the guerrillas.

A general review is now under way of all United States benefits available to Philippine veterans, in accordance with a request I made to President Truman. Some Philippine veterans' legislation, I am informed, will be introduced in the present session of the United States Congress. Additional benefits will be considered by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Philippine Veterans' problems composed of the United States Secretary of War, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and the Hon. Paul V. McNutt, American Ambassador to the Philippines. President Truman has made clear his feeling that our veterans should receive their due.

In the matter of payment of pensions to the widows and orphans of Filipino veterans and to disabled veterans, these payments are being adjudicated as fast as proper records can be reconstituted for the consideration of the Veterans Administration. The American Veterans Administration, dealing with 20,000,000 veterans, has rigid documentary requirements. It is inevitable that consideration of cases of Filipino veterans should involve delay.

To meet the problem of presenting carefully prepared claims not only to the Veterans Administration but also to the United States War Damage Commission, the Department of Justice is now organizing legal aid offices throughout the Philippines.

One of our sorest needs is the speedy rehabilitation of our schools and institutions of higher learning. In this period, of all periods, we require manpower trained in technological and vocational skills, as well as in the professions. A good share of the allocations for reconstruction of public buildings will be devoted to the reconstruction of our schools and of the University of the Philippines.

Under the United States cultural relations program, teachers, scientists and professors will be sent here from the United States. We should be ready, as soon as we can, independently to hire teachers from abroad and establish a school of physical science, and a department of industrial management. We must stimulate further scientific research, not only in our university but also in our government laboratories. I am studying a possible integration of government research laboratories and facilities, with the expectation of coordinating them with a projected Institute of Applied Science which I should like to see established to provide our industrial and agricultural enterprises, public and private, with assistance in improving their scientific techniques and methods.

Our schools must continue to function in the teaching of liberal arts so that we may develop citizens trained in leadership and dedicated to the principles of democracy and freedom. An even greater awareness of these principles than we now have must be developed in our youth.

For some time past, there has been needless excitement over the question of the national language. The matter is truly a closed issue. By virtue of a constitutional mandate, steps have been taken for the development and adoption of a common language. The Filipino national language was declared one of the official languages effective July 4, 1946. The Government will give every support to the propagation of the national language so that it may truly become, along with English, a common vehicle of communication among our people.

In view of the mutuality of our defense interests with those of the United States, I propose, at this session of Congress, that legislation be enacted permitting the enlistment of Filipino citizens in the American armed forces without forfeiture of citizenship. At the present time members of the Philippine Scouts and other Filipinos in the armed forces of the United States automatically lose their citizenship. I recommend that the Congress make forthright provision, during the effectiveness of the Bases Agreement with the United States, that Filipinos serving in the American armed forces may, at their election, retain their citizenship. I believe that this is just and proper, since the Filipinos engaged in this service will, I believe, be stationed in the Philippines and Philippine waters and assigned to the defense of the Philippines. They should be honored rather than penalized.

The consistent thread running through the entire program I have outlined for the immediate future of our country is industrialization. This plan integrates with our power development projects, our vocational training program, our

establishment of credit facilities, our promotion of geological researches and surveys, our invitation of American capital to invest here, and the proposed constitutional provision for special rights for American citizens. We will insure the fullest participation by Filipinos in this program.

The Government has commissioned a firm of industrial engineers and technologists to survey the industrial potentials of the Philippines. The same firm is now engaged in a survey of industrial equipment in Japan. This equipment may be made available to us in the form of reparations, of which we hope to receive early delivery. The final reparations settlement will take years to achieve but the United States and other allied nations are urging that intermediate deliveries of reparations equipment be made to damaged countries pending final settlement of percentage claims to be allowed each claimant-nation. The United States is leading the move for this program, although she herself does not expect to benefit from it. The American Government is, in a sense, merely acting as an advocate for the Philippines in this matter. I expect that we will soon receive from Japan a report on the equipment which could be useful here and which is available for reparations. At that time, we will present our claims.

We must be prepared to receive, install and operate this equipment. It will require a great outlay of money. Some of the money can be obtained in the form of loans from the RFC. In the case of major industrial operations, I propose to invite private enterprise here to operate these industries on a profit-sharing basis with the Government. There is no reason why the Philippines cannot capture a share of the former Japanese markets in this part of the world. No effort will be spared to achieve this goal.

I have laid down for Congress today a lengthy list of subjects for its consideration. You will have little time for politics. You must, and I am sure you will, give your patriotic efforts to the matters before you. The work which we undertake can, perhaps, be simplified if we wish merely to return to our pre-war economic level, or if we are content to remain among the small backward nations of the world. This nation is not so content. Just as we have high ideals, we must have high aspirations. We have on our side the proven courage of our people; we have in our young veterans and in our youth an ample reserve of patriotic manpower to carry on the battle with fierce and fervid devotion; we have hope and we have confidence that f we can accept the challenge that is presented to us to, achieve a national destiny as great as our dreams will permit.

The future is ours. The freedom and liberty of our people must be insured. Shall we mortgage the precious heritage of opportunity which is now available to us out of fear or indolence? The voice of the entire Filipino people answers in single accord, “NO.” We will press forward, we will not retreat. We will not hide our heads in the swift-running sands of time, lest the sands run out, and leave us naked, backward and alone.

We will be resolute in our march toward our lofty goals…carrying lightly the heavy burdens which we now assume, in addition to those thrust upon us by Fate. We will not abandon the contest. The greatness of our nation is at issue. The happiness and enduring welfare of our people are at stake. With the help of Almighty God, we will reach the summits we seek.

Message of President Roxas on the National Budget for the fiscal year 1947-1948, February 11, 1947

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the National Budget
For the fiscal year 1947-1948

[*February 11, 1947*]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I am herewith submitting, for your consideration, the national budget for the fiscal year July 1, 1947, to June 30, 1948. It includes a comprehensive report on our current fiscal position.

Budgetary Reform.— The plan of this Budget is different from that of preceding years. This Budget includes all the information needed to describe and forecast the condition of the national treasury—the resources and the obligations of the government during the current and in the coming fiscal years. It contains reference to all the expenses of government: (1) general appropriation for ordinary and extraordinary activities; (2) special purpose appropriations including public works; (3) fixed expenditures; (4) receipts automatically appropriated; and (5) projected additional expenditures that can be proposed within the available funds. Because of the necessity of ruthlessly policing our expenditures between the essential and the desirable but dispensable government functions, I have deemed it vital that the budget proposal take into full account all our appropriation commitments. This procedure will facilitate budgetary control entrusted to the Congress and to the President by the Constitution.

I find it anomalous that the President should present to you, as he has in the past, a budgetary proposal for the general appropriations of the Government, and omit consideration of what have been called the special purpose appropriations and other commitments. I think the Budget should contain the President's recommendations for all expenditures of government. Congress may then enact what it sees fit, but its enactments should be within the framework of the budget. The budget, as approved, should serve to inform the people of all the fiscal operations of government. We must adhere in the budget to a simple and sensible bookkeeping system which will keep constantly in view all our obligations and all the resources with which we have to meet them. This budget has been formulated in accordance with that plan.

CURRENT FISCAL SITUATION, 1946-1947

Current Revenues.—Our current government revenues are encouraging. In my message to Congress on August 5, 1946, I was able to revise upward from P57,309,000 to P75,500,000 the estimated income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947. Lately that estimate was again revised to P100,000,000, almost double the estimate of eight months ago. Our expected income this year is actually higher than any pre-war collection of government revenues from taxation. This sharp increase is due partly to increased tax rates that Congress has imposed, and partly to improved efficiency in tax collection; it is due, in general, to the accelerated commercial activity of the past seven months. Yet although our income was high in pre-war terms, our fiscal situation today is serious and critical.

Current Expenditures.—The expenditures authorized by the General Appropriation Act for the current fiscal year amount to P248,695,783. In addition there are authorized by law: (1) special purpose appropriations—P90,315,000; (2) receipts automatically appropriated—P1,795,710; (3) fixed expenditures—P12,804,685; and (4) outstanding obligations—P20,812,164.35. The grand total of these budgetary expenditures and obligations is P374,423,342.35.

Current Deficit.—Against this gross authorized expenditure of P374,423,342.35, our estimated net cash income is P104,455,150.09, resulting in a gross deficit at the end of the current fiscal period of P269,968,192.26.

For a partial solution to this situation there are the contemplated loans from the United States. We have proceeded to take that way out. I expect by the end of the current fiscal year to have contracted loans of P150,000,000 from the United States Reconstruction Finance Corporation as authorized by United States law. When these loans are received, there will still be an uncovered operating deficit of P119,968,192.26. Obviously that is an impossible situation. We must meet it head on. Our operating accounts must be balanced by the end of the fiscal year.

I had counted on a loan of P200,000,000 from the United States Government this year. We may have to be content with the authorized loan of P150,000,000. In any event we have been required to take drastic steps to meet this problem.

Control of Deficit.—I am, therefore, by administrative action, under the powers granted me by law, suspending various impending expenditures in the following amounts to the total of P120,600,000: (1) from the current appropriation, Republic Act No. 80—P23,640,000; (2) from current supplemental appropriations for special purposes—P47,660,000; (3) from unexpended balances of continuing appropriations—P49 ,300,000.

I shall submit, during this Congress, a rescission bill to cancel various authorized appropriations now on the statute books to a total of P120,000,000. Thus, we will adjust our current appropriations, so that by the end of this fiscal year all our expenditures will have been met by our revenues and loans. In this way our books will be balanced, our actual deficit will be clear and definite, represented by actual obligations, and we can start the next fiscal year without overhanging appropriations commitments.

Cash Position.—Our current cash position reflects our fiscal situation. The actual deficit for the 1945-1946 fiscal year was P246,439,125.34. But this was in part covered by extraordinary transfers of pre-war surplus funds, amounting to P228,198,775.43, credited to us in the United States. At the end of the fiscal year , the cash position of the National Treasury showed a balance amounting to P71,115,509.33. This cash balance, however, was entirely obligated and more, by continuing appropriations commitments, amounting to P89,355,859.24. So at the close of the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, we had an actual deficit of P18,240,349.91.

At the beginning of this fiscal year, the Congress of the Philippines authorized the liquidation of our Financial Interests Protection Bonds, while the Congress of the United States authorized the liquidation of bonds we had pledged to guarantee the safety of pre-war military equipment loaned us, the two issues amounting to P22,695,500. Their liquidation increased the expectable income for the current fiscal year to P122,695,500. But as there was an initial deficit of P18,240,349.91, the net amount estimated available for expenditure during the current fiscal year was P104,455,150.09.

BUDGET FOR 1947-1948

Proposed Expenditures, 1947-1948.—In the budget for I the fiscal year 1947-1948 I am proposing a total appropriation from the general fund for the ordinary and extraordinary operations of government totaling P227,397,283. This amount is P21,298,500 less than the amount appropriated by the Congress for the current year.

I am also recommending at this time that an overall ceiling of P269,000,000 be established for all our expenditures during the next fiscal year compared with the total of P374,423,342.35, authorized for the current year. This includes provision for an appropriation not exceeding I P20,000,000 for public works in the next fiscal year and P7,000,000 for such miscellaneous special purposes as Congress may, from time to time, specify. As usual, we must set aside in our financial statement P1,766,450 for the expenditure of receipts automatically appropriated and P14,308,255 for fixed expenditures required by existing laws.

Our outstanding obligations—interest on bonds (including those of guaranteed issues of subdivisions and instrumentalities that accrued during the occupation, and deficiency contributions to the sinking funds up to the inauguration of the Republic, P20,812,164.35—have been provided for in the 1946-1947 budget estimates. With regard, however, to the interest on bonds held locally, I shall submit to Congress recommendations for the deferment of occupation interest accruals by prolonging the life of the bonds.

Estimated Revenue, 1947-1948.—I estimate that our revenues during the coming fiscal year will be P130,000,000 or P30,000,000 above the expected revenue for this year. The estimate of anticipated revenue during the next fiscal year can be broken down according to its principal sources in the following sums:

REVENUE FROM TAXATION—

Excise taxes ……..	31.92%	P41,500,000.00
License, business and occupation ……..……..	27.89%	36,250,000.00
Import duties ……	9.23%	12,000,000.00
Income tax ……..	9.96%	12,950,000.00
War profit tax ……..……..	3.85%	5,000,000.00
Documentary stamp tax ……..…….……	1.92%	2,500,000.00
Residence tax ……..…..…..	.61%	800,000.00
Estate inheritance and gift taxes ……	2.15%	2,800,000.00
Charges on forest products ……..……	1.54%	2,000,000.00
Immigration tax …….……	.23%	300,000.00
Franchise tax ……	.16%	200,000.00
Tonnage dues ……	.16%	200,000.00
89.62%	116,500,000.00	

INCIDENTAL REVENUE—

Fines and forfeitures……..…	.76%	992,000.00
Sales of public domain……..	.10%	133,000.00

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0.86%	1,125,000.00

EARNING AND OTHER CREDITS—

Service income……..…..	5.87%	7,630,000.00
Income from rentals……..……..	.37%	482,000.00
Prior year credits……..……	.30%	386,000.00
Miscellaneous receipts……..……..	.08%	104,000.00

Net profit from sales……..……..	.06%	77,000.00
Interest on investments and securities…….…….	.04%	56,000.00
Inventory adjustments……..	…….	13,000.00
Net profit from sales……..……..	.06%	77,000.00
Production account…….…….	…….	1,000.00
6.73%	8, 751,000.00	

Receipts automatically appropriated……	2.78%	3,609,000.00

Transfer and reversion from surplus funds……..	.01%	15,000.00
Totals…….	100.00%	P130,000,000.00

Economic Forecast.—This is, of course, an estimate and it depends in part upon factors beyond our control, just as it is dependent in part upon the carrying out of the broad economic program which has been laid down by the Administration. To obtain this revenue, our economy must continue at its present level of activity. Reconstruction and rehabilitation and new investments must continue and must be accelerated, according to the anticipated curve which is now indicated by the program of expenditures by the United States Government and our own plans for economic development.

I have taken into consideration a probable decrease in the spending here of the United States armed services; but I believe this should and will be entirely compensated for by an increase in the activity of private enterprise and new investments following the approval of the parity amendment on March 11 and by the undertakings of the Government of the Philippines and the Government of the United States, through the War Damage Commission and other American agencies. I anticipate that during the coming fiscal year, the War Damage Commission will spend in the Philippines in awards to private individuals and corporations and in allocations to the Philippine Government for government purposes P150,000,000. I also expect that the United States War Veterans Administration in the Philippines will accelerate the payment of pensions and gratuities to Filipino war veterans, widows and orphans. All these disbursements will necessarily be reflected in increased revenues from taxation.

Deficit, 1947-1948.—With an estimated revenue of P130,000,000 and an authorized appropriation ceiling of P269,000,000, of which P227,397,283 is to be carried in the General Appropriation Bill, we face for the next year an overall deficit of P139,000,000. We thus propose to operate our government next year on a deficit of P156,000,000 less than the current year.

Loans, Joint Financial Commissions.—As already stated, to meet this deficit, we must again resort to borrowing, just as our deficit in the current fiscal year is being met. I am studying every possible way of minimizing our dependence on external loans. A Joint Financial Commission, composed of American and Filipino representatives, set up by agreement between President Truman and myself, is now at work, exploring, at my request, this same subject. Our objective must be to obtain the maximum amount of revenue, utilizing every available tax expedient and every available method of collection, while at the same time refraining from undertaking fiscal measures which

would seriously interfere with our rehabilitation and economic development program. We must, in other words, trim our sails and follow a course, which will result in the largest possible amount of revenue without discouraging needed investment and the rapid expansion of our economy. We must wisely use the taxing power as an instrument of economic policy to restrain inflation and at the same time encourage private initiative and enterprise. We must encourage the flow into the Philippines of investment capital for productive undertakings.

I have stated the general policy. Its implementation is under study. For the moment, I am not recommending any new taxes. We will concentrate on the proper enforcement of our present tax laws.

Reduction of Government Expenditures.—While we thus measure our revenue, we must at the same time spare no pains to reduce our government expenditures. I apply several tests or touchstones to all proposed government expenditures. First, are the expenditures essential for the maintenance of our vital services: peace and order, education and public health, the administration of justice, the promotion of the common welfare and national defense? Second, are the expenditures essential for the program of rehabilitation or expansion of our economy? Any expenditures which do not answer one of these tests must justify themselves in an extraordinary manner.

REORGANIZATION

As Congress knows, and under the authority of Congress, a Reorganization Committee has been established to study the overall reorganization of the government machinery. That Committee is well along in its studies and reports. I directed the Committee to devote its first attention to reorganizations which would accomplish essential improvements in efficiency. It was found impossible for the committee to complete its work for the inclusion of all its recommendations in the formulation of this Budget.

Efficiency in Government.—It will be recalled that the Government Survey Board took almost three years to finish its report on the 1935 reorganization. That reorganization did not embrace government corporations. The problems to which I gave first priority in my direction to the Reorganization Committee are: (1) the simplification of the structural organization of government, (2) the elimination of complexities of procedure in the conduct of government business, (3) the classification of offices and the standardization of the pay of the personnel therein, (4) the elimination of duplication of scientific research activities, (5) the possible fusion and consolidation of government corporations, (6) the unification or coordination of government controlled communication services, (7) the organization of the national police, (8) the coordination of government functions relating to labor disputes, and (9) the establishment of a unified control and direction of the government's economic program through all its economic agencies. It is obvious that this reorganization is desirable to streamline all government functions required to participate in the rehabilitation and construction program of the nation. That is our first imperative. To this end, the Reorganization Committee is directing its efforts. As soon as the Committee completes this indicated study, it will attack in a major way the problem of consolidating bureaus, agencies, offices and positions for the sake of economy.

Economy in Government.—In my original directions to this Committee, I proposed that efforts be made to achieve an economy of approximately 25 per cent in the cost of government. Several branches of the public service. however, required immediate exemption from this blanket undertaking. These were the Army, the Military Police Command, the school system, the courts, and the health and sanitation service. Some savings can doubtless be achieved in these services; but it will require a detailed study, position by position and job by job. That will take time.

I did, however, direct, upon recommendation of the Reorganization Committee, that each department and agency, in making its budgetary request this year, submit two personnel plantillas, a permanent and a supplemental plantilla. The permanent plantilla contains the necessary and indispensable positions. The supplemental plantilla carries those which may be dispensed with. In this budget, the supplemental plantilla also includes positions carrying a salary less than P600 per annum, many of which are essential to the service. This inclusion was necessary to expedite the presentation of this budget. However, I have directed the Budget Commissioner and the Reorganization Committee to make a detailed study of these different positions so that the needed information concerning the essentiality of

each may be submitted in due time to the Congress. When this information becomes available, I recommend that the positions found essential be transferred from the supplemental plantilla to the permanent plantilla.

I propose to direct that no vacancies occurring in supplemental plantillas be filled. Those positions will become automatically abolished upon becoming vacant. Vacancies occurring in the permanent plantilla will be filled whenever possible from the personnel of the supplemental plantillas. For obvious reasons, I do not recommend the elimination of the positions listed in the supplemental plantillas at this time, preferring such elimination as the vacancies occur.

Savings.—As a result of this plan, carried out for the first time in this budget, we expect finally to reduce the total budgetary outlay for salaries and wages. We have today a total appropriation for salaries, corresponding to 122,768 positions, in all services including the teachers and commissioned officers and enlisted men, of P114,546,626.25. One thousand one hundred ten positions, involving an appropriation of P842,595, are recommended for abolition in this budget. The supplemental plantilla carries a total of 11,564 positions with a salary outlay of P5,394,732.25. When by reason of vacancies these positions will have been eliminated, there will remain in the permanent plantilla 110,094 positions involving a salary outlay of P108,309,299. The other savings in this budget consist of (1) a decrease of P13,750,000 in the aid proposed to be granted to provincial and municipal governments, and (2) a reduction or discontinuance of various lump sum appropriations in the amount of P5,464,075.

Increases in Appropriation Proposals.—On the other hand, we have found it necessary to increase the appropriation for the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey, looking toward its establishment on a basis independent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey; and of the Bureau of Posts to standardize the pay of radio and telegraph operators.

In our current budget, we set aside P2,996,000 for the needs of our foreign service. During the coming fiscal year, this amount must be increased to P5,355,630, of which P4,446,500 will be required for the maintenance of foreign service establishments abroad. It will be noted that the allotment for salaries for the home office is barely 8 per cent of the total appropriation requested. The major part of the amount for this vital department is for the maintenance of our diplomatic missions, the sending of delegations to international conference and conventions, contributions and memberships dues in the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations and in general for the conduct of affairs with foreign nations. We cannot safely skimp on this most important function.

We propose during the coming year to establish legations in Nanking, London, and possibly in other important capitals. Consulates and consulate-general must also be put up in several places to meet the needs of our expanding commercial intercourse with the nations of the world and for the protection of our nationals abroad. We should not look to the United States Government to continue to represent us in areas where we have major interests. We must continue to maintain the highest level of representation in the United Nations and in other international bodies. Our diplomatic mission in Washington carries on the most vital functions of our foreign affairs. Living abroad, our representatives and employees must receive adequate compensations and allowances.

JUSTIFICATION OF EXPENDITURES

I feel it my responsibility to the taxpaying public to undertake at this point a justification of our proposed expenditures. In the light of the current deficit, and the deficit, which we face next year, there must be a full and satisfactory explanation of our future commitments. The public, as well as the Congress, must understand why, if our current and impending revenues, from taxation actually exceed our pre-war revenues, our budget still must be unbalanced. The public must be told why we must borrow money, money which must surely be repaid. The nation must be assured that the responsible heads of the Government envision a point at which the budget will be balanced, and at which we no longer be required to depend on external loans and can, in fact, begin to repay the loans we have already contracted.

End of Deficits.—I do see such a point. All my thinking and all the plans of the government are directed toward the achievement of that point in as brief a time as possible. I cannot see that point reached until 1951. By that time I expect that our revenues will have caught up with our expenditures. All our plans are laid progressively to increase

our revenues toward the 1951 goal. But we must realize that we cannot, we dare not, cripple the essential services of the Government, especially those services and those functions which are intimately concerned with our overall economic program, our program for the maintenance of peace and order, our program of education, or our program of national defense. To cripple any of these programs will be to cripple the nation and would in the end decrease our economic potential. The first natural result of this will be to make it impossible for us to achieve an economy capable of supporting the essential activities of government. The Government must function to stimulate the economy; the economy must function to support the Government.

High Cost of Government.—The cost of government has greatly increased, just as the cost of living for the individual. While the Government has lagged behind private enterprise in raising wages and salaries, the Government has been required to face the same mounting costs in the purchase of materials, equipment and supplies, and in the letting of contracts for the performance of essential services.

It is a supposition in some uninformed circles that the Government is indulging in many wasteful motions and activities, and that the Government has vast numbers of people on the payroll engaged in unessential functions. I will not attempt at this time to undertake a frontal defense of the efficiency of the Government. The Reorganization Committee is functioning for exactly that reason. Yet I propose to show that the Government, in most of its activities, is proceeding on a more efficient basis than it has ever done before.

Personnel Statistics.—The Government today is fulfilling all the functions that were discharged before the war, plus the new functions which we have assumed and must discharge as a result of our independence, plus the staggering load of responsibility imposed upon us by the war and the needs for rehabilitation and reconstruction. Yet we have today fewer personnel in pre-war jobs than the pre-war Commonwealth Government employed in similar tasks. The exceptions to this statement are only in those fields where the Commonwealth was not required to function and where it did not have total responsibility, because these were being discharged by United States agencies.

Following are listed the executive and judicial departments of the Government and the pre-war number of their personnel, as compared with their current personnel:

	1941	1947
Office of the President		
Philippine General Hospital		
Office of the Vice-President		
Department of Foreign Affairs		
Department of the Interior		
Department of Finance		
Bureau of Printing		
Department of Justice		
Department of Agriculture and Commerce		
Department of Public Works and Communications		
Department of Instruction		
Department of Labor		
Department of National Defense		
Department of Health and Public Welfare		
General Auditing Office		
Commission on Elections		
Supreme Court		
Court of Appeals		
Grand totals		

Although the total number of government employees is much larger today than before the war, the increase is represented by new services which have been established as a result of our independence, or because of the expansion of some of our most essential activities. This is true with regard to the Departments of Foreign Affairs,

Instruction, National Defense, and Public Works and Communications. The other departments are operating today with less personnel than they had before the war. Before the war, these departments had a total of 17,740 officials and employees; today they have only 17,244. The justification for the increase of personnel in some of the other important services can be easily made.

School Teachers.—Before the war, we had 45,000 teachers today, we have 56,000. Before the war our public school enrollment was 2,000,000; today it is well over 3,200,000.We can only be glad that this is so. We cannot afford in any way to reduce this number and must look forward to its expansion.

Public Works. —The reconstruction work that we must do in the wake of war requires that we have more personnel in public works; hence, the increase in this department is in the Bureau of Posts which today handles the greatest volume of mail in its history.

The Army. —Before the war, we had a standing army of 10,000, of which 3,000 were in the Philippine Army and 7,000 in the Constabulary; today our army force consists of 37,000 men of which 12,000 are in the Philippine Army and 25,000 in the Military Police Command. Before the war our expenditures for the Army and the Constabulary totaled P18,000,000; today they amount to P77,000,000. We cannot reduce the appropriation for the Military Police Command at this time. The maintenance of peace and order is a primary necessity for our national existence.

National Defense.—We propose this year to spend for national defense itself, for our regular army and the development of its reserve less than P30,000,000 or about 12 percent of the total national budget. This is the lowest percentage being expended for this purpose by any country in the world of which I know. The United States Government, in its budget proposed just two weeks ago, provides for the expenditures for national defense approximately 30 per cent of the national budget. Many other countries are spending even more. We are fortunate and happy indeed that our security is assured with an expenditure for national defense as low as it is. That is made possible only through the aid and cooperation of the United States and the arrangements for mutual protection, which we are entering into with that country. I do not think that our people would wish to sacrifice that national interest by dispensing with these security measures.

EXPENDITURES BY DEPARTMENTS

In this budget, the proposed expenditures for the various departments of government as compared to the appropriation for the current fiscal year are shown in the following table:

Department	**Fiscal Year 1948**
	Percentage
Department of National Defense……	34.24
Department of Instruction……..	23.62
Contingent funds (cost of living bonus to employees)…….	16.05
Department of Finance……	4.20
Department of Health and Public Welfare	3.77
Department of Agriculture and Commerce	3.39
Department of Justice…….	3.04
Department of Public Works and Communications…….	2.46
Department of Foreign Affairs……	2.36
Office of the President……	2.14
House of Representatives……	1.53
University of the Philippines……..	.68
Senate……	.67
Department of the Interior……..	.66
Department of Labor……..	.46
General Auditing Office…….	.33
Supreme Court……	.18
Court of Appeals……	.15

Commission on Elections…….	.05
Office of the Vice President…….	.02

40,680.00 .02 42,960.00Totals…… 100.00P227,397,283.00100.00P248,695,783.00

Wages and Salaries.— I recognize that the wages and salaries in the government are relatively low. Today, we have a large number of employees still receiving P30 per month, P360 per annum. I would like to raise the minimum basic salary scale to P50 per month or P600 per annum. The enormous deficits we are incurring, however, do not permit the immediate realization of this aim. I propose, therefore, to carry out an increase gradually. Upon suggestion of the Reorganization Committee, I am recommending that employees with basic salary of less than P600 per annum, who have rendered at least one year of continuous, faithful and satisfactory service, shall, at the beginning of each new fiscal year, receive an automatic salary increase of P120 per annum, until the basic salary shall reach P600 annually. For employees with basic salaries of over P600 annually but less than P960, an automatic increase of P60 per annum is recommended, until the basic salary shall reach P960 annually.

Cost of Living Bonus.—We recognize, of course, that the purchasing power of the peso is less than before the war. I am, therefore, continuing the item for the payment of graduated bonuses to low-salaried employees. Fortunately, the rising curve of the cost of living has been arrested. Through governmental efforts the cost of living has been steadily going down. But I feel that the situation still calls for a continuance of cost of living bonus payments. This should be without prejudice to their suspension or reduction during the year if circumstances so warrant.

Fiscal Relations with Local Governments—-In my message to the Congress on July 8, 1946, I stated that provinces, chartered cities, and municipalities should begin to rehabilitate their revenue collecting services and adopt a graduated program of diminishing reliance upon the National Government for ordinary operating needs. Because of the unequal situation of the various provinces, I requested the Congress to include in the Appropriation Act for the current year a proviso that the Secretary of Finance, with the approval of the President, may withhold or decrease any aid to any local government which has been previously granted the same, if the locality has not suffered material damage or where the damage is slight, and the savings thereby realized will be available for increasing the aid to other localities that suffered more.

I had hoped that no longer would provision be required for aid to local government for their operating expenses during the coming fiscal year. In my visits to the provinces, however, I found that there are still some provinces and municipalities where the destruction wrought by war continues to require further assistance by the National Government. I, therefore, recommend that the sum of P5,000,000 be appropriated for such aid, the amount in such case to be determined by the Secretary of Finance with the approval of the President.

Reorganization of Auditing Services.—Upon recommendation of the Reorganization Committee, I have also effected in this Budget the separation of the auditing from the accounting services of the departments, bureaus and offices. This is a measure, on the one hand, to restore the independence of the Auditor in the review of transactions; on the other, to give the heads of offices direct control over the management and expenditure of their appropriations. The fused auditing and accounting services weakened the Auditor. He became a co-participant in executive acts that should have been subject to his criticism and review. No true audit became possible since it was not likely that he would question his own decisions upon expenditures. A public officer cannot be expected to audit impartially his own accounts or object to his own financial decisions. The separation has increased the appropriations for the departments, bureaus and offices by the total salaries of the accounting personnel incorporated in their organizations. But there has been a counter-balancing decrease in the appropriations for the General Auditing Office from Pl,109,930 as authorized for the current fiscal year to P726,430 as proposed in this Budget.

Funds for Veterans.—The last session of Congress enacted at my recommendation, a Philippine Veterans' Bill of Rights. The Congress provided for an appropriation of P20,000,000 for the support of those activities, if and when funds became available. As the Congress well knows that funds were not available, I did make executive provision for the allocation of P2,000,000 for the essential activities of the Veterans' Board during the current fiscal year. I considered this the base minimum which had to be provided. I am proposing in the Budget the release of P2,000,000

for the next fiscal year. Future appropriations for this vital activity should be made annually, according to our available resources and the existing need.

CONCLUSION

I have made, in the course of this budget message, a frank appraisal of our current situation. I have projected our fiscal affairs for the incoming year. I have described our financial problems and our economic problems as they relate to the fiscal affairs of the government. I have out- lined the necessity of certain budgetary reforms and of strictly containing our appropriation within the limits of our available resources.

I have set a goal of a balanced budget for 1951. When I say "balanced budget", I mean exactly that. I mean that by 1951 we must be able to pay all costs of government, ordinary, extraordinary, and special, with our current revenues. We must be able to service the public debt and to make the necessary payments on loans which we have contracted and will contract.

This is one necessity which we must frankly meet without evasion. We must put our financial house in order and operate the government on a pay-as-you-go basis. Thus even in the years immediately ahead of us when we face an inevitable deficit, I must insist that we restrain our expenditures to the sum total of our revenues, plus loans which we can logically expect to repay. The fact that we shall be functioning in part on borrowed money must constitute a constant spur to reduce expenditures, to eliminate those which are not absolutely vital, and to make every conceivable effort to increase our revenues. We should not expect to live in luxury on borrowed money. The wise man considers borrowed money as money which is untouchable except for the essential purposes of existence. Every centavo spent must answer the questions: Will this expenditure increase our ability to obtain greater revenues in the future? Will this expenditure improve the vital conditions essential to the expansion of our economic facilities? Will this expenditure aid directly in the rehabilitation of the vital instruments of national endeavor? We dare not make provisions for extravagant conveniences or comforts. We dare not provide services which would be helpful but are not essential. We dare not even increase government salaries and wages even though such increases might be justified. We must seek to obtain in government revenue every possible peso without interfering with the productive expansion of the nation. We must encourage new capital to enter the Philippines. We must give every stimulus to local capital to invest in productive enterprise. We must discourage the dissipations of capital in luxurious living. We must do all these within the framework of our system of free enterprise founded on freedom and democracy.

Our fiscal problems are complex and difficult. They can be solved satisfactorily and only if we face the facts without illusions. Our problems cannot be solved by the panacea of currency manipulation or by blind dependence on limitless borrowing. The only sound solution lies in increased revenues from an expanding economy and a drastic restraint in our expenditures. Sacrifices must be made now.

I have laid the facts as I see them before the Congress. The program I have submitted constitutes the first step toward the solution of our fiscal difficulties. I know I can count on the sober and judicious consideration by this Congress of the measures required to implement the execution of this program.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

Message of President Roxas to the Senate on the Agreement Concerning American Military Bases in the Philippines

Especial Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Senate on the Agreement Concerning American Military Bases in the Philippines

[Released on March 17, 1947]

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

I am submitting to the Senate for its concurrence an Agreement between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America concerning military bases. That Agreement was signed on March 14th in Manila by myself on behalf of the Philippine Government and by Ambassador Paul V. McNutt on behalf of the President of the United States.

Although the President of the United States was authorized by Joint Resolution of the United States Congress, to whose provisions I shall refer in detail, to negotiate for and establish these bases without further recourse to Congress, the authority of the President of the Philippines is less clearly defined. I have therefore chosen to consider that concurrence by the Philippine Senate is necessary to effectuate, on the part of the Philippine Government, the provisions of this Agreement, just as if it were a treaty.

This Agreement has its basis in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, as amended. That Act, in section 10, provided for the retention of American naval reservations and fueling stations in the Philippines after independence. The Filipino people in 1934, in approving the Tydings-McDuffie Act, expressed their willingness that American defense establishments be located on Philippine soil after independence.

In 1943, the Commonwealth Government-in-Exile held a series of conversations with officials of the United States Government regarding the liberation of the Philippines, the possible advancement of the date of independence following liberation, and the military relations between the Philippine Republic and the United States after independence. Our Government at that time, recognizing the new world conditions which had arisen and the total nature of warfare that had been demonstrated, expressed its conformity with the expansion of the scope of military cooperation between the two countries after independence to provide for the establishment and maintenance here of bases of the Army, Navy and the Air Force. That arrangement was incorporated and implemented by a Joint Resolution of the United States Congress approved by the President of the United States on June 29, 1944. That Resolution provided,

"WHEREAS the Government of the United States has solemnly guaranteed to the people of the Philippine Islands the right to be completely free and independent . . . and because of the long and unbroken record of loyalty of the Filipino people both to the cause of complete independence for themselves and to the sovereignty of the United States while they have been under our flag, and because they have abundantly demonstrated their will to independence . . . and because they have abundantly proved their capacity to govern themselves in an enlightened, progressive, and democratic manner . . . Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America that after negotiation with the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines or the President of the Philippine Republic, the President of the United States is hereby authorized, by such means as he finds appropriate, to withhold or to acquire and to retain such bases, necessary appurtenances to such bases, and the rights incident thereto in addition to any provided for by the Act of March 24, 1934 (Philippine Independence Act), as he may deem necessary for the mutual protection of the Philippine Islands and of the United States."

In effect, this Joint Resolution amended the Tydings-McDuffie Act in three major respects: (1) it provided for the establishment of army and air bases here after independence, in addition to the naval bases already provided for; (2) it did not limit army or navy bases to reservations already existing; and (3) it gave the President of the United States

authority to establish such bases, unilaterally if he so chose. I shall discuss this third point in detail further on in this message.

The Philippine Congress, by joint resolution by unanimous vote on July 28, 1945, adhered to the policy and program set forth in the Joint Resolution of the United States Congress. The pertinent provisions of the Philippine resolution follow:

"WHEREAS such action by the Congress of the United States, concurred in by the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines then established in Washington, marks a new era in Philippine-American relationship, whereas it binds the ties of friendship and mutual interest existing between the two countries stronger and closer than ever and insures, not only the permanence of Philippine independence and the security of the United States, but also the peace and tranquility in the Pacific area . . . Resolved that the Congress of the Philippines adheres to the policy and intent of Joint Resolution 93 (of the United States Congress) which it considers as an acknowledgment by the people of the United States of the heroic role of the Filipino people in this war, and that it recognizes in this action of the Congress the noble purpose of the American nation to make permanent in the Philippines the blessings of peace, liberty, and democracy . . . Resolved, finally, that in order to speedily effectuate the policy declared by the Congress of the United States and approved by the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, the President of the Philippines be authorized to negotiate with the President of the United States the establishment of the aforesaid bases, so as to insure the territorial integrity of the Philippines, the mutual protection of the Philippines and the United States, and the maintenance of peace in the Pacific."

It is to be noted that the United States Congress authorized the President of the United States, after negotiation with the President of the Philippines, "to withhold or to acquire and to retain such bases, necessary appurtenances to such bases, and the rights incident thereto" as he might deem in his judgment necessary for the purposes set forth in the Act, which were chiefly to provide for the- mutual protection of the two countries. It would seem that the President of the United States was authorized to retain or to acquire even by unilateral action such bases as were desired. The resolution directed the President of the United States to negotiate, but it did not bind him to observe the results of those negotiations.

The Philippine Congress, in its Joint Resolution, endorsed completely "the policy and intent of Joint Resolution No. 93 (of the United States Congress)", and authorized the President of the Philippines to carry on the negotiations mentioned in the American Joint Resolution. The Philippine resolution, which was sponsored by the leaders of what is now the minority party, placed no limitation and raised no barrier to the authority of the United States President to establish bases here. Rather the Resolution gave the full support and endorsement of the Philippine Congress and President to the program of the United States Government for the establishment of bases here for mutual protection.

If we will recall to our minds our sentiments and thoughts of two years ago, we will remember that we greeted the decision of the United States to establish bases in the Philippines with pledges of complete cooperation. There was no feeling of being imposed upon. We did not feel that any infringement of our forthcoming sovereignty was involved. We recognized that the purpose of the bases was to protect our sovereignty, a protection which would be furnished by American forces in a degree and in a manner of which we ourselves were incapable. We reasoned at the time, that as long as we were to have naval bases and fueling stations here, we should welcome a more elaborate military establishment to serve as a true guarantee of our security and national integrity. Naturally such an arrangement would be impossible with any other country. We would not dream of it; we could not conceive it. It was only the very unique relationship between our country and the nation which was about to grant us independence and which had liberated us that permitted the base arrangement. That arrangement was not at all inconsistent with our independence.

Moreover, whereas the Tydings-McDuffie Act did not in any way commit the United States to use its bases in the Philippines for our defense, the Joint Resolution of the American Congress of June, 1944, took cognizance of our war-time association and pledged the use of American military facilities in the Philippines for our mutual protection. This was the vital part, for us, of this entire development. It was an historic departure from past policy, as set forth in the Independence Act. The present base agreement is a happy outgrowth of that change.

The United States Joint Resolution did, it is true, impose a possibly unilateral decision as to the exact location of bases upon us. The Philippine Congress accepted that possibility. But the United States Government, despite that resolution, chose to overlook the grant of unilateral authority. The United States Government, instead, sought complete and mutual agreement with us, interpreting the mandate for negotiations to be a mandate to reach a mutually acceptable agreement on every aspect of the base arrangement. This is another instance of high-minded American policy with regard to us, a policy inspired by a desire to respect our independence, to treat us as an equal among equals, and to accord us the dignity that is our sovereign right.

In May, 1946, when I was in the United States as President-elect, I held the first informal conferences with representatives of the United States Army and Navy with regard to the implementation of our mutual defense commitments.

There was of record, a fact of which I had not been aware, a statement of principles signed on May 14, 1945, by both President Osmeña and President Truman, naming some 19 provinces in which military establishments would be considered for location. Most of these were areas in which American military and naval establishments had not been located before the war.

The Joint Resolutions provided, as I have said, for negotiations. I believed it my duty, when I became President, to proceed with these negotiations without delay. For one thing, there was the world situation which indicated the emergent necessity of insuring our national defense. A second consideration was our prominent position in the United Nations, a position which made us extremely anxious to cooperate in measures designed to advance the security of all peoples in this part of the world. I deemed the bases arrangement with the United States such a measure.

The American Government prepared a draft of a proposed agreement, a draft based on what military experts felt at the time represented essential requirements for the mutual protection of the Philippines and of the United States. American naval and military power, of course, was well established throughout the Pacific. Okinawa was a major base for both the Army and the Navy. The occupation of Japan by American forces was a primary mission of the American armed forces. Supplementary bases to support that occupation were and are scattered throughout the western Pacific. American bases in the Philippines were an essential part of the chain of defense outposts in the Pacific. But at all times, the chief motive for the location of American military establishments in the Philippines was for the protection of our country.

Shortly after the proclamation of independence, negotiations for these bases were formally begun. United States Ambassador Paul V. McNutt was authorized by the President of the United States to conduct negotiations on behalf of his Government.

In view of the tremendous import for this country of these negotiations, I decided that our negotiators must broadly represent the best talents available and the widest cross-section of all viewpoints. I requested Vice-President Quirino, in his capacity as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to take complete charge of the negotiations, and appointed as his advisers and consultants a committee composed of the Secretary of National Defense, the Secretary of Justice, four eminent members of the Senate who are members of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and members of the General Staff of the Philippine Army. Members of the Senate, Senators Francisco, Sebastian, Pendatun and Cabili, represented both political parties. I was determined, as I have frequently told the nation, that matters of national defense and foreign policy must be decided and carried out without regard to partisan considerations. This is especially necessary during the first years of our existence as a free Republic.

The members of this committee were more than mere advisers to the Vice-President. They participated in the negotiations, formed subcommittees for the drafting and revision of various portions of the Agreement, and conducted independent studies on many aspects of the Agreement, legal and otherwise, which arose from time to time. Individual members of the committee made visits to the various areas where bases were proposed to be established and interviewed inhabitants of the vicinity and ascertained their sentiments on the matter.

Our committee held frequent and prolonged sessions with the American negotiators, extending over many weeks. Every paragraph, every sentence and every phrase were gone over, scrutinized and discussed. From time to time I was consulted concerning matters of vital policy involved in the negotiations. But in a major sense, this Agreement is the result of the work of the negotiating committee headed by Vice-President Quirino. The final draft of this Agreement was recommended to me and had the approval of Vice-President Quirino and the four Senators who were members of the negotiating committee, as well as of the committee itself. The great credit that is due for the successful conclusion of this Agreement is due to our negotiators, for their skill, patience and industry. Never has there been a finer example of a democratic, non-partisan, non-political approach to a vital national problem. Members of this committee gave unselfishly of their time and energy. All of them had other concerns and other assignments. They devoted days and weeks to these negotiations. I am proud of their achievement and contributions.

The course of the negotiations was abundantly reported in the press. There were some few complaints that these negotiations were conducted in secret, behind closed doors. Nevertheless there was a concerted and, in large measure, a successful effort to give the public a full idea of what was going on.

Our negotiators from the very beginning took the attitude that no military bases should be maintained by the United States Government in centers of large population, and certainly not in Manila. It might have been a breeding ground for friction and misunderstanding. This position conflicted sharply with the plans and program of the United States Army in the Philippines. The United States naturally wished to fulfill her mission and discharge her obligations here with the least possible outlay of new expenditures. Not having conceived that there would be objection to the establishment of bases in the Manila area, the Army had gone far in the preparation of its plans and in actual construction projects, with Manila as the center of the network of defense establishments. A joint Army-Navy headquarters, in addition to already existing establishments, was projected for Manila. We, for our part, were adamant against the establishment of bases in the metropolitan area.

To resolve tins difficulty, which was more practical than political or military, Ambassador Elizalde took to Washington a set of instructions covering in detail our views and the justifications for them. Those views were conveyed to officials in the American capital. U. S. Ambassador Paul V. McNutt, as a friend of the Philippines, voluntarily undertook a three-week mission to Washington in order to clarify this situation. The result of these representations was successful and gave rise to the Agreement submitted to you today.

I am happy to report that in this Agreement, every major point and every objection we made has been met, either totally or by a reasonable compromise. Never did any viewpoint or any request of ours fail to receive full and sympathetic consideration.

The Agreement, as it stands today, is in many major respects different from the original draft. The entire American military program here has been overhauled. Some contracts have been cancelled or modified and every manner of adjustment made to meet our needs. American logistics undertakings in the Pacific, based on the use of Nichols Field, for instance, have been modified to meet the new situation under which Nichols Field will be turned over to the Philippine Government. The American Commanding General, historically headquartered at Fort McKinley, will transfer to Fort Stotsenburg. Everything is being done to grant us our wish that American military personnel and establishments be removed from the Manila area and from other centers of population. I am happy that this matter was satisfactorily resolved. I am personally opposed to the location of military units in the national capital. I am taking steps to remove even the installations of the Philippine Army from this immediate area.

The matter of jurisdiction was one of the knottier problems we faced. It is a fundamental doctrine in the armed services that a Commanding Officer must have complete control of his troops, especially in the matter of discipline. The very existence of an armed force depends on that general requirement. Nevertheless, we faced a situation in which these American troops were to be established on Philippine soil. The jurisdiction of our courts and of our laws had to be maintained. After long and intensive study, a formula was worked out which, I feel, will be eminently satisfactory in meeting both requirements of the military and the essential dignity of our own sovereign jurisdiction. I think the arrangements we have made in this matter are a happy compromise of the major requirements that had to be met.

The text of the Agreement contains a list of the bases by title and purpose, and there is a specific understanding of the area involved in each case. A description of the bases by metes and bounds, however, will be made by subsequent agreement between the two Governments, following surveys to be conducted by technical representatives of both Governments.

There are two annexes to the Agreement. The first contains a list of the bases to be currently maintained and developed. The second contains a list of possible bases which might be developed if the military situation requires it, after further arrangements between the Philippine Government and the United States. The first annex, then, is the one actually in effect.

There are in Annex A sixteen separate listings; but of these, one consists of scattered communications facilities; three consist of minute areas for installations of aids to navigation; one, of a minor coast guard station; one, of a radio station; one, of a naval anchorage; one, of a military cemetery; and one, of a leave and recreation center for military personnel. There are only seven listings of actual operational military bases, in the accepted meaning of the word. Three of these, in Pampanga, are contiguous, constituting one actual base for the army and the air force. This area, in the vicinity of San Fernando and Angeles, will probably contain all the army field forces in the Philippines, providing an almost total concentration in a circumscribed area. Army headquarters will be located at Fort Stotsenburg, and all the activities of the U. S. Army will be in that area, including an air force installation, a protecting ground combat force, and a supply depot.

The Navy will retain its base at Subic Bay including the adjoining naval reservation at Olongapo, a naval air station at Sangley Point, Cavite, an anchorage at Tawi-Tawi in Jolo, and the fleet and air base in the Leyte-Samar confluence in the vicinity of Guiuan, Samar.

All the other areas presently occupied by the Army and Navy are not considered bases but as temporary installations, which, within a period of two years, must be vacated. I am assured by American military officials that most of these temporary installations will be vacated and made available for government and private use, according to title, in a much shorter time than that.

The port facilities in the Manila area to be utilized by the Army and Navy are limited to the area established for such purposes in 1941, and will be considered, for purposes of jurisdiction, a temporary installation, and not a base. It is provided that the United States armed forces may continue to use these port facilities until such a time as other arrangements can be made, by agreement between the two Governments.

This Agreement sets forth a definitive list of all areas that will be used for military purposes by the United States. All other areas of the pre-war military and naval reservations of the United States now revert to the Philippine Government.

The number of American military establishments to be maintained in the Philippines for strictly military purposes is few, and meets only the minimum requirements of our mutual protection. The bases are concentrated in area so as to interfere as little as possible with the civilian activities and undertakings of the nation. In each case, I have caused to be consulted the civilians living in those areas, and have been assured that the retention of the American military establishments is desired by the civilian residents. In fact, the residents of a number of areas which the American Army and Navy are abandoning as military installations have petitioned the Government to induce the U. S. Army and Navy to stay on. I do not think that there is any complaint from our own people on this score.

Other provisions of the Agreement consist of exact descriptions of the status to be held by American armed forces with regard to taxation, customs, immigration, and civil liability. The rights of the Philippine Government within the bases, as to mineral resources, for instance, are clearly set forth. In all respects, except as to jurisdiction over offenses committed within the bases, the laws of the Philippine Republic will obtain in these areas. In no true aspect is extraterritoriality indicated or authorized. There is also a provision permitting the voluntary enlistment of Philippine citizens in the American armed forces, and permitting the armed forces, after such enlistments, to have jurisdiction over these citizens. The number of such enlistments to be accepted is to be limited by agreement between the two Governments.

The term of the Agreement is for 99 years, subject to such extensions as may be made by mutual agreement between the two Governments.

I should like at this point to quote the statement of Acting United States Secretary of State Acheson on behalf of the Government of the United States, on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement. That statement, defining the American policy, is our assurance that the mission of the American troops here is for our protection, for the protection of our mutual interests, and the advancement of the purposes of the United Nations. I quote now from that statement:

"Three weeks after Pearl Harbor, when American and Filipino soldiers were fighting shoulder to shoulder against the Japanese aggressor, President Roosevelt crystallized the sentiment of the American people in a pledge: I give to the people of the Philippines my solemn pledge that their freedom will j be redeemed and their independence established and protected.'

"Since then that freedom has been redeemed and the independence firmly established. Today an essential step has been taken concerning the last part of the pledge with the signature in Manila of an agreement establishing United States rights to the use of a small number of military bases in the Philippines.

"This agreement is based upon the primary concern and desire of the two Governments to make suitable arrangements for mutual protection, as specifically authorized by the two Congresses in joint resolutions.

"President Roxas has informed this Government that the Philippine Congress and the Filipino people desire the maintenance of United States bases in the Philippines. The present agreement was accordingly concluded.

"In the negotiations, the two Governments have been constantly guided by the principle of respect for each other's sovereignty, by the mutuality of their interests, by regard for their equality of status as members of the United Nations and by the commitments of both nations to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. As one example the agreement provides that, in the interest of international security, any of the bases may be made available to the Security Council of the United Nations by prior mutual agreement of the United States and the Republic of the Philippines

"In addition to the establishment of bases, the Philippine Government has requested that a small military mission be sent by the United States to give appropriate advice and assistance in defense problems of the Philippines. This Government intends to comply with this request as authorized by the Congress.

"The United States proposed to retain in the Philippines only such armed forces as are required to man the bases and to constitute the military mission. Troops now in the Philippines not required for these purposes will be shifted to other areas to continue support of the occupation of Japan.

"The present agreement will contribute to international security and peace in the Pacific and will supplement such future arrangements for world peace as may be reached under the Security Council of the United Nations."

We have by this Agreement guaranteed our national defense. We have formalized our military ties with the United States for 99 years. We have defined the community of interests which will bind our two peoples for almost a century. I consider this of major benefit to the Philippines. The United States is not given a single privilege here which is not for the common interest of our two countries. The entire arrangement is for mutual protection and for the furtherance of our interest, along with that of the United States, in maintaining peace in this part of the world. We are assured henceforth that no aggressor will lightly undertake to invade us.

The United States has agreed to this arrangement, first, because of her commitments to protect our independence; second, because of our loyalty during the war; third, because of our historical associations; fourth, because of America's great desire that democracy and freedom flourish in this part of the world; and fifth, in order to advance

the great cause of world peace, security, and freedom of which America is a champion today. We are now contributing under this Agreement to that holy cause.

I consider the action which I am asking you to take, namely, the approval of this instrument, the greatest responsibility you have ever been asked to assume. I know you will undertake that responsibility in the humble knowledge that you are dealing with the most vital factors facing our nation, the factors of preservation and security. I urge your earliest concurrence in this Agreement.

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NOTE.—The Senate in its resolution No. 29 of March 26, 1947, concurred in this agreement by which the Philippines pledges 22 bases for the use of the U. S. Armed Forces. Five of these bases are major operating areas, while the rest are for the use of auxiliary forces, and for cemetery and recreation center purposes. In addition, there are 7 areas that were designated as possible bases which may be established should future developments demand.

It may be remembered in this connection that in the 1933 independence bill, otherwise known as the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill, which was passed by the U. S. Congress, the provisions in regard to military bases that the U. S. wanted to retain after independence were among those that made the Philippine Legislature reject that legislation. The present agreement calls for many more bases than were contemplated in 1933. This change of attitude is, of course, due to the last war. Indeed, after the President had affixed his signature to this agreement at 8:30 o'clock p. m. of March 14, 1947, he said that the

"conclusion of this treaty and the execution of its provisions will insure the national defense of our territory and the security of our independence not only for today but for all time to come."

The full text of this statement will be included in a subsequent volume.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Manuel Roxas, Third State of the Nation Address, January 26, 1948

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Congress
On the State of the Nation

[Delivered at Manila on January 26, 1948]

"The Nation on the Road to Prosperity"

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Barely twenty months have passed since you and I took, our oaths of office; only a year and a half since our Republic was inaugurated. The progress we have achieved during that brief period has been described by foreign observers as the only bright opening in the heavy clouds of misery and chaos that ominously gather over the greater portion of the world. The great strides towards social and economic reconstruction we have made cannot be doubted. To do so would be like denying the dawn by merely turning down the lights.

In my first message to the Congress on the state of the nation, I drew a picture–necessarily a dark picture–of the tragic conditions confronting us. Last year I informed you that the crisis had not passed, but that there were hopeful indications of progress ahead. Today, I am glad to report that the crisis has passed, and that our program of rehabilitation is far advanced. Conditions among our people have been ameliorated. There is relative prosperity in our land. By the boldness and resolution, which you showed in immediately grappling with the tremendous problems which we faced, you have rendered eminent and imperishable service to the nation. The people, I am sure, will give you credit for the major part you played in the promotion of their welfare. As for me, I deeply appreciate your cooperation in the past. I trust you will accord me the same cooperation now and in the future.

Properly to appraise the progress of a nation is not an easy task. It is difficult fully to estimate the extent and significance, material and psychological, of the advances made. Many factors producing these results are dynamic in nature and, once set in motion, create a chain of cumulative effects which stimulate activity and progress in many fields.

There are, however, well-known and accepted indices of a nation's life, not unlike the symptoms discoverable through a medical examination of a man's health, that reveal equally unerringly the state of health of a nation. By an objective application of certain tests, we will learn the true state of our nation as well as the progress that has been attained. This I propose to do in this report, as accurately and as frankly as I can, without passion nor the least reluctance to admit organic weaknesses or failures to cure some of our ailments.

For fear of being misunderstood, I wish to state at the outset that we have not yet reached all our goals. We have a long way to travel, requiring wisdom and sturdiness of character and an unshakeable determination to gain the highest summits of security and well-being we crave for the people of our land. This upward climb will never end, for we will always keep on struggling for higher peaks of peace and happiness for us and for all men.

The tests I have mentioned or the questions we must answer, are these:

As to the Form and Stability of Government.-Do we have a government born of the nation's will? Does that government receive acceptance and respect of the whole nation? Is the government functioning in accordance with the Constitution? Is its existence threatened by wide- spread movements either to subvert its foundations or radically to change its basic ideology?

Our present government can easily pass this test. It was established by the will of the people under a Constitution approved by them. It is functioning strictly in accordance with the powers and inhibitions prescribed in that document. Constitutional processes have been completely reestablished. In the past year we have advanced from a state of emergency into the plenitude of constitutional normalcy. Our citizens as well as foreigners living within our gates look upon the present government as the only repository of public authority and are rendering it respect and support. There are no serious popular movements that either weaken or threaten its stability. It is true that we have a group of misguided men in Central Luzon who disturb the nation's peace in their desire to change through force our basic institutions. But the number of these men is so small, and the support they receive from the people so unwilling and so meager that they cannot be considered a threat to the security of the established order.

As to Individual Freedom.-Is the free exercise of individual rights guaranteed to the lowliest citizen of our land? Are we maintaining a free press, untrammelled by censorship or any punitive action of government? Are religious liberty, the right to think and the right to criticize the government, being maintained? Is there purging in the Government? Are there concentration camps where political adversaries of those in power are tortured and liquidated?

My answer to this test is that there is no country in the world today where the people enjoy more individual freedom, especially freedom of the press, of speech and of religion, than the Philippines. We impose no censorship on either the spoken or the written word. As a matter of fact, our efforts to suppress completely dissident elements are necessarily delayed because the government is adhering scrupulously to the limitations of the Constitution intended to safeguard individual rights from the abuses of government. Before the law, the humblest man in this country is the equal of the most powerful. The widest freedom of criticism against the government not only is not curtailed I but is encouraged by those who are in power. The fullest toleration of religious worship exists. Side by side with our Mohammedan brothers and others of varied faiths forgetting religious differences, we are united in a common effort to support and defend the government we ourselves have established. Our courts of justice stand sentinel day and night to prevent the least invasion of individual rights. These courts constitute a coordinate branch of government, independent of the Executive and of the Congress, and are in no manner whatever subservient or answerable to either of them.

How many of the nations of the world today could claim for their people the freedoms that our citizens enjoy? Survey the face of the earth and I am sure you will find that in many countries individual liberty is being directly or indirectly encroached upon, if not entirely denied, and that the lives of citizens are strictly being regimented to sub serve the interest of the State.

In the Philippines we take individual freedom for granted. That is the reason many of us fail to realize the priceless boon we possess. But our memory is short. Only three years ago we lived under a different regime, a regime under which the freedoms that we cherish were refused to us. We were not free citizens then; we were subjects of a tyrannical power that blotted our personal dignity and trampled upon our liberty. Today, we enjoy our liberties to the fullest measure and I thank God that we can now stand and walk erect as free men, the equal of the mightiest on this earth.

As to the Administration of Justice.-Is justice being administered impartially, without fear or favor? Do we maintain a free, honest and independent judiciary? Do we enable our poorest citizen to resort to the courts for the enforcement of his rights or the redress of his grievances?

A judicious answer to these questions is in the affirmative. Our judiciary is competent and honest. We are maintaining the great traditions established under the leadership of the immortal Cayetano Arellano. The courts are free. They are open to all. They are not subservient to any other department of the government. All judicial decisions are respected and enforced. Judges are appointed for life and can only be removed for bad behavior. Here, no judge is answerable to anyone for his decisions rendered in accordance with his conscience. The judiciary is free from politics. Appointments are made on the basis of merit and character. Thus, judges are being appointed from among lawyers belonging to different parties in the confidence that-and this confidence has not been in vain–when a judge sits on his rostrum he will forget politics and personal considerations in the discharge of his sworn duty to do justice to every man. Under the Constitution the enforcement or vindication of individual rights is the chief function of the courts. We will continue to enjoy our liberties so long as we have independent courts and courageous judges who

will relentlessly battle for the preservation of those liberties. We have such courts and such judges today. I trust we will always have them in the future.

As to Peace and Order.-Are the people secure in their lives and property? Does peace and order prevail?

At the beginning of this administration lawlessness and widespread criminality prevailed in practically every province and section of our country. Robberies, kidnappings, and daylight assaults on passenger or cargo buses and trucks as well as trains, were practically daily occurrences. Today complete peace and order exists in 90 per cent of our national territory. More than 200 thousand firearms, have been surrendered or captured since our assumption of the people's trust. This alone is a great achievement. True, in a few sections of Central and Southern Luzon roving bands of bandits and communist-led groups who have defied the government still remain, but their activities are now confined to distant barrios. Our peace officers, principally the Constabulary, are giving them neither rest nor quarter. The efforts to apprehend them will be intensified. We can no longer compromise with these men. Any efforts at appeasement will just encourage them to continue their criminal activities. They are using force. We have to meet them with force. They are not fighting for social reforms. Their most important demands have already been met. Now we know their aim is one and definitive–to gain power through. For whatever measures the government may take m the direction of a more rapid amelioration of the economic and social conditions of the tenants whom they pretend to champion-which improvement of conditions, I know, is your great desire as well as mine–will prove futile and in vain toward making these, enemies of the law come to reason. These elements would continue with their criminal designs until they succeed in wresting the reins of government from the lawfully elected representatives of the people. Their loyalty is not to the Philippines. Their ambition is not to promote the interest of a social group. That is a camouflage, for the tenants whose interest they claim to defend are the very victims of their depredations and atrocities: The pattern of their operations is too familiar to deceive anyone. It is the same pattern used in other countries by groups boring from within to undermine democratic institutions. Their methods are to create social disorder, confusion and chaos, to obstruct national progress, to produce shortages of food and other necessities, to foster widespread discontent and to drive the people to a state of desperation.

They will not succeed in our land. Their numbers are few and rapidly dwindling. If their aims were noble and sincere, why did they have to go underground to defy the government and resort to force? Has the government done anything which would give them the least reason to fear that under our democracy they would be prevented from laboring for the social reforms which they are supposedly to have in mind? They can find no reason for harboring such fear. There is no reform, social or political, which cannot be peacefully secured under our domestic institutions, if it is supported by a majority of the people. Were they men of patriotism and noble ambitions, they should have the courage to return to the processes of the law and face trial before the courts of our land for the crimes they have committed. But as long as they continue defying the government, trying to destroy our every effort to promote the strength and the glory of this Republic and to insure the happiness of our people, we must look upon them as the enemies of our nation. We must deal with them as such. We shall endeavor with all the means at our command to bring them to justice and wipe out to the last vestige every attempt to overthrow our free institutions or disturb the peace in our land.

As to National Defense.-Are we secure from outside aggression?

No country in the world, not even the most powerful, can set up a system of national defense which would in itself be adequate to withstand any possible attack. The adequacy of defense is always relative, depending upon the combined strength of the attacking forces. We can never hope to establish a defensive system that will be theoretically impregnable. Our best security is in the success of the plans and efforts of the United Nations organization for the maintenance of world peace. We are actively cooperating with such program. Our representative in that organization has gained for himself and for our nation world recognition as champions of peace and the freedom of subject peoples.

But we have not relied exclusively upon the United Nations for the security of our country. That organization is still in its infancy and we do not know whether it will succeed in gaining the necessary strength to impose peace on the world. We have, therefore, bent every energy to build up a system of defense upon which we may rely in the event–which we hope will not happen–that the United Nations should fail to achieve its aims. We cannot forget the terrible ordeal we underwent during the past war. We must be resolved to avoid a repetition of that experience. To this end

we have concluded a treaty with the United States of America for the establishment of American military and naval bases in the Philippines for the common protection of our two countries. We are also maintaining a small military force to consist ultimately of not more than 17,000 men, including the army, the air force, and the naval patrol, which will serve as the nucleus and rallying center of our citizen army which will gradually be built up to a strength capable of denying our shores to an invader. In addition to our armed forces, will maintain a well-trained and well-equipped Constabulary with a strength of around 12,000 men. At present these two forces number 35,000 men.

This year, we shall resume military training of our citizens. By June we shall begin training 3,000 men. This number will be gradually increased, as fast as we can provide the necessary facilities for the trainees, until we reach a rate of 12,000 men a year. The purpose of this program is to give us, after a course of years, a citizen army that will be subject to call in an emergency with a strength totaling eight divisions and an adequate number of trained pilots and ground crews to man and service our combat and transport planes. The ROTC training in the universities and colleges is proceeding in accordance with approved plans. We have now in stock sufficient weapons and ammunition including rolling stock for present needs.

This military blueprint has been formulated in accordance with plans adopted with the advice of the United States Military Advisory Group assigned to us upon our request. This mission is also planning the training program of our reserves.

The cost of our military establishment represents a substantial percentage of our national revenues. It is a great drain on our resources. The expenditure will have to be increased when the training program starts. But much as we dislike to spend such a large sum for an unproductive activity as the Army is, we cannot neglect this minimum requirement for our defense.

With the effectuation of our defense program, and pro- vided we continue maintaining our close and friendly relations with the United States and carefully adhere to the terms of the Treaty on Military Bases, it is my considered judgment that we can be reasonably confident of our national security.

As to Foreign Relations.-Do we maintain friendly relations with other countries? Are we complying with our international obligations and commitments?

It is most gratifying for me to report that our Republic, so recently inaugurated, now counts upon the actual or implied recognition of more than 50 nations. And we are enjoying the friendship of all of them. We have already concluded treaties of amity with the United States of America, China, France, Italy, and Spain, and have signed 27 other treaties and agreements with different countries. Most of these treaties are with the United States, involving military bases, trade relations, air agreements, a consular convention, conciliation, surplus property and property formerly owned by enemy nationals. Presently, we are discussing commercial treaties with a number of other powers.

I am also happy to report that we do not face any existing difficulty or misunderstanding with other countries. We have given them no cause for complaint. We have no grievance or dispute with any of them. I trust this happy situation will continue.

We are fulfilling to the letter all our international obligations. We are complying with every commitment we have made. Our prestige and credit abroad is growing every day.

We are participating actively in many international organizations, in addition to our membership in the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are now members of the Trusteeship Council, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Commission on Human Rights, the Sub-commission on Freedom of Information and the Press, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the International Trade Organization, the International Labor Organization, and, recently, the Korean and the Palestine Commissions. This is a great privilege for a young and small country such as ours. I believe sincerely that this recognition is due to the fact that our Republic during its short existence has gained the respect and confidence of

the nations of the world. I am happy to state that this achievement has been accomplished in large measure through the good-will tour around the world of the Vice-President and to his brilliant leadership in our foreign affairs.

Our relations with the United States remain on a most cordial and friendly basis. The American Government is giving every evidence of its continued interest in our welfare. We appreciate the cooperative spirit of United States Ambassador Emmet O'Neal, and the heads of the Armed Forces and other agencies of the American Government. We have every assurance of a sympathetic consideration by the American Congress and the American Government of all questions affecting the Philippines. Our Ambassador in Washington undoubtedly deserves high credit for the maintenance of these close and cordial relations. He is representing our government with great dignity and ability. I do not know who could do better. I have great confidence that he will be able to obtain favorable action on many of our requests pending in Washington, such as those for loans for economic reconstruction and industrial development, veterans' legislation and other important matters.

The fact that Baguio is gaining favor as the seat of international conferences is indicative of the worldwide interest in Philippine affairs, and of friendliness toward our people.

As to Our Financial Position.-Is the government maintaining a reasonably adequate fiscal position ? Are our government revenues increasing at a rate which gives hope that within a reasonably short period we shall be able to finance all our ordinary expenditures with current revenues and thereby balance our budget? Is the Government meeting its financial obligations in accordance with its commitments?

One of the greatest accomplishments of this Republic during the past twenty months is the marked improvement of the financial position of our government. When we took office, we found the government groaning under a large deficit. At that time revenue collections were proceeding only at the rate of around 57 million pesos a year. The appropriation expenditures totalled 228 million pesos. You will recall that immediately upon my inauguration, I appeared before you to apprise you of the precarious situation of the treasury. I recommended to you the approval of certain tax measures and a budgetary loan from the United States. Your ready support of my recommendations tided us over that critical period. The United States Government, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, granted us a loan amounting to 140 million pesos. When I was assured of an upward trend in revenue collections, we paid back 20 million pesos of this loan shortly after it had been granted. This action gained for us the confidence of our creditors and greatly enhanced our credit.

On August 5, 1946, I informed the Congress that our estimated general fund income for the fiscal year 1946-1947 was 75.5 million pesos. This estimate was subsequently revised upwards. Actual collections reached 170 million pesos. I must mention that in addition there was also received 62 million pesos from extraordinary sources and from reversions from special funds, together with approximately 39 million pesos collected for apportionment to the local governments and for accrual to special funds ear- marked by law for specific purposes.

On June 30, 1947, the general fund registered a surplus of 64.4 million pesos, largely because of the improved collections and the 120-million-peso loan we received from the United States.

For the current fiscal year the general fund revenue collections have been estimated at 180 million pesos. This amount does not include internal revenue collections to be apportioned to local governments, those accruing to special funds and the like. It is now the belief of the Department of Finance that the general fund collections will reach as high as 210 million pesos.

Despite this great and rapid increase in collections, how- ever, our yearly revenues are not yet sufficient to cover the total appropriations for the ordinary expenditures which you have approved. This we must endeavor to accomplish during the next fiscal year. I ask you to consider the tax measures recommended by the National Economic Council and the Joint Financial Commission. At the same time I urge you to practice the severest economy in the approval of appropriations. We must adopt a firm determination to raise our general fund revenues to around 275 million pesos. We must equally be resolved to confine our over-all expenditures chargeable to that fund strictly within that amount. Should we be able to do this, and I am convinced it can be done without sacrificing indispensable services, we shall have balanced our budget and achieved what is considered almost a miracle during this post-war period.

Considerable progress has also been made in the fiscal rehabilitation of the local governments. Upon the reconstitution of the Commonwealth, it was inevitable that local governments should be assisted in their initial operating needs. In 1946, the National Government gave 32 million pesos to local governments to meet their ordinary operating expenses. Such aid, however, was intended to be temporary, to last only until these governments could completely be reestablished. When this was accomplished, I asked the provinces, chartered cities and municipalities to intensify the collection of their revenues. There was need of adopting a graduated program of diminishing reliance upon the National Government for ordinary operating expenses. Fiscal recovery was thus given definite direction and objective. In 1947, only a little over 13 million pesos was required for the purpose. For 1948, five million pesos has been appropriated to provide for assistance where it may still be needed in special provinces and in those heavily devastated by the war. Today, with the exception of ten provinces and one chartered city, local governments have registered surpluses in their general fund and other accounts.

While we are making these long strides towards fiscal rehabilitation, we are not neglecting either our public debt or our other contractual obligations. We are rapidly paying in full treasury vouchers issued and contractual commitments made before the war. We have set aside funds for the liquidation of legally issued Philippine National Bank notes. I am just awaiting legislative authority to redeem those notes. We have 30 million pesos earmarked for the, redemption of guerrilla currencies. The registration of these issues as required by the Congress is about to be completed. At an early date I will be able to submit to you the report of the Registration Committee for your consideration. We also have 10 million pesos set aside for the redemption of the emergency currency issued at the inception of the last war.

Our net outstanding indebtedness for bonds floated both within and without the Philippines amounted to P62,964;649.98 as of June 30,1947. This total is the difference between their original face value of P124,507,000 and the accumulated sinking funds provided for their redemption which on the same date amounted to P61,542,350.02.

Out of this net bonded debt of P62,964,649.98, P53,112,214.75 pertains to bonds sold prior to May 1, 1934. Under Section 6(g)-(4) of the Philippine Independence Act, the Philippine Government was required to pay to the United States Treasury on July 4, 1946, the full amount of the outstanding bonds issued prior to May 1, 1934. This requirement could not be complied with, considering the situation of our treasury on the date of our independence. We were even in arrears in the payment of the sinking funds for said bonds, although we were up-to-date in the payment of the interest, the same having been continued during the war period without interruption. The arrearages in the sinking fund contributions amounted on June 30, 1947, to P18,007,000.77. That deficiency has since then been remedied by the transfer to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of P10,156,000 worth of investments in bonds of the Financial Interest Protection Bond Fund and of P12,539,500 of United States Treasury bonds held as investments of the general fund to guarantee the safety of pre-war military equipment loaned to the Philippines by the United States, or a total of P22,695,500. We are consequently up-to-date now in the payment of interest and contributions to the sinking funds on our dollar bonds issued prior to May 1, 1934.

With reference to the settlement of the balance of this portion of our bonded debt as required by the Independence Act, I now desire to report to you that the United States Government has generously agreed to give us time for the compliance of this commitment. I have concluded negotiations with the United States Treasury for the full settlement of this account by annual payments which will liquidate both principal and interest accruals thereon not later than January 1, 1952.

We are in arrears in interest and amortizations to sinking funds on our peso bonds which are mostly held in the Philippines. These arrearages amounted as of June 30, 1947, to P2,917,853.45. They will be paid as soon as the moratorium is lifted.

As to Our Monetary System.-Do we have a stable currency, providing a medium of exchange acceptable to other nations of the world?

Our currency is one of our most valuable economic assets. The ready convertibility of the peso to the dollar places the Philippines in a very advantageous position vis-a-vis most other countries of the world. The Philippine peso is

accepted everywhere in terms of the American dollar. The same cannot be said even of the pound sterling, and certainly not of the franc, the peseta, the lira, or the yen. I am, therefore, gratified to report today that the decision you made in approving the Trade Agreement with the United States, whereby you linked the peso to the dollar for a 28-year period, was a decisive factor in bringing us to the level of prosperity and economic and social advancement where we are today. When I recall that your action on this matter was taken in the face of a strong and bitter opposition by certain articulate elements of our population, I am strengthened in my belief that the fate of our nation is secure in your hands.

I cannot urge too strongly upon you the need of maintaining the stability of our currency. It is the cornerstone of our economic structure. I, for one, will do my part in defending it. I can visualize far into the future, twenty-six years hence, when the leaders of our people are called upon to pass on the question, that they will be so profoundly convinced of the benefits the nation has derived from the stability of our present currency that they will doubtless decide to maintain and continue the relationship between the peso and the dollar.

As to Supply of Food and Other Necessities.-Do we suffer from shortages of food, clothing and housing facilities?

There is no shortage, and no rationing of food or of clothing in the Philippines today. I do not expect that shortages will occur in the foreseeable future. As a matter of fact, provided we accelerate further our food production program, we may expect a surplus of some food articles for export.

We have greatly increased our rice production during the last two agricultural years. We assumed office in the face of an acute rice shortage, particularly in the Manila area. We were constrained to resort to rationing. With great difficulty we succeeded in importing sufficient rice to meet our national requirements until the next harvest. We also immediately undertook an intensive food production campaign and granted crop loans to rice producers. Even if the government should fail to collect part of these loans, the resulting losses, if any, would not be large, and the amount not recovered would be but a small price to pay for having prevented starvation and distress among our people. Today, despite the many typhoons and floods that swept our country during the past year, we can rest assured that our population will not suffer from a food shortage. Many areas in our country are now producing rice where rice had never been grown before. The same thing could be said of corn. Vegetables are more abundant and the supply of fish is growing every day. The supply of pork is likewise ample. The production of poultry and eggs is also increasing. True we have a shortage of beef. It is possible that there might be a scarcity of this item in the coming months. But we can import beef and adopt other measures to prevent an acute shortage.

The NARIC today holds a reserve of over a million bags of rice. This is more than sufficient to supply any deficiency that might occur during the next six months. For the second half of this year, we have allocations of rice from abroad which, together with our production, will fully cover our national requirements.

With regard to textiles, we have not only a sufficient supply but even a substantial surplus over present demands.

There is a shortage of housing facilities in Manila and a few other metropolitan centers. This shortage the government is solving, first, by the extension of liberal credit facilities to house builders through the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation; second, by the adoption of a housing program soon to be started, whereby houses for laborers and small-salaried employees will be built and leased at nominal cost. There is no housing shortage in the country at large.

Sufficiency of food supply as well as of clothing and shelter for the masses of our population is another accomplishment we can justly take pride in. No other war-devastated country, and much less countries that were battlefields in the last war and occupied by the enemy, can today boast of a similar situation. There is hunger and starvation in many lands today. We have every reason to be grateful that because of the resourcefulness of our people and the efforts of our government we have succeeded in solving this vital problem.

As to Inflation.-Have we checked inflation and turned the tide towards a gradual deflationary process? Is the purchasing power of the peso commensurate with the world price level? Is the cost of living gradually declining, there- by increasing the purchasing power of wages?

Inflation is a post-war plague depressing the economy of nations and the lives of hundreds of millions of people in the world. Inflation remains unchecked and is in fact growing worse every day in many foreign countries. In our country we are fortunate that we have succeeded not only in arresting inflation but in starting the deflationary trend. This we have done by stimulating increased production and by temporarily encouraging imports which tend to absorb excess purchasing power as fast as possible. While it is necessary that inflation should be controlled, the deflationary process should not be allowed to proceed too rapidly In the same way that we effectively checked inflation, we must do our best to control the speed of deflation. Failure to do so would disrupt our national economy, set back the progress of reconstruction and development, and bring suffering to our people. By the use of effective controls we will avoid this danger. It will be my privilege to submit to you at this session legislative proposals to that end.

The cost of living has gone down considerably during the past year. Statistics show that the cost of food and clothing in the Philippines has dropped 190 per cent (sic) in the price index since 1946, but the cost of living is still three times the pre-war level. This is a most significant achievement. The Philippine Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the National Trading Corporation, now the Philippine Relief and Trade Rehabilitation Administration, the National Cooperatives Administration, and the National Rice and Corn Corporation have contributed in large, measure to the attainment of this result. Profiteering during the periods of shortages of essential commodities was greatly minimized by the intervention of these government agencies. The commandeering of critical articles such as milk, flour and roofing materials was often resorted to in order to prevent an exorbitant rise in their prices. While the cost of living has markedly decreased, wages have been maintained at the previous level. This resulted in the increase of the purchasing power of the wages received, which in the last analysis is equivalent to an increase in the wage-level.

I shall cite just a few figures to prove my assertion that the cost of living has considerably declined since 1946. I shall refer to prices of basic foodstuffs and other commodities as well as to prices of construction and building materials usually considered in determining the index of the cost of living for any nation. The following are the figures:

Jan. 24, Jan. July

1948 1947 1946

Rice, Macan second, per ganta …… P1.28 P1.50 P2.15

Bread, pan de sal …….…… .03 .04 .05

Milk (condensed) , per tin …… .65 1.03 1.40

Milk (evaporated) , per tin ……..…… .37 .40 .40

Beef, kilo …….…… 3.25 3.50 4.00

Pork, kilo …… 1.65 2.00 2.75

Fish, kilo (bañgos) …… 3.20 3.85 5.00

Chicken, per unit …….…… 2.60 3.50 4.00

Eggs, per doz. ……..…… 1.85 2.20 2.95

Sugar (centrifugal, washed), per kilo.…… .45 .70 1.50

Bananas, per l00 …… 2.27 3.75 5.00

Flour, per kilo …… .48 .60 .60

Mongo, per ganta ……..…… 1.45 2.15 2.40

Firewood, per bundle 60″ x 60″ round …… .65 .85 1.05

Sardines, 15 oz. tin ……..…… .43 .73 1.55

Textiles:

Cotton shirts, ready made …… 3.25 5.00 7.50

Vestidos, cotton, per unit …… 2.75 4.25 7.00

Men's shoes, pair ……..…… 14.50 20.20 3.00

Ladiest shoes, pair…… 7.00 9.85 13.75

Lumber, per bd. ft.:

Tangile ……..……26 .34 .53

Lauan ……..……26 .34 .53

Apitong ……..…… .25 .34 .53

Almon …… .23 .30 .48

Nails, 1½ per kilo …… .83 1.35 2.25

Cement, 94-lb. bag ……..…… 3.70 4.70 6.75

Sawale, sq. m. ……..…… 2.95 3.00 4.25

These figures taken from the daily market quotations show convincingly that the deflationary process is well under way without having caused serious disturbances in our economy.

Our efforts should be exerted in the direction of further stimulating deflation at a gradual pace. Living costs are still too high. I trust that with the efforts now employed by the government, implemented by an intensification of agricultural and industrial production, we shall be able in the near future to come to a more satisfactory level of prices.

The lowering of prices has resulted in a higher standard of living of our people. Today, the majority of our countrymen are eating more and better food than in 1946, and I have reasons to believe that the larger portion of our population are eating more and better food now than in 1941 when the war started.

The Philippines is one of the very few countries in the world today where food is not rationed. I believe we shall not find it necessary to do so in the days to come.

As to Labor and Wages.-Are we suffering from acute unemployment? Are laborers receiving a living wage? Are we reasonably free from strikes or other industrial conflicts?

We are still suffering from unemployment. It is not so acute as it was a year and a half-ago but we have not yet succeeded in putting to work all of our available labor supply. There are, however, clear indications of an increase in employment.

Thousands of our countrymen are now working in gainful employment not only in our country but also in some islands of the Pacific. We have about 12,000 laborers in Guam and 1,500 in Saipan. In 1941, our census reveals, 1,347,993 persons were unemployed. Today the estimates of the Bureau of the Census and Statistics show that we have only 1,200,000 unemployed. It is my hope that with the establishment of the proposed new industries and the expansion of our agricultural production, we shall be able to give employment to a large number of our laborers who are now unemployed, at satisfactory wages.

Wages throughout the Philippines have increased about three times the wages before the war. In 1946, the cost of living was so high that the purchasing power of wages did not permit a laborer to acquire with his earnings the same needed commodities which he could purchase in 1941 at the then existing rate. It is thus understandable why laborers were clamoring for higher wages. But there was this difficulty to a sudden and large increase in the wage level-most employers could not pay higher wages and continue profitable operation. There was also the danger that higher wages would discourage new capital investments essential to the creation of opportunities for wider employment.

With the lowering of the cost of living, the condition of the wage earner has been greatly improved. Living costs today average about three times those before the war. The level of wages is also three times the pre-war level. We have, therefore, reached a fair relationship between wages and the cost of living. This gain is vital and should be consolidated and in every way improved in the interest of the workers. One of two things could be done: either bring about a reasonable increase in wages or further reduce living costs. I, for one, favor both these courses that we may secure for all our laborers a decent livelihood.

What I have stated with regard to laborers should be applied to low-salaried employees. Government and business and industry are in duty bound, within the limits of their financial capacity, to increase the earnings of their laborers and low-salaried employees, at least, while the cost of living remains high.

I am glad to inform you that during the past year we did not have serious strikes. Through the intervention of the Department of Labor and the Court of Industrial Relations, industrial conflicts were speedily settled. The Department of Labor alone had settled 72 out of 81 industrial disputes brought to it for conciliation. Nine were endorsed to the Court of Industrial Relations and disposed of by that court. I trust that labor unions will be convinced of the deep sympathy which the government holds for them. They should have an abiding faith that the government will use every effort to gain for them every just and reasonable concession from their employers.

As to the National Income.-Is the national income in- creasing in volume and in value ? How do our imports compare with our exports? Are we maintaining a reason- able equation in our balance of payments? Does a reason-able percentage of the national income go to the formation of capital and is that capital being invested in productive enterprises?

According to government statistics and the estimates made by the Joint Financial Commission, our national income has increased from around 2 billion pesos before the war to over 3 billion pesos today. The volume of our national production, however, is still probably less than pre-war although with the rehabilitation of the sugar industry and some of our mines, which is proceeding at a rapid pace, we may reasonably expect that by the end of this year we will have surpassed our production before the war.

The balance of trade is still against us by a large margin. We buy today over half a billion pesos more than we sell abroad. Although our exports have materially increased since 1946, showing a total of more than P440,000,000 for the year 1947, our imports for the same year have exceeded P1,004,000,000. However, our 1947 export total is around 41 per cent over our exports immediately before the war and 240 per cent over that of 1946. Presently, our unfavorable trade balance is more than covered by payments received from the United States in the form of war damages, veterans' pensions, expenditures of the American Army, Navy, and Air Force. These compensating

payments are not permanent. Some of them will cease within five years. At that time our export trade must meet the cost of our imports. With the expected increase in our exports, to be implemented by legislation which I propose to recommend I to Congress, I am confident we shall be able to narrow down gradually the adverse balance of trade against us.

Under normal conditions, capital formation in a country proceeds at the rate of around 20 per cent of the national income. The figures I have at hand show that this percentage is exceeded in the Philippines today. I also have figures indicating that more than 20 per cent of the national income has been spent in reconstruction and economic development during the past year. This is a sound situation. It shows that economic reconstruction and development is I proceeding at a relatively normal pace.

As to Education and Public Health.-Are we discharging our obligation ordained by the Constitution to provide educational opportunities for our youth? Do we maintain a reasonably efficient system of sanitation throughout the country for the protection of the health of our inhabitants? Are we reasonably free from epidemics and plagues? Do we provide hospitals and medical service to our people?

Before the war, we had two million students in the public schools. Today our enrollment is around three and one-half million. Our expenditures for public education have, risen from 30 million pesos to 65 million pesos. Nevertheless, we have not yet succeeded in providing educational facilities for all children of school age but we are very rapidly approaching that goal. I trust we shall be able to increase our appropriation for the Department of Education in the coming fiscal year. We shall probably have to cope with the problem of financing the opening of around 3,000 more extension classes to accommodate around 240,000 expected additional enrollment. How far we can meet the financial burden that this program entails will largely depend upon the willingness of Congress to approve new tax measures calculated to produce the additional required revenue.

Our sanitary system is functioning efficiently. We have been free of epidemics and plagues during the past year. c :, At the same time we are systematically eradicating malaria ,!~ and waging a more intensive campaign against tuberculosis. II; We have created a new Bureau of Hospitals for the purpose of better coordinating the functions and raising the efficiency of our city and provincial hospitals. During the fiscal year 1946-1947, we administered 1,824,240 treatments in our dispensaries. There is still much to be done in connection with these services but I believe we are moving in the right direction. Our aim is ultimately to provide hospital facilities to the people of every province and municipality in our country.

As to the Veterans.-Are we taking care of the heroic veterans of the war and the widows and orphans of our dead soldiers to the limit of our resources ?

Yes, we are. We cannot afford to neglect the men who fought and the families of those who died for our country during the darkest period of our history.

We continue to pay pensions to our veterans of the Revolution. A larger number of veterans are now receiving pensions than before the war.

As to the veterans of the last World War, we are taking care of the disabled and many of those who need hospitalization. We are also giving educational benefits to veterans who have chosen to enroll in public or private schools, universities and colleges. We are paying to the widows of our dead soldiers ’50 a month and in addition ’10 for each child. We are now paying tuition fees for over 10,000 veterans. We are now giving pensions to more than 20,000. widows and orphans and indigent parents. We care for about 1,000 disabled and sick soldiers. These expenditures amount to approximately ‘800,000 a month. Our total expenditures for the Philippine Veterans Board will amount to around 12 million pesos this year. I trust that very soon the major part of these expenditures will be taken over by the U. S. Veterans Administration. I feel that we are doing the best we can within the limit of our resources for the welfare of the veterans of the last war.

As to Substantive Law.-Are we revising our substantive laws, especially our Codes, to insure that they are in harmony with Filipino customs and with present-day tendencies?

Last March I created a Code Commission to revise our old codes and to draft new codes of substantive law that will be more in conformity with Filipino customs, the modern trends in legislation, and the progressive principles of law. The Commission commenced the preparation of the Civil Code on May 8, and finished this most difficult task on December 15, 1947. The printing of the draft is about to be completed. As soon as this draft and the report of the Commission explaining the philosophy of the suggested reforms are printed, I will present them to the Congress. I take the liberty of recommending that you hold public hearings on this great piece of legislation to stimulate the widest possible discussion of its provisions.

I have reasons to expect that the Commission will be able to finish another code-the Penal Code-in time for submission to you at your regular session next year. The proposed Commercial Code will be completed before June 30, 1949. The Commission deserves high commendation for the speed in the performance of its delicate tasks.

As to Other Indices of Progress.-Bank deposits have more than doubled in comparison with pre-war figures. As of June 30, 1941, bank deposits in the Philippines amounted to P228,512,000. As of December 27, 1947, bank deposits reached P566,116,000. Bank loans as of June 30, 1941, amounted to P213,601,000. As of December 27, 1947, bank loans totalled P349,470,000.

Life insurance policies, exclusive of the Government Service Insurance System, issued during 1940, had a total value of P42,161,309. For the year 1946, the total value of insurance policies issued was P106,639,050. I am informed that the present total value of life insurance policies is over 130 million pesos.

Government expenditures for public works during the past year, including expenditures of United States funds for rehabilitation of public buildings, roads and port facilities, total approximately 125 million pesos.

Building construction costs in Manila and in the provinces, including rehabilitation of factories, mines and agricultural facilities. are estimated at more than 300 million pesos. The official records in Manila alone show an expenditure of P73,907,248 during the year 1947. The number of motor vehicles registered as of November, 1947, totalled 73,562 compared to less than 50,000 in 1941.

The number of passengers and the amount of freight carried by the Manila Railroad are much less than the pre-war totals. But the rolling stock of the line when it ” was returned to us by the United States Army in February, 1946, was only 40 per cent of its pre-war number. Today 60 per cent of the pre-war trackage has been rehabilitated. The passengers and freight carried by the railroad in 1947 were almost double the 1946 figures. The number of Filipino citizens and companies now engaged in the retail trade has already surpassed the pre- war figures. In 1941 there were 50,771. During the year 1947 Filipino nationals duly licensed to engage in the retail trade numbered 55,207. It is believed that the figure for this year is much larger.

Air passengers, embarking and disembarking in Manila, both for local and foreign trips, have increased a hundred-fold since 1941.

The creation of the Manila International Airport by executive order became imperative because of this ever-increasing international air traffic. The United States Government has already returned to us the airport at Nichols Field. It is our hope make Manila the hub of air transportation in the Far East.

There are perhaps less important items that could be, considered to show the progress which the Republic has achieved during the past twenty months. Those that have been mentioned, however, are sufficient to convince any i; intelligent and impartial student of the reality and extent of that progress.

Should we apply these tests to actual conditions in four- fifths of the nations of the world, despite the tremendous financial and material aids that have already been given to them, we will find, I am certain, convincing evidence of the unparalleled progress we have made since liberation. The statesmen of the world have now come to the conclusion that unless more and greater aid and assistance is given to them, the peace of the earth would be disturbed because the peoples of those nations would undergo acute human suffering. On our part, we have endeavored to solve, and I believe we have succeeded in solving, most of our difficulties and problems through our

own efforts and sacrifices. It is true we have received some assistance from the United States of America; but it cannot be denied that if .we have succeeded at all, it is mainly because of the fortitude shown by our people under the calamitous circumstances from which we have emerged.

I shall not attempt to burden you further with a detailed report of the activities of the different departments of our j government. I have already referred to them in many respects in the course of my exposition of our present t conditions. These reports are available to you upon your request.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to accelerate further our rehabilitation, to expand our productivity, to strengthen our fiscal position, and to develop our national economy, I shall now enumerate the legislative proposals which I earnestly recommend to you for consideration at this session. I shall not undertake to explain these proposals in detail. I shall take the liberty of submitting them to you in separate messages.

The measures I recommend are the following:

1. An Act establishing the Central Bank, defining its powers in the administration of the monetary system, amending the corresponding provisions of the Administrative Code, and for other purposes.

2. A law granting to the President, under such conditions as the Congress may impose, authority to control imports and to increase or decrease from time to time the sales tax on luxuries, semi-luxuries and non-essential commodities up to 100 per cent of the present rates, but in no case to be less than the rates now imposed. This measure is intended to raise revenue, conserve our dollar exchange resources, and to channel surplus purchasing power towards productive investments.

3. A law appropriating the proceeds of certain loans which the government may obtain, to finance the construction of specific hydro-electric power projects, and a fertilizer plant.

4. A law providing for the redemption of:

(a) Philippine National Bank notes legally issued and now outstanding, and providing for the registration of Philippine National Bank notes issued illegally by the enemy.

(b) Emergency notes legally authorized by the Philippine Government at the beginning of the war; and

(c) Duly authorized guerrilla currency in circulation at a fixed percentage or fixed value, not to exceed a total outlay of P30,000,000.

5. A law authorizing the President of the Philippines to obtain from the Central Bank funds for certain purposes specifically authorized by law when, in the opinion of the Bank, the existing exchange reserves are in excess of foreseeable demands to cover the balance of payments of the nation.

6. A law fixing the site of the Capitol and the offices of the National Government, authorizing the expropriation of

private lands to be included in that site, and appropriating the necessary funds for the payment of the value of such lands, the development of the site and the construction of the buildings thereon.

7. The enactment of the Civil Code prepared by the Code Commission.

8. A law to authorize the Bureau of Lands to subdivide United States military reservations returned to the Philippine Government and to sell the same in small lots, giving priority to present bona fide occupants of such lands and

to war veterans at prices approved by the President, except such portions as may be reserved by the President for the use of the national or local governments.

9. A law amending Republic Act No.8 authorizing the Bureau of Lands, the National Abaca and Other Fibers Corporation or such other agencies of the government as the President may designate, to subdivide agricultural and residential lands formerly belonging to enemy nationals and which have been transferred to the Philippine Government, except such portions as the President may reserve for the use of the national or local governments, and to sell such lands in small lots at prices approved by the President, giving priority to veterans, including members of the USAFFE, recognized guerrillas, and unrecognized but deserving members of guerrilla organizations.

10. A law appropriating the necessary funds for a new census.

11. A law authorizing the creation of a public corporation to administer the international airport as well as the other commercial airfields throughout the Philippines belonging to the government.

12. A law requiring insurance companies to invest at least fifty per cent of their reserves in loans, the proceeds of which will be used in the Philippines.

13. A law amending the Administrative Code to grant more autonomy to, and enlarge the power of taxation of, provinces and municipalities.

14. A law authorizing the. President under certain conditions to guarantee loans granted by certain international or foreign credit institutions to government or private banks, companies or private individuals.

15. A law authorizing the government to guarantee a certain percentage of any loss which may be suffered by any private bank, insurance company or any other credit institution, on account of loans it may grant to private individuals for home construction, the amount of each loan not to exceed P10,000 for each individual borrower, and fixing the aggregate amount of the loans for which such guarantee may be given.

16. A law amending the National Internal Revenue Code by providing for collection in advance of the sales tax on the basis of the declared cost of the merchandise withdrawal from the custom-house or factory; the amount collected in advance to be credited to the actual tax liability after the first sale has been made.

17. A law amending the National Internal Revenue Code by increasing the present tax rates on alcoholic beverages, beer, soft drinks, cigarettes and other tobacco products.

18. The approval of other measures implementing the recommendations of the Joint Financial Commission.

19. A law lifting the moratorium subject to certain conditions.

20. A law establishing a social security system for the benefit of wage earners and low-salaried employees.

My specific recommendations will be submitted when the actuarial studies bearing on this subject are completed. We cannot be too careful in estimating the burdens that any program of social security will entail on the employers and the taxpayers. We must proceed gradually and cautiously on this matter. On the other hand, we must not delay or spare any sacrifice or effort to safeguard the livelihood and security of the workingmen. The program under study is a modest beginning. It contemplates a plan for the payment in addition to existing benefits of P1,000 to the beneficiaries of a wage earner or low-salaried employee upon his death, and to grant to him 50 per cent of his salary for a period not exceeding three months, in case of illness or loss of employment not attributable to his fault or negligence. The system will apply to employees and laborers of the government as well as to those working in private enterprises.

From time to time during this session and at the earliest possible date, I shall submit for your consideration other legislative proposals.

I ask the Congress to give preferential attention to the creation of the Central Bank. This measure would strengthen our banking system and provide resiliency to our monetary system without in any way affecting its stability. With the reform contemplated in our monetary system, as a result of the creation of the Central Bank, I expect some funds will become available to finance our industrial program, the construction of irrigation systems and other aids to agriculture and industry which are urgently needed to accelerate the economic development of our nation.

I also request your earliest consideration of the measure I have mentioned above appropriating the proceeds of loans we are now seeking to finance the construction of certain hydro-electric power projects. The approval of this measure is absolutely necessary before the loan we are now applying for could be granted.

The legislative measures I am recommending in this message cover many subjects. They are intended to meet our requirements in many fields. I am convinced that they will serve not only to consolidate the advances we have made but to pave the way for wider and further advances towards national reconstruction and development.

APPEAL FOR ACTION

We are still far away from our chosen goals. But we are decidedly on our way. I assure you we are treading on firm ground and marching in the right direction. We are following paths which the experience of nations has proven to be safe and reliable. We are attempting no shortcuts. We are developing our national economy in the hard but surest way. We must not allow ourselves to be distracted by the alluring promises of new and strange ideologies or the radical theories of neo-economists. We cannot afford to make mistakes. We would pay for them very dearly in tears and toil. If we should work together now as we did in the past, I assure you we shall move forward at a good pace without having to change our democratic ways, without renouncing the liberties that we cherish, ever closer to the high planes of prosperity, well- being, and social justice that we have always sought for our people.

Let us not waste our energies in partisan conflict nor in any attempt to gain personal advantage while we are engaged in this all-consuming task of lifting our Republic from the ashes of war and insuring for our countrymen all the blessings of peace and happiness. What the future may have in store for you or for me is of no consequence. What will befall our people and the kind of heritage we leave to our children, and what we can do to make their lot a happy one, constitute the only problem that should absorb our thoughts and stir our hearts during these trying days which, I am sure, will also be days of triumph and glory for our Republic if we have the courage and the wisdom to meet the challenge of the times and to keep faith with the noble principles and traditions which have inspired and sustained us throughout the darkest period of our history. The stakes are too high and the risks are too great to allow ourselves to be swerved from our sworn duty to the nation. God help our people if we desert our trust!

Message of President Roxas asking the Concurrence of Congress to the Amnesty Proclamation

Message
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Asking the Concurrence of Congress to the Amnesty Proclamation

[Delivered on January 29, 1948]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I am transmitting herewith for your consideration and concurrence Proclamation No. 51 granting full and complete amnesty to all Filipino citizens accused of treason for alleged political collaboration or for having traded with the enemy. The amnesty does not extend to persons who have taken up arms against the allied nations or members of the resistance forces, or to those who have acted as spies or informers of the enemy, or have committed murder, arson, coercion, robbery, physical injuries, or any other crime against persons or property, for the purpose of aiding and abetting the enemy in the war against the allied nations, or in the suppression of the resistance movement in the Philippines.

I have decided to issue this amnesty proclamation not only in the fulfillment of the dictates of my own convictions but also in pursuance of what I believe are the wishes of a large majority of the Filipino people.

I am a personal witness to the events that transpired in the Philippines throughout the war. Even while I was still in Bataan and Corregidor and during the eight months that I was confined in the Japanese prison camp in Mindanao, I kept myself informed of the steps which the Japanese forces were taking to forcibly subjugate the Philippines and to win the confidence of the Filipino people and obtain their cooperation, including their armed assistance, in the war against the allied nations. I took pains throughout the occupation period to maintain contact with many of the men whom the Japanese selected to head and direct the occupation government which they established. I wish to reiterate now what I had repeatedly stated to Filipino and American officials shortly after liberation that to the best of my knowledge and belief these men accepted positions in the occupation government either because they had been coerced or because they believed it was their patriotic duty to accept those positions in order to minimize the atrocities of the enemy or to safeguard as best as they could the lives and welfare of their countrymen. After talking to these men during the occupation I gained the conviction that there was no seed of treason in their hearts. They did everything within their power to prevent the perpetration by the enemy of acts of atrocity and savagery against their fellow-countrymen. In many cases they interceded in behalf of Filipinos who had been arrested by the Japanese military police.

My views on the issue of collaboration were expounded by me during the political campaign which preceded my election as President of the Philippines. During that campaign I was myself charged with being a collaborator or the friend of the so-called collaborators. I faced the issue squarely and won. Before the campaign had started, however, the Commonwealth Government had created the People's Court for the purpose of trying the cases filed against the alleged collaborators. Several thousand indictments had already been presented, including many against persons who had occupied important positions during the Japanese regime. In the course of the campaign, I took the position that the question of collaboration had become a judicial question which should be left to the decision of the courts. I took this stand because at that time the mind of the people was bewildered and confused, the true facts were not known and passions were high. I believed that it was in the interest of all and the country at large that some time be allowed to elapse before political action should intervene in the settlement of the issue, in order to permit these passions to subside and afford the people a better opportunity to see and understand more clearly the events, as well as the motives of men involved in those events, which transpired during the occupation period.

The views I expressed during the election campaign were fundamentally identical with those expressed by President Osmeña in his broadcast from Leyte on November 23, 1944. In that broadcast, among other things, he said:

"But in our praise of the guerrillas we should not be forgetful of the loyal civilian population that was left behind to face the ire of the invader and support the guerrillas. It was not possible for all to evade the enemy: the fate of the immense majority was to bear the manacles of enslavement. Unfortunately, this has given rise to different attitudes and actions in relation to Japanese rule causing some misunderstandings among our people. This state of affairs has created one of the most serious problems with which our Government is confronted.

We cannot close our eyes to the realities of the Japanese occupation. It is cruel and harsh. An arbitrary government has been imposed on the Filipino people by the sword and the initial misfortune of American and Filipino arms left the majority of eighteen million Filipinos no other recourse but to submit to a despotic regime if they were to survive. Not all public officials could take to the hills to carry on the heroic struggle. Some had to remain in their posts to maintain a semblance of government, to protect the population from the oppressor to the extent possible by human ingenuity and to comfort the people in their misery. Had their services not been available, the Japanese would either have themselves governed directly and completely or utilized unscrupulous Filipino followers capable of any treason to their people. The result would have been calamitous and the injuries inflicted to our body politic beyond cure."

It is to the honor of that great patriot that despite the lack of intimate knowledge of the course of events in the Philippines during the war, he had perceived and understood the trying and oppressive conditions imposed upon his countrymen and had comprehended the motives behind their actions. Nevertheless, he too understood the unwisdom of granting an amnesty at that time. He decided, instead, to establish the People's Court.

The result of the national election did not completely clear up the confusion and misunderstanding existing among the people on the question of collaboration. While much of the bitterness had been allayed, important groups of our population continued their passionate attacks on those indicted for treason. This was partly due perhaps to the natural feelings engendered by defeat at the polls. There still prevailed among a large majority of our people a lack of comprehension of the motives that actuated the accused.

Under the People's Court Act, three classes of indictments were presented: (1) against those who held governmental positions during the enemy occupation; (2) against those who traded with the enemy; and (3) against those who took up arms against the allied nations or the guerrilla forces, or who acted as spies and informers for the enemy, or who committed murder or other crimes in the furtherance of the enemy's war effort or in his desire to suppress the resistance movement in the Philippines.

After the lapse of almost two years, final judgments of conviction have been rendered only against the accused of the third group. No final judgments of conviction have been rendered against so-called political or economic collaborators. On the other hand, many verdicts of acquittal and orders quashing indictments have been issued in cases involving these classes of alleged collaborators.

Recent doctrines promulgated by the Supreme Court have added great difficulty in obtaining conviction in cases of political collaboration. In a recent decision, the Supreme Court said:

"It is now undisputed that mere governmental work under the Japanese regime . . . does not constitute *per se* indictable disloyalty." (People *vs*. Luis Godinez, G. R. No. L-895.)

The Court also recognized that:

"The provisions of the Hague Conventions which impose upon a belligerent occupant the duty to continue the courts as well as all the municipal laws in force in the country unless absolutely prevented, in order to reestablish and nurse *I oare et al vie publice*, that is, the public order and safety, and the entire social and commercial life of the country, were inserted not for the benefit of the invader, but for the protection and benefit of the people or inhabitants of the occupied territory and of those not in the military service, in order that the ordinary pursuits and business of society may not be unnecessarily deranged." (Co Kin Cham *vs*. Valdez Tan Keh and Dizon.)

Only a few days ago the same Court held that a person accused of economic collaboration who had sold materials which were not primarily intended by him for the furtherance of the enemy's war aims is not guilty of treasonable collaboration.

The facts and circumstances I have mentioned, together with those stated in my proclamation, have induced me to grant full and complete amnesty to persons charged with culpable political or economic collaboration with the enemy. It has been my desire since my assumption of my present office to have been able to grant this amnesty. Certain circumstances beyond my control, however, prevented me from doing it before now. The reasons were my deep concern over adverse reactions based on misinformation, in the Philippines and elsewhere, which might endanger the welfare of the Republic, my desire to allow sufficient time to elapse for public opinion to crystallize, and my eagerness to forestall the aggravation of the conflict in the minds of our people with an untimely disposition of the collaboration issue. There are some who might have misunderstood my motives for delaying this action. I trust that history will fully vindicate the sincerity and rectitude of my purposes.

Today, there is a clearer atmosphere. Passions have subsided. There is a better understanding on the part of the people of the events and the conduct of men during the occupation. Public opinion is crystallized.

Collaboration is no longer a political issue among us. The minority party which in the early days after liberation and during the presidential campaign had bitterly assailed the so-called collaborators, has completely changed its stand. In the last session of the Congress the leaders of that party took upon themselves the responsibility of initiating a Congressional resolution urging a grant of amnesty. The leaders of the majority party, on the other hand, have always expressed themselves in favor of an amnesty at the opportune time. I am convinced that today the overwhelming majority of the Filipino people are in favor of an amnesty such as I have granted and proclaimed.

I must state that the sentiment in favor of an amnesty for economic collaborators is neither vocal nor strong; but I have decided to include them in the proclamation because of my conviction that it would be futile to pursue further the cases against them, in view of the difficulties of obtaining verdicts of conviction. The men who are guilty of culpably trading with the enemy will not, however, be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their treasonable transactions. The stiff rates of the War Profits Tax that you have approved will deprive them of practically all the wealth they have acquired as a result of their disloyalty. This, I am sure, will constitute the worst penalty for these greedy men.

The conscience of the Filipino people should be the desideratum in questions of this nature. After that conscience has, I believe, chosen to vindicate the actions of some of the accused and to forgive and forget the conduct of others, it is our duty to give effect to the decision of the people and to immediately erase the issue of collaboration from among us, in order that we may more effectively consolidate and strengthen the unity of our nation. It is our duty now to "bind up the nation's wounds" and heal the sores that we might still carry in our hearts.

With "malice towards none and charity for all" and with the firm determination to do what is just and right, I ask you, irrespective of party or political advantages, to give your concurrence to the Amnesty Proclamation.

Respectfully,

NOTE.—This amnesty proclamation which was issued under date of January 28, 1948, was not taken advantage of by some of the accused. They insisted that the cases against them be tried until a decision was reached. They considered a judicial decision acquitting or convicting them much preferable to an amnesty which does not remove all doubts of their guilt.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS

Letter to the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, June 8, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
the United States High Commissioner
to the Philippines

[June 8, 1946]

His Excellency,

The U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippines

M a n i l a

Sir:

I have the honor to request that the entire Naval reservation located at Cavite, including all the installations, equipment, supplies and other facilities therein be turned over to the Philippine Government for use of the proposed Philippine Naval Patrol.

The proposed Philippine Naval Patrol calls for the operation of a considerable number of vessels which will be turned over by the U.S. Navy for patrol work and other service including Aids to Navigation, Customs and Immigration Inspection. This would require a suitable operating base with the necessary facilities for the repair and maintenance of these vessels. In addition, a desirable location would be needed for the Philippine Naval Patrol Training Command, including a suitable site for the Philippine Nautical School which will be placed directly under the supervision and control of the Philippine Naval Patrol.

Because of the recommended transfer of some vessels in the near future, the early assignment of a base is considered urgent. A survey of the Reservation at Cavite has been made by a Board of Officers of the Off-Shore Patrol and it is considered that the location and facilities are ideally suited to the requirements of the Philippine Naval Patrol. In addition, it is understood that the U.S. Navy plans to evacuate Cavite on or about 15 July, so that these facilities will be available for earliest practicable occupancy by the Philippine Naval Patrol.

It is understood that U.S. Army personnel are at present using part of the facilities within the Naval reservation. It is believed practicable to have the U.S. Army personnel continue to use present facilities at Cavite until the completion of presently assigned tasks, but it is recommended that no permanent Army installation be assigned at Cavite by the U.S. Army.

It is also requested that whatever Navy surplus materials, equipment and supplies now found at the Cavite Navy Yard and determined usable by a Survey Board of Off-Shore Patrol Officers, be included in the turnover. Likewise, it is further requested that similar equipment at other localities which may be surplus to U.S. Navy needs be made available, as required, to Philippine Naval Patrol.

Early consideration of this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

President Roxas' Letter to Dr. Sixto Francisco

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Dr. Sixto Francisco

[June 12, 1946]

My dear Dr. Francisco:

I have just received through our mutual friend, Atty. Hormillosa, a statistical recapitulation of the Manila High School Class of 1910, which you have so kindly presented me, and I am deeply grateful for your attention. I find many of our classmates have gone ahead of us. To those of us who are left behind, I would say let us continue to work harder and faster for the welfare of our country.

Sincerely yours,

MANUEL ROXAS

DR. SIXTO A. FRANCISCO

SAN LAZARO HOSPITAL

Manila

Letter of President Roxas to General Douglas MacArthur on various matters

Letter
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To General Douglas MacArthur on various matters

[Released on June 17, 1946]

My dear General:

I have meant to write for some days in reply to your personal message advising me of your inability to be in Manila for the Quezon interment ceremony. I have waited for sufficient moments to be able to write to you at some length.

I am deeply grieved at your decision not to come. I beg that you reconsider, and that you try to dispose of your pressing affairs somehow so that you can be here on that day to whose solemn significance your presence in Manila would add so much.

I should like to tell you of the strange concert of events, still inexplicable to me, which resulted in the formulation of the program for the transfer of Quezon's remains to Manila. I think the recital will be of some interest to you.

When I was in Washington, following our too brief stop in Tokyo – made all eventful by your presence at the airport – I discussed with President Truman the transfer of President Quezon's remains to Manila and made the physical arrangements that were required. Finally I left instructions with Commissioner Romulo to take up the matter personally with Acting Secretary of State Acheson to confirm the arrangements. I told Romulo to inform Secretary Acheson of my desire that you come to Manila for the funeral. I also informed him that Justice Murphy had expressed his wish to attend the occasion. I requested him to broach this matter tactfully to Secretary Acheson.

For reasons unknown to me, Commissioner Romulo did not make personal contact with Secretary Acheson, but sent a letter instead. What is more inexplicable is that Commissioner Romulo, in his letter, wrote that it was the wish of Mrs. Quezon that Frank Murphy be designated to accompany the body back to Manila. He also stated my desire that you attend the funeral. This letter came to my attention only a few days ago, in roundabout fashion, and I am greatly puzzled by its contents, especially since Mrs. Quezon, when I discussed the matter with her, denied that she had ever made such a request or suggestion. Doña Aurora was, on the contrary, very displeased at this unauthorized representation. She is, at the moment, in Baguio where she has been for some days. Hence, I cannot quote her directly. Yet I know she will be most unhappy to hear that you will not be here on August 1; I add her entreaties to mine that you arrange things so that you can come.

My only interest in all of this is to induce you to return here for the interment. There will be three separate ceremonials – one in the Legislature, one in Malacañan, and one at the crypt. I invite you to designate which of these ceremonies you would prefer to participate in. With all the persuasiveness at my disposal, I ask that you select one. Your being here would give the event the note which I think it deserves in all its historic significance. Your absence would be keenly felt. It would be personally regretted, and keenly, by Doña Aurora, and by most of the Filipinos.

I have one other request to impose upon your consideration – and that is for you to be in Manila on July 4. I know of no other individual who could bring by his very presence the sense of association with the great events of our history. Your father's son would recall the occupation; you would be the embodiment of the period first of American sovereignty, and then of those great and dramatic moments of our times, Bataan, and then finally the Liberation. I cannot conceive of an Independence day without your presence on the scene. Your name and personality are so deep in our consciousness of recent years, that your absence would be almost a rebuke to our appreciation of the event.

I hope I have not sounded too plaintive or too demanding. But these two matters are so much on my mind, that I could not refrain from this long appeal.

I have spoken in this letter much of the historical loss which would be suffered on the two occasions if you did not come. I can only add that I, personally, would miss your presence greatly. It would not be the same day for me, without you and Jean here.

Very sincerely,

(Sgd.) **MANUEL ROXAS**

Gen. Douglas MacArthur
Supreme Commander of Allied Powers
Tokyo, Japan.

P.S.- I take great pleasure in following, as best I can, your hectic trials and tribulations with enemy and allies. You are doing a magnificent job!

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1946). [Letter of President Roxas to General Douglas MacArthur on various matters]. Quezon Family Collections. The MacArthur Memorial Archives and Library, Norfolk, VA.

Letter of President Roxas to General Douglas MacArthur on honouring officers and men of the American forces

Letter
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To General Douglas MacArthur on honoring officers and men of the American forces

[Released on June 17, 1946]

My dear General:

I propose shortly after Independence to honor with special Philippine Government decorations those officers and men of the American forces who fought so deathlessly in our defense, and so bravely for our liberation.

I wish that you would send me, for my personal consideration, a list of men who should be so recognized, with some notation of the degree of deserved award. I would be most pleased, if you would do this for me, to follow your views on the matter in so far as they refer to forces that were or are under your command.

It goes without saying that I will appreciate your guidance and assistance in this matter.

Very sincerely,

(Sgd.) **MANUEL ROXAS**

Gen. Douglas MacArthur
Supreme Commander of Allied Powers
Tokyo, Japan

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1946). [Letter of President Roxas to General Douglas MacArthur on honoring officers and men of the American forces]. Quezon Family Collections. The MacArthur Memorial Archives and Library, Norfolk, VA.

Telegram of President Roxas to Governor Raymond Baldwin, June 29, 1946

Telegram
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Governor Raymond Baldwin

[*June 29, 1946*]

NLT

GOVERNOR RAYMOND E. BALDWIN

Hartford Conn

Thank you for kind congratulations and good wishes of great people Connecticut regarding Independence Day. We believe Philippine American ties of common sentiments and ideals imperishable. Republic Day is our declaration to world of our pride in American heritage.

PRESIDENT ROXAS

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* Refers to radiogram received June 28, 1946.

Letter of President Roxas to the United States President Harry Truman, July 3, 1946

Remarks
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
the United States President Harry Truman

[July 3, 1946]

HONORABLE HARRY S TRUMAN

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

My good friend, Representative Jasper Bell, who honored us with his presence at our Independence Day ceremonies, has agreed, at my request, to carry this letter by hand to you.

I am writing this informally on this last evening of our Commonwealth status, and hope you will consider this a personal as well as an official communication. I feel that I can address you in this matter.

As you know, Mr. President, we are starting out on our national separate existence with every possible economic handicap. We are ready to fashion our lives in every way to fit the situation in which we find ourselves today, to undergo every conceivable hardship in order to make a success of our independence, to justify the faith of America in us, and so to bring glory to the American nation for its efforts in the Philippines. However, our first great obstacle, and it is an overpowering one, is the fiscal condition of our Government. Unless we receive a government loan, we will be unable to meet government payrolls beyond the month of August. Our entire government machinery will come to an abrupt halt with tragic results to all our plans and programs.

You may recall that I was elected President late in April and took office May 28. Immediately after my election was conceded and before I took office, I made a trip to the United States at your invitation under the sponsorship of High Commissioner McNutt. While there we discussed the proposed loan with you, with congressional leaders, and with the then Secretary of the Treasury Fred M. Vinson. I could not make written applications at that time because I was not in office, but I understood that in view of the time factor, the American officials would proceed to formulate a loan proposal for submission to Congress. I have, as you know, since supplied by radiogram through Commissioner McNutt a more exact description of our needs.

We are doing everything in our power to speed tax revision, to increase government revenues by a more efficient measure of collection and by every other way we can devise. However, in spite of every measure we can take in the time available, I do not see any possibility of substantially increasing our revenues in the immediate future. The central fact of our situation is the lack of a taxable source of revenue due to the destruction of our export economy and to the fact that all our imports come from the United States with resulting absence of any tariff revenues. As I stated in my radiogram to you, our budget calls for an expenditure of $130,000,000 in the next fiscal year. We have on hand in all cash balances and unallocated funds less than $20,000,000.

I have given to Representative Bell a rough breakdown of our budget and a justification of our fiscal needs. I have also discussed the matter with him at some length and I am sure he can supply information in addition to the factual data I have included in written material.

I know the tremendous burdens you bear today with the hundreds of complex problems weighing on your shoulders. I bring this matter to your attention only because there is no alternative and the situation requires immediate emergency action. I know you will understand this without further explanation or justification.

I will be grateful for whatever consideration you can give this situation. High Commissioner McNutt, who has participated in the discussions here with Representative Bell and other members of Congress, has seen this letter and indicated his approval of my suggestion that I send it to you by the hand of Mr. Bell.

I need not tell you how deep our gratitude is for your past efforts in behalf of the Filipino people.

Very cordially yours,

MANUEL ROXAS

Letter of President Roxas to the Philippine Congress, amending Section 5 of the Commonwealth Act

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
the Philippine Congress

[July 16, 1946]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Pursuant to the provisions of Paragraph 2, Section 21 of Article VI of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of the bill entitled "AN ACT TO AMEND SECTION FIVE OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO, ENTITLED 'AN ACT TO REHABILITATE THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL BANK."

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

THE CONGRESS OF THE PHILIPPINES

Manila

Letter of President Roxas to the Congress of the Philippines authorizing agreements with the United States, August 8, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
The Congress of the Philippines

[August 8, 1946]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution of the Philippines, I hereby certify to the necessity of immediate enactment of the Bill entitled "AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES TO ENTER INTO AN AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES PURSUANT TO UNITED STATES PUBLIC ACT NO. 454 COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES MILITARY ASSISTANCE ACT, AUTHORIZING HIM TO ISSUE THE NECESSARY RULES AND REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT SAID ACT, DECLARING UNLAWFUL THE VIOLATION OF SAID RULES AND REGULATIONS AND PROVIDING PENALTIES THEREFOR, AND APPROPRIATING FUNDS."

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

CONGRESS OF THE PHILIPPINES

Manila

Letter of President Roxas to Augusto Cortes, August 20, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Augusto Cortes

[August 20, 1946]

Sir:

I have been informed that certain persons have been told by you or by the Reverend Father who was present at our conference last week that I had agreed to the sale of the Buenavista Estate to General Burt and his associates. I am also informed that General Burt had so stated to the American Ambassador. As you very well know, such information is absolutely false and anybody who is circulating rumors to that effect is committing an act of deliberate and malicious falsehood. As you will remember, I expressed to you my determination to continue safeguarding the interests of the Government and of the tenants in this matter. When, however, you told me that General Burt had informed you that the tenants of the Estate were happy over the sale of the property to General Burt and that they were willing to pay for the property the value of their respective holdings on the basis of a total sale price of P5,000,000 plus such profits as General Burt would derive there from, and that the tenants were anxious to make immediate payments on the purchase price, I told you repeatedly that I did not believe that there was any truth to that information because I could not imagine that the tenants would be willing to pay two or three times more for their land to General Burt than they would have to pay if the Government acquired the Estate under its option. In order to terminate the discussion, I told you that if you could prove to me that the tenants were actually willing to do this, that I would only be too happy to re-examine the Government's attitude in this matter. I cannot believe that the tenants themselves wish to waste their money this way, in the face of the assurances of the Government that their rights and interests will be duly protected.

I trust that you will find that this letter expresses the exact truth of what occurred in our conference, and that you will do what you can to prevent the continued circulation of rumors to the contrary.

Very respectfully,

(SGD.) MANUEL ROXAS

DR. AUGUSTO CORTES

SAN JUAN DE DIOS HOSPITAL

Manila

Letter of President Roxas to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, August 26, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

[August 26, 1946]

My dear General Chiang:

I hope that you will understand, from the text of this letter, why my first communication to you since my assumption of the Presidency of the Philippines, should be of a personal nature.

I have long known of your deep interest in the Philippines, an interest which I deeply appreciate as stemming from your concern for the advancement of freedom and human dignity in this part of the world. I am also informed of your intimate acquaintance with and sympathy for the recent struggles through which my countrymen have so arduously passed. Those struggles, of course, are brief in measurement of time compared with those which the great people of China, under your leadership, have endured and put forth during the long night of crisis from which we are now emerging.

The purpose of this personal letter is to place before you certain circumstances involving a Japanese army officer now in the custody of your Government, an officer of minor importance in the general scheme of things but one who played an important role in my own experiences of the recent war.

This officer, a certain Lieutenant Colonel Nobuhiko Jimbo, is being held, I am told, in a prison in Tsinan, Shantung Province, China, as a suspected war criminal. I hasten to say that I know nothing of his activities in China, nor of the evidence against him. I do not, of course, wish to raise any questions regarding his guilt or innocence based on his activities in any theatre other than in the Philippines.

I should like to submit, however, that Colonel Jimbo is responsible for my being alive today. He was known in the Philippines as one of the few Japanese officers with a genuine sympathy for our plight, and as one of those who did what he could, within the limits of his official station, to alleviate the brutal savagery of his superiors and subordinates. On one occasion he risked his life by disobeying an order issued for my execution, and made a successful appeal at a later time for the rescinding of the execution order. This action was not based especially on a personal esteem for me, although he had that, too, but on a repugnance for the senseless cruelty and murder madness which possessed his commanders and associates. He was, of my acquaintance, the most humane of the Japanese invaders.

If there is any proper way in which you could give countenance to these representations on his behalf, I would feel a great load taken off my mind. I know that it is, in an official sense, impolitic for me to make these statements on behalf of Colonel Jimbo, but my conscience would not permit me to refrain from doing what I can do to bring these circumstances to the attention of appropriate officials of your government.

Permit me, Your Excellency, to express sentiments of friendship and admiration for you and your countrymen.

Very sincerely yours,

(SGD.) MANUEL ROXAS

HIS EXCELLENCY

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Nanking, China

Approval letter of President Roxas addressed to the Philippine Congress, September 4, 1946

Approval letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
The Philippine Congress

[September 4, 1946]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I am submitting herewith, for your consideration and early approval, the following measures:

1. AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS TWENTY-ONE, TWENTY-TWO, TWENTY-FOUR, TWENTY-SEVEN, TWENTY-NINE, THIRTY, THIRTY-FOUR, FIFTY-THREE, FIFTY-FOUR, AND TO REPEAL SUBSECTION (u) OF SECTION EIGHTY-FOUR OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX, AS AMENDED.

2. AN ACT TO AMEND SECTION FOUR OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FIVE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE BY WITHDRAWING THE EXEMPTION GRANTED IN FAVOR OF COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS REFERRED TO THEREIN FROM THE PAYMENT OF ALL TAXES AND GOVERNMENT FEES.

3. AN ACT AMENDING OR REPEALING CERTAIN SECTIONS OF TITLE V OF THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.

4. AN ACT AMENDING OR REPEALING CERTAIN SECTIONS OF TITLE IV OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX RELATIVE TO SPECIFIC TAXES.

5. AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS EIGHTY-FIVE, EIGHTY-SIX, EIGHTY-NINE, ONE HUNDRED AND TEN, ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE, AND ONE HUNDRED AND SIX OF TITLE III OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX.

6. AN ACT AMENDING OR REPEALING CERTAIN SECTIONS OF TITLES V AND VIII OF THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.

7. AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO, ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-THREE, SUBSECTIONS (O), (R), AND (S) OF SECTION ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOUR AND SECTION TWO HUNDRED AND ONE OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX.

8. AN ACT TO AMEND CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE, RELATIVE TO DOCUMENTARY STAMP TAXES.

9. AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE, TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-TWO, TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN, TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINE, AND THREE HUNDRED AND TWO OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX, RELATIVE TO THE FIREARMS TAX, RADIO FEES AND TOBACCO INSPECTION FEES.

10. AN ACT TO AMEND COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE BY IMPOSING A RESIDENCE AND GROSS INCOME TAX.

11. AN ACT TO IMPOSE A SPECIAL TAX ON EXCESSIVE RENTS OF LOTS AND BUILDING DESTINED FOR BUSINESS OR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES.

12. AN ACT TO AMEND CERTAIN ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.

13. AN ACT TO AMEND SECTION SIX, SEVEN AND FOURTHEEN OF ACT NUMBERED TWENTY-SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE TOBACCO INSPECTION LAW.

14. AN ACT AUTHORIZING THE REDUCTION OF TAXES PAYABLE BY NEW INDUSTRIES AND BY FIFTY PER CENTUM.

15. AN ACT TO AMEND SECTION FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN OF THE REVISED ADMINISTRATIVE CODE, AS AMENDED.

Respectfully,

(SGD.) MANUEL ROXAS

THE CONGRESS OF THE PHILIPPINES

Manila

Letter to the Philippine Congress, September 5, 1946 Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
The Philippine Congress

[September 5, 1946]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I am submitting herewith, for your concurrence, a certified copy of Proclamation No. 749, issued on September 10, 1941, excluding from the operation of Proclamation No. 217, dated February 16, 1929, four parcels of mineral lands containing an area of 3.86 hectares located in the barrios of Antamok and Gumatdang, Municipal District of Itogon, sub-province of Benguet, Mountain Province.

Under Section 14 of Commonwealth Act No. 137, as amended, Proclamation No. 749 shall not take effect until it is concurred in by a resolution of the Congress of the Philippines, duty adopted for the purpose. However, on account of the outbreak of the war said proclamation was not concurred in by the Congress of the Philippines.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

The Congress of the Philippines

Manila

Letter of President Roxas to the Philippine Congress, September 10, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
The Philippine Congress

[September 10, 1946]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI of the Constitution, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of the following bills:

1. H. No. 708.- AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS TWELVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX, THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIVE, SUBSECTION (c), AND THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-EIGHT OF THE REVISED ADMINISTRATIVE CODE.

2. H. No. 729. – AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS TWENTY-ONE, TWENTY-TWO, TWENTY-FOUR, TWENTY-SEVEN, TWENTY-NINE, THIRTY, THIRTY-FOUR, FIFTY-THREE, FIFTY-FOUR, AND TO REPEAL SUBSECTION (u) OF SECTION EIGHTY-FOUR OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX, AS AMENDED.

3. H. No. 726.– AN ACT TO AMEND SECTION FOUR OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FIVE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE BY WITHDRAWING THE EXEMPTION GRANDTED IN FAVOR OF COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS REFERRED TO THEREIN FROM THE PAYMENT OF ALL TAXES AND GOVERNMENT FEES.

4. H. No. 732. – AN ACT AMENDING OR REPEALING CERTAIN SECTIONS OF TITLE V OF THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.

5. H. No. 733. – AN ACT AMENDING OR REPEALING CERTAIN SECTIONS OF TITLE IV OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX RELATIVE TO SPECIFIC TAXES.

6. H. No. 738. – AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS EIGHTY-FIVE, EIGHTY-SIX, EIGHTY-NINE, ONE HUNDRED AND TEN, ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE, AND ONE HUNDRED AND SIX OF TITLE III OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX.

7. H. No. 730. – AN ACT AMENDING OR REPEALING CERTAIN

SECTIONS OF TITLES V AND VIII OF THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.

8. H. No. 737. – AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO, ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-THREE, SUBSECTIONS (O), (R), AND (S) OF SECTION ONE HUNDRED AND NINTY-FOUR AND SECTION TWO HUNDRED AND ONE COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX.

9. H. No. 731. – AN ACT TO AMEND CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE, RELATIVE TO DOCUMENTARY STAMP TAXES.

10. H. No. 739. – AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE, TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-TWO, TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN, TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINE, AND THREE HUNDRED AND TWO OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX, RELATIVE TO THE FIREARMS TAX, RADIO FEES AND TOBACCO INSPECTION FEES.

11. H. No. 751. – AN ACT TO AMEND COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE BY IMPOSING A RESIDENCE AND GROSS INCOME TAX.

12. H. No. 734. – AN ACT TO IMPOSE A SPECIAL TAX ON EXCESSIVE RENTS OF LOTS AND BUILDINGS DESTINED FOR BUSINESS OR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES.

13. H. No. 728. – AN ACT TO AMEND CERTAIN ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS OF COMMONWEALTH ACT NUMBERED FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE NATIONAL INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.

14. H. No. 735. – AN ACT TO AMEND SECTIONS SIX, SEVEN AND FOURTEEN OF ACT NUMBERED TWENTY-SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE TOBACCO INSPECTION LAW.

15. H. No. 727. – AN ACT AUTHORIZING THE REDUCTION OF TAXES PAYABLE BY NEW INDUSTRIES BY FIFTY PER CENTUM.

16. H. No. 736. – AN ACT TO AMEND SECTION FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN OF THE REVISED ADMINISTRATIVE CODE, AS AMENDED.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

The Congress of the Philippines

M a n i l a

Letter of President Roxas to the Philippine Congress, September 17, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
The Philippine Congress

[September 17, 1946]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have the honor to submit herewith a draft of a bill appropriating FIFTY MILLION PESOS (P50,000,000.00) for the construction, repair, reconstruction, improvement, extension and completion of important public works in provinces, chartered cities and municipalities. The various appropriations proposed therein are to be expended for improving means of communication and transportation and for promoting sanitation, public health and general welfare so essential to the economic rehabilitation and development of the country.

Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (2), Section 21, Article VI, of the Constitution, I hereby certify to the necessity of the immediate enactment of the Bill.

Respectfully,

MANUEL ROXAS

President Roxas' Letter of Certification for Dr. Florentino Herrera, Jr.

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
for the Certification of
Dr. Florentino Herrera, Jr.

[October 7, 1946]

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that I know personally Dr. Florentino Herrera, Jr. for more than fifteen years. He was with me during the period of Japanese occupation in the Philippines and acted as my liaison with guerilla leaders and other underground forces. When the Japanese authorities took me to Baguio I asked Dr. Herrera to accompany me and, while in that city, he continued his contact with the underground forces in my behalf. When I crossed the Japanese lines and joined the American forces from Baguio, Dr. Herrera was instrumental in facilitating my escape. During all this time he showed extraordinary gallantry and great courage as well as heroic loyalty to the cause of the United States and the Philippines. I consider Dr. Herrera one of the outstanding young patriots of the Philippines and a good medical officer besides. He is now in the United States taking a post graduate course in medicine and his services will be used by the government upon his return.

MANUEL ROXAS

President of the Philippines

Letter of Recommendation for D.L. Francisco, October 8, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
for the Recommendation of
D.L. Francisco

[October 8, 1946]

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The bearer is Mr. D. L. Francisco, Editor and Publisher of CAPIZ WEEKLY, which is of general circulation not only on the island of Panay but also in Manila, Romblon, Cebu, Occidental Negros, Zamboanga, Davao, Agusan, Surigao, and other Visayan and Mindanao provinces.

Any consideration or courtesies extended to him in the legitimate conduct of his business will be deeply appreciated.

MANUEL ROXAS

Letter of President Roxas to Ambassador Joaquin M. Elizalde, October 30, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Ambassador Joaquin M. Elizalde

[October 30, 1946]

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am giving you for your guidance, and for the information of interested officials in the United States, the following summary of the views of the Philippine Government with regard to mutual defense arrangements with the United States. These instructions are confidential, but you are authorized to make use of them in such discussions on this subject as you are authorized to carry on from time to time with United States leaders.

These views have crystallized from a close and painstaking study of our defense problems, our fundamental ties with the United States, and the interests of the Filipino people. I have had the benefit, in formulating these views, of many weeks of negotiating for a base agreement with the official spokesmen of the United States. I have likewise had occasion to discuss this subject with many military and naval leaders, as well as with many of the political leaders in the Philippines. I have arrived at the following conclusions laboriously and carefully. They are based primarily upon the well-known and clearly established foreign policy of the Philippines, the first elements of which are the protection of our national sovereignty and the maintenance of strong and indissoluble ties of friendship and cooperation for mutual interest, with the United States.

There is—and this must be clearly faced and recognized—a small but growing sentiment in this country, opposed to the establishment of any American military bases in the Philippines. This sentiment is being nurtured by some few but articulate and habile persons who desire to rend completely the ties between the two countries. There are others, more well-meaning, who would willingly gamble with security in order to be freed of the inconvenience and strains placed upon us by the presence of a large body of alien troops, possessing special privileges of immunity to our laws, and sometimes inconsiderate of our rights. There are still others who believe that the presence of alien troops on our soil makes a mockery of our independence, and that any material sacrifice is justified in order to maintain the full form of sovereignty in all parts of the national domain. There is a third group, fundamentally devoted to Philippine-American intimacy, whose members fear the unfortunate effects of the presence of American troops here, and anticipate that these troops will figure in a succession of incidents which can strain to the breaking point the special relationship existing between our country and America. And finally there is the viewpoint that the existence of American bases here prejudices the spirit of the historic grant of independence, and furnishes ammunition, in an ideological sense, to certain Great Powers, who would disparage our independence in order to undermine the world influence and prestige of the United States.

I hold none of the above views, although I have taken all of them into consideration in arriving at my own conclusions. No approach which does not take these viewpoints into consideration can be realistic. My own fundamental attitude is that the bases are desirable from a Filipino viewpoint, both for the sake of security and for the sake of furnishing an enduring link between the United States and the Philippines. Nor am I unaware of the material benefits, in the form of dollar expenditures and employment, which the presence of bases here brings to the

Philippines. Furthermore and finally, we are committed by legislative and executive act to mutual defense arrangements and the establishment of bases here. I do not desire to withdraw from that commitment.

But even more important than that commitment and the desirability of security attained through the existence of bases, is the maintenance of intimate and collaborative Philippine-American relations. We dare not sacrifice the end in order to obtain the means. When the presence of troops and the establishment of bases begins to threaten, and gives promise of destroying those intimate relations, it is necessary to explore every avenue in order to arrive at an arrangement which will retain as many of the advantages of military bases as possible, without sacrificing or endangering the primary relationship.

Even theoretically, the presence of any large military installations in a national capital or other large center of population is inadvisable and leads to difficulties. When those military installations are alien, the evil is compounded. When that national capital is the nation's greatest center of population and of the nation's economic life, the presence of alien military establishments becomes truly intolerable. My first conclusion, then, is that there should be no permanent military establishments in Manila. There should be no military bases even in the immediate vicinity of Manila. Their presence is a constant source of friction with the civilian population and a convenient object of attack by individuals and groups interested in maligning the nature of our relationship with the United States. The fact that most of the troops are new recruits, and will continue to be such for a number of years, adds fuel to the potential flames. No material benefits to the population from military expenditures can atone for this danger. The national capital should not include an area which is alienated from the national jurisdiction. The public will not stand for it. It is politically unpalatable. It is strategically unnecessary. It is a source of fear that in case of war, the national capital will be subjected to attack and destruction. It minimizes and practically destroys the feeling of security which otherwise might be held as the result of bases in the Philippines. It is a reminder of danger and not of security. I do not intend to permit even our own army to maintain permanent military installations in Manila.

I feel that the existence of bases, as such, within the limits of any city is politically undesirable and impossible. The existence of a separate and independent jurisdiction within city limits is a source of deep annoyance and discontent to the civilian officials and population. Where military establishments, of an auxiliary type, are temporarily necessary within a city, they should not be considered bases, but leaseholds, within the jurisdiction of the national sovereignty, but with policing delegated to the armed forces by agreement.

The area in Baguio which the U.S. forces wish to retain as a recreational center should certainly not be considered a base. It makes a mockery of the word "base", which should be confined to installations in which military installations, requiring security, are maintained.

In the matter of jurisdiction, I should not like to see any arrangement which can be interpreted as extraterritoriality. I think it is a fundamental error to write into the treaty any phraseology which can be attacked as establishing United States extraterritoriality in the Philippines through the granting of blanket immunity to military personnel from our laws or the jurisdiction of our courts. The national sovereignty and the national laws should apply to everyone in the Philippines; it may be agreed, however, that jurisdiction over offenses committed by personnel within bases is to be delegated to the military authorities. In any event, jurisdiction over military personnel in non-military areas must not be alienated from the civil authorities; but there can be an agreement that offenses committed by military personnel against other military personnel, wherever committed, can be handled by the military authorities. In other words, except for the offenses committed within the bases or committed by military personnel against other military personnel, the jurisdiction should remain vested in the civil authorities.

My fundamental attitude is that everything which is necessary for an effective mutual defense should be granted. I am more than willing to go to any length to satisfy the military and strategic requirements of the armed forces. I cannot, however, place this Government in a position of agreeing to arrangements merely for the convenience of the personnel of the armed forces, if those arrangements violate the fundamental concept of sovereignty and fly in the face of public sentiment. We must strain to the utmost to avoid points of friction between the civilian and the military.

I understand that the financial considerations may be involved in the willingness to remove present installations from the Manila area, but I cannot risk the future of Philippine-American relations merely to protect the investment in these installations, an investment which, I am told, is not large. Moreover, I am informally advised that in the long run it will be less costly to remove these installations to more convenient areas, nearer to the major defense establishments. If I must make a choice between yielding the benefits of bases here and endangering the fundamental basis of Philippine-American friendship, I would be forced to decide against the bases. If there is no feasible way of moving the bases out of Manila, I will be forced to oppose the bases entirely. In this attitude I am certain that I represent the overwhelming sentiment of the Congress and of the Filipino people.

In regard to the port facilities, this Government is perfectly willing to grant the armed forces exclusive right to use whatever piers are necessary on the same basis as the Philippine Government uses such piers. We cannot, however, agree to designate such pier areas as military bases nor can we agree to make the pier areas permanent. I feel strongly that the Army should construct its own piers out of Manila, in a more sensible contiguity to the major military installations. I have already suggested the use of Subic Bay by the Army. I have also suggested the construction of pier facilities off Bataan. The Philippine Government is willing to give every cooperation to the armed forces to make these projects possible. I am desirous in every way of arranging our mutual defense satisfactorily. I will go to any length to effect such an arrangement, consistent with the views I have expressed above.

I am prepared to agree to a reasonable temporary period for the removal of the present military installations form Manila and elsewhere to the base sites decided upon. I judge that two years will be sufficient for the removal of the temporary depots and similar installation, and five years for the transfer of base and port facilities now in use in the Manila area. The granting of any greater period will subject the treaty to unanswerable attacks.

As I have set forth herein, I am motivated by a desire to meet the needs and convenience of the armed forces and at the same time to effect an arrangement which takes full cognizance of our sovereignty, protects the ties now existing between our two countries and poses an agreement which will be acceptable to the Philippine Congress. Without the provisions I have cited, I could not, even if I wished, obtain the consent of the Senate. I certainly would not be supported by the Filipino people. With the above provisions included, I believe a base treaty will be welcomed by the people as an accord of full mutual benefit, consonant with the spirit of our relationship with the United States.

Sincerely yours,

MANUEL ROXAS

Honorable Joaquin M. Elizalde

Philippine Ambassador to the United States

Manila

Letter of President Roxas to Roy W. Howard, November 7, 1946

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Roy W. Howard

[November 7, 1946]

Dear Roy:

I know that I am very remiss in not having written all these months; but I know that you will understand why I have not written.

The problems I faced and I am facing are so endless and heavy that I have not been willing to give myself the pleasure and relaxation that I could have in writing to personal friends. The result of my election has been, in a personal sense, to cut me off completely from personal pursuits of pleasure. I feel that any allocation of time from official duties is reprehensible, since, despite dawn-to-dusk working hours, literally hundreds of things requiring my consideration are left unconsidered merely for lack of time. I am not trying to ennoble my efforts. I knew what I faced when I ran for office. My only complaint, if any, is that I appear to be inadequate to accomplish everything that needs to be accomplished here. I must say, however, that I am doing my best and any failures on my part are not due to lack of effort.

Our old friend Arsenio Luz showed me that letter you had written to him in which you included some kind words about me. I appreciate your thoughts, although they are over-generous. I also appreciate the friendship which motivates them.

I am in the position of a man sitting in a revolving chair. As I keep turning around by the minute and by the hour, I see more and more things which need to be done here. I take a stab at this and that, and try to do what I can, at the same time concentrating as much as possible on the projects which I believe are most essential. The fundamental rehabilitation of our destroyed economy, the channeling of the resurgent and often confused national spirit into constructive dedication to the national cause, and the smoothing of all the ragged edges left by three years of brutal enemy occupation are the goals on which I try to keep my sights. Unemployment is on the increase due to an understandable and unavoidable slowness in starting the wheels of reconstruction. Our price structure is awry; essential construction materials, machinery and parts are in desperately short supply. We can not get them from the United States. The effects of the post-war demobilization of the armed forces are deeply felt in the Philippines, where many American GIs, unwillingly stationed here and with a total lack of understanding of the islands, have done much to undo years of magnificent accomplishments by the United States here. There is a resentment against America nurtured by a few anti-Americans, some of whom are American citizens and, of course, supported by political groups here. The question of military bases is agitating us deeply. Paul V. McNutt is doing his elegant best to keep things on an even keel and I am confident that reasonableness and logic and the memory of 47 years of historic association will prevail in the end.

One of my chief comforts and aids in this troubled situation is a young man whom you know—Commander Julius Edelstein, who is, as a matter of fact, one of your employees, on military leave. He is titularly public relations

adviser to McNutt, but actually he has become one of my most intimate advisers. He is, as you know, an old friend of mine from pre-war days and has done much to lighten many of my burdens. I first knew him as a United Press man in Washington. That has not decreased my respect for the U.P. Paradoxically, Bill Wilson of the U.P. bureau here has showed little love for him, but I suppose that happens in the best of well-regulated families.

I know that you are keeping us in mind and that we can always look to you for friendship and support. It is in fact such friends as you and, of course, the many others that we have in the United States that determine me to maintain on the highest possible level our mutual ties with the United States.

Very cordially,

MANUEL ROXAS

Mr. Roy W. Howard

Scripps-Howard Newspapers

World Telegram Building

New York, N.Y.

Telegram of President Roxas to Ambassador Joaquin M. Elizalde, November 22, 1946

Telegram
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Ambassador Joaquin M. Elizalde

[November 22, 1946]

Manila

AMBASSADOR J M ELIZALDE

WASHINGTON DC

Regarding your radiogram 525 regarding reparations on Japan, our government is desirous of participating in discussions for formulation of directives. [I] desire information on [the] extent [of] our participation on such discussions, how many representatives our government will be permitted to send and where they will meet.

MANUEL ROXAS

Telegram of President Roxas to Ambassador Paul V. McNutt, January 3, 1947

Telegram
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
Ambassador Paul V. Mcnutt

[January 3, 1947]

OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT MESSAGE:

AMBASSADOR MCNUTT

MANILA

My heart and that of Mrs. Roxas go out to you at the tragic news we have just heard. I will never forget the sweet and gracious lady who was your mother. The evening we spent together was one of the most delightful I can remember. She was a great lady and a wonderful person whose noble character is well reflected in the son and granddaughter. She had lived a full life and a long one. When the call came I am sure she was too wise to be sad. I can only comfort you with words. I know how distraught you must be, likewise Kathleen Louise and of course your father and brothers. You all have the sympathy not only of my entire family but of all the people of the Philippines. We grieve at your loss.

MANUEL ROXAS

Letter of President Roxas to the President of the Republic of Haiti

Letter
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the President of the Republic of Haiti

[Released on January 4, 1947]

Great and Good Friend:

It is with profound appreciation that I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's cordial letter dated November 4, 1946, informing me of your recent election as President of the Republic of Haiti and of your assumption of the duties of that high office.

On behalf of the People of the Philippines and on my own, I am happy to convey my warmest greetings and felicitations on the occasion of Your Excellency's election as well as sincerest wishes for your personal health and welfare.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure Your Excellency of the desire of the Government and People of the Republic of the Philippines to maintain and foster the most friendly relations with the Government and People of the Republic of Haiti.

Your Good Friend,

MANUEL ROXAS

President of the Philippines

His Excellency

M. Dumarsais Estime

President of the Republic of Haiti

Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Letter of President Roxas to General MacArthur on sending a five-man Commission on Reparations

Letter
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To General Douglas MacArthur on sending a five-man Commission on Reparations

[Released on January 6, 1947]

My dear General:

In accordance with understanding, I am sending to Japan a five-man Commission on Reparations composed by Mr. Bernardo P. Abrera as Chairman and Messrs. U.U. Woodhouse, Cosme Ventura, M.H. Ford and Dr. Eduardo Quisumbing, as Members.

They are instructed to report directly to the Civilian Property Custodian to whom they will present their credentials. We have been allowed to send only a limited number of men at this time. There is, however, a large number of subjects they will have to deal with, requiring diverse technological knowledge and skill. It will be necessary, therefore, for me to rotate membership in this Commission. Upon the accomplishment of the mission assigned to an individual member, he will be withdrawn and his place taken over by a new one who would have a different assignment to perform. I trust that this arrangement will be satisfactory to you.

Concerning quarters for the Philippine personnel for this Commission and others we may send in the future, will you kindly consider the possibility of housing them in the building formerly occupied by the Philippine Embassy and which has been purchased by the Puppet Republic?

Allow me to express once again the eternal gratitude of the Filipino people to you. The invitation to send this reparations group to Japan is a renewed manifestation of your deep and unceasing regard for their welfare. I look forward with earnestness and with abiding faith that this mission will in a measure help the Philippines reconstruct herself out of the devastation in which she was left by the last war.

With my warmest regards to you and Mrs. MacArthur and the greetings of the New Year, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) **MANUEL ROXAS**

General Douglas MacArthur
Tokyo, Japan

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1947). [Letter of President Roxas to General MacArthur on sending a five-man Commission on Reparations]. Quezon Family Collections. The MacArthur Memorial Archives and Library, Norfolk, VA.

PRESS STATEMENTS

Joint Statement: President Sergio Osmeña and President-elect Manuel Roxas urging the acceptance of the Bell Trade Act and the Tydings War Damage Act, May 22, 1946

Joint Statement of President Sergio Osmeña and President-elect Manuel Roxas:
On urging the acceptance of the Bell Trade Act and the Tydings War Damage Act

[Released on May 22, 1946]

In order to expedite the reconstruction and economic rehabilitation of the Philippines, it is absolutely necessary to define as early as possible the attitude of the Filipino people relative to the trade bill. This is necessary not only in order that businessmen and industrialists may immediately start reconstructing their pre-war factories and other economic activities, but also in order that the United States government may know whether they should proceed to implement the war damage act by making the corresponding appropriations contemplated by the war damage act. Unless the attitude of the Filipino people is clarified on this matter, such appropriations may be delayed.

President Osmeña and President-elect Roxas believe that the trade bill and the war damage bill were the best measures that could have been passed by the Congress of the United States at the time and under the circumstances prevailing in the United States when Congress took action on such measures. While they have definite objections to some of the provisions of these measures, they feel, however, that the wisest and most expedient course which the Philippine government and the Filipino people can adopt at the present time is to accept these measures as soon as practicable, while reserving the right to request Congress for a modification and an improvement of the provisions of such bills. President Osmeña and President-elect Roxas said: "We trust and we ask that the people of the Philippines and the Philippine Congress will support us in this stand."

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines (ed.). (1946). *Official Gazette of the Republic of thePhilippines*. Manila : Government Printing Office, 42 (5), 996.

Statement of President Roxas on Dr. Jose Rizal's Birthday, June 18, 1946 STATEMENT
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY MANUEL ROXAS
PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES
ON DR. JOSE RIZAL'S BIRTHDAY

[June 18, 1946]

Dr. Jose Rizal's birthday comes to us this year with the dawn of independence. The 85th anniversary of this great day thus becomes all the more significant with the final realization this year of the ideal for which he so willingly gave his life.

The great lesson that our people should draw from the teachings of Rizal is that education for all the people is essential to prepare them for a proper discharge of the duties of citizenship in a free country.

It should, indeed, by easy to understand Rizal's concern over the limited opportunities for education and public enlightenment during his time. The government then did not pursue a policy of public education to instruct the people in their rights and duties as free citizens. This is being done now and the chief purpose of our system of education is to prepare the people for active and intelligent participation in the affairs of government. This was one of Rizal's major objectives.

When Rizal said that a people have the government that they deserve, he expressed the essence of the democratic principle. This is true today. The people can have the government that they want. But their will must be expressed in accordance with the processes established by law—peacefully and not through violence. Our laws provide ample and untrammeled opportunities for such expression after a free and intelligent discussion of public questions. This free and intelligent discussion is most desirable. The people should be informed of all the facts, the true facts, and should be guided in their decisions without prejudice, without selfish partisan motive, without any other aim in view except the enduring welfare of the people themselves.

This is in accord with Rizal's philosophy; it is the way of democracy, it is the manner in which our government should function.

My uppermost thought on this 85th anniversary of Rizal's birthday, therefore, is that our people should drink deep of the hero's teachings and learn to apply them to the problems of everyday life. As Rizal has well said, the solution of our problems lies in intelligent study, not in violent action. With our country free, we will need the guidance of Rizal more and more, and I hope, as we live an independent existence, we shall always be inspired by his ideals and encouraged by his noble deeds.

Statement: President Roxas on the eve of Dr. Jose Rizal's birthday anniversary

Statement of President Manuel Roxas:
On the eve of Dr. Jose Rizal's birthday anniversary

[Released on June 19, 1946]

Dr. Jose Rizal's birthday comes to us this year with the dawn of independence. The 85th anniversary of this great day thus becomes all the more significant with the final realization this year of the ideal for which he so willingly gave his life.

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). President Manuel Roxas' statement on the eve of Dr. Jose Rizal's birthday anniversary. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(6)*, 1306-1307.

Statement of President Roxas on the Cooperation with the United States, July 3, 1946

Statement
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Cooperation with the United States

[*July 3, 1946*]

As president of the Philippine Republic, I have committed myself to a policy of frank, open and wholehearted cooperation with the United States in its foreign policy, particularly in the Far East, and toward the United Nations.

I regard the United States as the leading nation in this part of the world. I have great faith and confidence in the fine purposes and the altruism of the United States and i am certain its foreign policy will always be inspired by these great ideals.

The United States is not looking for advantage anywhere in the Far East. I am firm in my purpose not merely to cooperate with America's policy in the Philippines, but also do everything in the power of the Philippine government in enabling the United States to safeguard all military, naval and airbases it may desire permanently to establish here.

As president of the Philippines, I will so arrange the defense of these islands that it may be intimately coordinated with the plans of the United States for the maintenance of defensive bases in the Philippines. We will maintain as large an army as our resources permit and it will cooperate very closely with armed forces of the United Sates based in the Philippines.

Also, I am committed, with reservations, in favor of stimulating the influx of American capital in the Philippines. After the destruction we have suffered, due to war, it can be truthfully said that the Philippines constitute an almost complete economic vacuum. We do not have enough of our own capital to develop the country and, therefore, unless American capital comes to our aid we will have to depend on other foreign capital.

I wish to safeguard against this in order to avoid any future political complications which might prove most dangerous to the independence of the Philippines.

Most of the people of the Philippines, without exception, profess the most profound affection and gratitude to the people of the United States. It is not merely because of what America has taught us before the war in showing us the ways of real democracy and thus inspiring us with an even greater love for freedom and equality it is also because of America's liberation of our country from the hands of a cruel and inhuman enemy.

We have drunk very deeply from the fountain of America's great history and traditions.

After we receive our independence we will continue to seek and to maintain as close relationship with the United States as possible. Perhaps not always will we be able to maintain a close political relationship, but an intimate cooperation with American institutions will remain and endure.

We will always continue teaching the English language in our public schools. We will attentively watch America's leadership in world affairs.

I truly hope there will be no more war. However, should future events prove otherwise and the United States once again takes up arms in defense of liberty and human rights, i am sure the people of the Philippines will consider it not only merely an honor but also their duty to fight alongside the Americans.

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Statement of President Roxas to the Far Eastern Commission on Japanese Education

STATEMENT TO THE FAR EASTERN COMMISSION ON JAPANESE EDUCATION*

July 4, 1946

1. There should be strict supervision of curricula, textbooks and cultural organization.
2. Social sciences, such as civics, especially the bill of rights and rights of free citizenship, American constitutional law and government, British constitutional history and growth of popular government should be taught in schools.
3. Japanese history should be rewritten eliminating there from those myths taken for truth by the Japanese people as to origin of the Yamato race and divinity of emperor.
4. Only teachers of undoubted liberal ideas should be allowed to teach. Foreign educational advisers should be placed in key positions in the ministry of education until such time as the Japanese can convince F.E.C. they can be trusted.
5. Teaching of excessive nationalism, Shintoism, ultra-patriotic societies, ancestor worship, veneration of emperor, and undue exaltation of state over individual should be banned.
6. Japanese women should be given same educational opportunities as men.
7. Through supplementary reading and extra-curricular activities students should be given ample opportunity to acquire information of actual social and political conditions and ways of thinking and life in democratic countries.
8. New tendencies should be stimulated in Japanese art, especially popular music so that themes are more in consonance with the democratic idea.
9. University extension courses should be established emphasizing democratic principles of government and the need of separating church from state. This could be done through radio or lectures supplied to community assemblies.
10. New words should be written into the Japanese national anthem glorifying popular government rather than emperor and it should be sung every day in every school.
11. A textbook board should be established to review and pass upon all textbooks for all schools, including private schools and universities.

* Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, resident commissioner of the Philippines to the U.S. has submitted to the Far Eastern Commission a statement of President Manuel Roxas suggesting basis for an educational policy for Japan. Romulo, who is member for the Philippines on the Far Eastern Commission, transmitted the statement to the secretary general of the Far Eastern Commission. (*Roxas Submits Education Policy Basis for Japan*, The Manila Times, July 5, 1946, p. 7)

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Statement of President Roxas on the first anniversary of the surrender of Japan, August 14, 1946

STATEMENT

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY MANUEL ROXAS

ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE SURRENDER OF JAPAN

August 14, 1946

On August 14th of this year we note the first anniversary of the surrender of Japan, and the end of the Pacific war. On that date, the cruel tyrant who ruled our land and sought with such signal lack of success to impose his brutal will upon us, was brought to his knees in surrender. Not only were his armies defeated, his fleets driven into hidden harbors or sunk at the bottom of the sea, not only was his proud and supposedly divinely guarded homeland assaulted with impunity from the air, but his philosophy, his senseless racial philosophy was convincingly rejected. Here in the Philippines we not only defeated him by force of arms, but what was more vital in a moral sense, we routed his ideas and his way of life. We rejected them and defeated them. We rebuffed his advances and gave cold comfort to his hypocritical protestations of racial brotherhood. We strengthened our unity, despite barbaric duress, with our then mother country and so maintained for all the world to see the sacred comradeship which springs from a common devotion to a common ideal.

Thus, August 14th is to be marked in the Philippines as a day pregnant with meaning. It is a day for rejoicing and re-dedication to the precious fruits of our victory…freedom and democracy.

On this day, the Republic of the Philippines greets her sister Republic across the seas, and greets with equal fervor all the peace-loving legions of the earth who made Victory on August 14th a reality.

Statement: President Roxas on the occasion of the signing of the Sotto Press Freedom Bill

Statement of President Manuel Roxas:
On the occasion of the signing of the Sotto Press Freedom Bill

[Released on October 5, 1946]

Today we take a new and pioneering step forward in bulwarking one of the great freedoms . . . freedom of expression. We are granting to news writers and reporters a legally-privileged status in regard to their sources of information . . . just as doctors already have with the confidences of their patients, and lawyers with their clients.

This is a new aspect to the concept of a free press. The original concept emphasized the freedom of the newspaper itself to express editorial opinion without fear of government repression or retribution. The famous case of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts *vs.* Peter Zengler established that freedom irrevocably in the New World.

Now we are granting the same freedom to the individual writer and reporter . . . to report the facts fearlessly even if the source of those facts must remain shrouded in anonymity. I gladly hail this grant of privilege, which places the Philippines in the advance guard of the forces of progressive liberalism. It should and will, I am sure, make the press increasingly useful as a guardian of public morals and of government integrity.

Yet this freedom can be subject to many abuses. As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said in his classic remark on the subject, "The right of free speech does not give anyone the right to shout 'fire' in a crowded theater."

I am sure that the grant of this new freedom to the Philippine press will enhance devotion to accuracy, balance and impartiality in the presentation of news. That is the desired effect of such an expansion of freedom's frontiers.

If freedom is a sign of progress, we have progressed as far as any people in the world today. I know of no people anywhere who have greater political and social freedom than we have in the Philippines. To me that freedom is a priceless thing . . . yet many of us seem to take it for granted, although it is a scant year since we knew quite a different state of affairs. I should like to say in passing that the military forces which brought us liberation and struck our shackles from us, are the same which now help to make us secure in our freedoms, against all aggression from abroad.

For a new, free and independent nation such as we are, the knowledge that we are free, internally as well as externally, gives heart and hope to enslaved peoples everywhere.

Senator Sotto deserves all praise for sponsoring and fighting for this legislation. The press itself can take credit for its part in bringing this legislation into enactment. As for me I am proud to sign this bill, as I was glad to include it in the list of "must" legislation for the recent special session.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Statement by President Roxas on the occasion of the signing of the Sotto Press Freedom Bill. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines,42(10)*, 2569-2570.

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Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Statement by President Roxas on the occasion of the signing of the Sotto Press Freedom Bill. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines,42(10)*, 2569-2570.

Statement: President Roxas on the occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Republic of China

Statement of President Manuel Roxas:
On the occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Republic of China

[Released on October 10, 1946]

In behalf of the Filipino people, I wish to extend felicitous greetings to the great Republic of China on this its 35th anniversary. The struggles of the Chinese people for national unity and democratic progress have not been easy nor without heart-breaking trials. Indeed, since the founding of the Chinese Republic under the far-seeing statesmanship of Sun Yat Sen, in 1910, China has been subjected to a series of assaults upon its territory and other tensions which have tested the great soul of that nation. That the Chinese people have survived all the crises of the bitter years of the past three decades and has come out of the eight years of Japanese occupation and brigandage bruised, but unbeaten and victorious, attests to the vitality and virility of the Chinese people.

Today China is one of the five Great Powers of the postwar world. In Asia she is the largest power. It is with deep satisfaction that we of the young Republic of the Philippines count on the friendship and goodwill of the Chinese people. Sino-Philippine friendship, being both natural and historic, will surely grow with the years by its own momentum as well as by the compulsion of common needs and common aspirations.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Statement by President Roxas on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Republic of China. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2569.

Statement: President Roxas on Navy Day

Statement of President Manuel Roxas:
On Navy Day

[Released on October 27, 1946]

The U. S. Navy has emerged from the last global war as world's greatest and mightiest navy. But its magnificent performance and achievements during the war, in guarding convoys, conveying men and materials to the scattered battlefronts and clearing the waterways for the forces of freedom, it has earned for itself the eternal respect and gratitude of all the world. Today it is the most potent force watching over the peace—a shining symbol of America's supremacy and power.

It is with a deep feeling of admiration, pride and gratitude that, today, I salute the U. S. Navy. It was this navy that brought the forces of liberation to our beleaguered land. And on this navy our young Republic places its hope in the future, as one of the greatest bulwarks of America's power to safeguard the freedom of small nations like ours. May the U. S. Navy live up to its glorious traditions and may it live on to preserve the peace!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). On Navy Day, October 27, 1946, President Roxas issued the following statement. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2566.

Statement: President Roxas on signing the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation legislation

Statement of President Manuel Roxas:
On signing the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation legislation

[Released on October 29, 1946]

In approving the three bills which together provide for the establishment and the capitalization of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, the Government is moving forward with its program to overcome as much as possible the inherent inertia which is holding back full-scale rehabilitation and reconstruction. The Government is moreover taking the lead in the planned development and expansion of the national economy.

Our goal is, of course, an independent and broad-gauge economy, geared primarily to meet the consumption needs of our people, and integrating our national resources and capabilities so as to make the maximum use of our national resources and capabilities so as to make the maximum use of our national genius and potentialities—to produce most what we can produce, but to produce best what we need most.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation is designed to provide credit facilities for all who wish to undertake the rehabilitation of war-destroyed enterprises and the expansion of our industrial potential. Where private enterprise has neither the capacity nor the means of initiating these endeavors, government corporations and entities are given the authority in this legislation to take the lead in this vital work.

The whole purpose and function of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation is to permit our own people the greatest possible opportunity and to give them every encouragement to participate in the national economic life on every front and in every field. Every inducement will be given to Filipinos to take advantage of the facilities here made available by law.

But it is primarily the responsibility of the people themselves and of Philippine private enterprises to take advantage of the opportunities offered. The Government cannot and will not engage in economic mollycoddling or wet-nursing beyond the limits of sound economic practice. Nor is this legislation intended to provide operating subsidies for any enterprise. Every undertaking financed by the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation must be self-liquidating and must hold forth promise of profit in the free market place of economic endeavor. Capital will be provided, but losses will not be subsidized. Every enterprise must be able to stand on its own feet under the hardy conditions of free competition in a free and open market. The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation will not be a party to the protection of monopoly at the expense of the consuming public.

As I said when I proposed this legislation to the Congress, we face a magnificent opportunity. It is up to all of us to see that this opportunity is realized. Everything will depend on the administration of this legislation. The men who will direct this vast enterprise must be above personal consideration as well as above politics. This is an acid test for our nation.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). **Statement of President Roxas o**n signing the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation legislation on October 29, 1946. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2546-2547.

HISTORICAL PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS

Letter of Francis B. Harrison to Vice President and Secretary of Foreign Affairs Elpidio Quirino

Letter of Francis B. Harrison to Vice President and Secretary of Foreign Affairs Elpidio Quirino*

Office of the President of the Philippines

Manila, February 27, 1947

Honorable Elpidio Quirino
Vice-President and concurrently
Secretary of Foreign Affairs

My dear Mr. Secretary;

I have the honor to submit herewith the portfolio of papers prepared under your direction, concerning the present status of those territories in North Borneo over which, since 1714, the Sultanate of Sulu has held sovereignty.

In an earlier memorandum dated September 26, 1946, and now in this file, I advised the Philippine Government to protest to the Government of Great Britain against the latter's announcement of July 16, 1946, that the State of North Borneo had become a Crown Colony of the British Monarchy. This Annexation took place just twelve days after the Inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines, and was done in derogation of the rights of the Sultanate of Sulu.

Meanwhile, further important evidence has come to us from the Philippine Embassy in Washington, where Mr. Eduardo Quintero, searching in the National Archives, found a photostatic copy of the document dated January 22, 1878, upon which the British Government bases their claim to all the lands tributary to the Sultanate of Sulu. This was obtained in 1940 by the United States Department of State from the British Government, and is hereto annexed. The second copy of this document had been held by the Sultan of Sulu, and, as is alleged, was stolen from him during a visit he made to Singapore many years ago. This story is to be found in the newspaper article in the Chicago Daily Tribune of October 14, 1945, written by Mr. Aleko Lilius in an authenticated interview with the late Sultan of Sulu.

The photostatic copy of this document, furnished by the British Government has been translated at my request by Mr. Harold Conklin, assistant to Professor H. Otley Beyer in the University of the Philippines. Mr. Conklin is a qualified scholar in the Malay language and in the Arabic script in which language and writing this document was written. This translation now follows:

"Signature of Sultan
Mohammed Jamalul Alam

Official seal of the
Sultan of Sulu

GRANT BY THE SULTAN OF SULU OF A PERMANENT LEASE COVERING HIS LANDS AND TERRITORIES ON THE ISLAND OF BORNEO:
Dated January 22nd, 1878.

We, Sri Paduka Maulana Al Sultan MOHAMMED JAMALUL ALAM, Son of Sri Paduka Marhum Al Sultan MUHAMMED PULALUN, Sultan of Sulu and all dependencies thereof, on behalf of ourselves and for our heirs and successors, and with the expressed desire of all Datus in common agreement, do hereby desire to lease, of our

own free will and satisfaction, to Gustavus Baron de Overbeck of Hongkong, and to Alfred Dent, Esquire, of London, who act as representatives of a British Company, together with their heirs, associates, successors, and assigns, forever and until the end of time, all rights and powers which we possess over all territories and lands tributary to us on the mainland of the Island of Borneo, commencing from the Pandassan River on the west, and thence along the whole east coast as far as the Sibuku River on the south, and including all territories, on the Pandassan River and in the coastal area, known as Paitan, Sugut, Banggai, Labuk, Sandakan, China-batangan, Mumiang, and all other territories and coastal lands to the south, bordering on Darvel Bay, and as far as the Sibuku River, together with all the islands which lie within nine miles from the coast.

In consideration of this (territorial) lease, the honorable Gustavus Baron de Overbeck and Alfred Dent, Esquire, promise to pay to His Highness Maulana Sultan Mohammed Jamalul Alam, and to his heirs and successors, the sum of five thousand dollars annually, to be paid each and every year.

The above-mentioned territories are from today truly leased to Mr. Gustavus Baron de Overbeck and to Alfred Dent, Esquire, as already said, together with their heirs, their associates (company), and their successors or assigns, for as long as they choose or desire to use them; but the rights and powers hereby leased shall not be transferred to another nation, or a company of other nationality, without the consent of Their Majesties' Government.

Should there be any dispute, or reviving of old grievances of any kind, between us, and our heirs and successors, with Mr. Gustavus Baron de Overbeck or his Company, then the matter will be brought for consideration or judgement to their Majesties' Consul-General in Brunei.

Moreover, if His Highness Maulana Al Sultan Mohammed Jamalul Alam, and his heirs and successors, become involved in any trouble or difficulties hereafter, the said honorable Mr. Gustavus Baron de Overbeck and his Company promise to give aid and advice to us within the extent of their ability.

This treaty is written in Sulu, at the Palace of the Sultan Mohammed Jamalul Alam, on the 19th day of the month of Muharam, A.H. 1295; that is on the 22nd day of the month of January, year 1878.

Seal of the Sultan Jamalul Alam

Witness to seal and signature:
(Sgd.) **W.H. Treacher**,

H. B. M. Acting Consul General in Borneo

A true translation of the attached original document written in Malay language in Arabic characters.

(Sgd.) **Harold C. Conklin**"

In my opinion, the most important features of the above document are:

(1) This is distinctly a lease, and not a cession of sovereignty as is claimed by the latter-day British officials;

(2) It is a permanent lease on annual rental of five thousand (Mexican) dollars, and was not limited in duration as was maintained by many of the present day Joloano Moros. The rental has not been paid since the year 1939. A similar lease of his territories was made by the Sultan of Brunei in 1865 to American Consul Charles Lee Moses, but that was limited to a fixed period, though in terms was renewable. Consul Moses always referred to his title deed as a lease, which, failing support by the Department of State, was later transferred to Baron Overbeck and Mr. Dent. If we could secure a copy of the original document by which the Sultan of Borneo in 1841 established Mr. (later Sir James) Brooke as the Rajah of Sarawak we should probably find this also was a lease and was the prototype of this whole series of transactions;

(3) The Sultan of Sulu, in the above photostat of his lease of 1878 to Baron Overbeck and Alfred Dent professes explicitly that he is acting "on behalf of ourselves and for our heirs and successors and with the expressed desire of all Datus in Common Agreement." But we note that none of the Datus is mentioned by name in this instrument, nor does the signature of any of the Datus or of any members of the Council of State appear on the document. This is a most significant omission, for one of the other of these courses was required by their customary law.

For the full implication of this significant omission, please see the annexed "Brief Memorandum on the Government of the Sultanate of Sulu and Powers of the Sultan, During the 19th Century,"* dated December 8, 1946, and prepared at my request by Professor H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines.

Professor Beyer there states that: "In Sulu the government is an oligarchy-vested in the Sultan and datus, in the Ruma Bechara assembled."

We have thus no evidence that the members of the Ruma Bechara were present or consented to the signing by the Sultan of the lease of January 22, 1878, to Overbeck and Dent. This fact utterly impugns the validity of this transaction and raises serious doubts as to the whole matter.

My opinion then, upon the document offered us in photostatic reproduction by the British Government as a basis of a present claim to sovereignty over the territories in question, is that this title is of an obscure and doubtful origin and is without vigor because it is not in compliance with Moro law.

It should be noted that the translation of the above given document is in quite different language from the copy furnished by Mr. Justice Mackaskie of the High Court of North Borneo on December 18, 1939, and upon which this Judge bases his decision. I quote his language from a photostatic copy of the decision which is attached to these papers:

"The translation of the main deed of *Cession* of 1878 as given in 'Treaties and Engagement affecting the MalayStates and Borneo', by Maxwell and Gibson is as follows:

"Grant by Sultan of Sulu of *Territories and Lands* on the mainland of the Island of Borneo, Dated 22nd January, 1878.

"We Sri Paduka Maulana Al Sultan Mohammed Jamal Al Alam Bin Sri Paduka Al Marhom Al Sultan Mohamet Fathlon Sultan of Sulu and the dependencies thereof on behalf of ourselves our heirs and *successors and with the consent and advice of the Datoos in Council assembled hereby grant and cede* of our own free and sovereign will to Gustavus Baron de Overbeck of Hongkong and Alfred Dent, Esquire of London as representative of a British Company x x x x."

Upon examination of our own translation of the original document (in photostat) it will be seen that Maxwell and Gibson, the English authors on whose text the decision of Mr. Justice Mackaskie was based, have changed the language so as to make the document a grant cession instead of lease, as it really was, and as the word "padjak" in the original really means. In view of this vital divergence from the original text, I do not find myself able to give full faith and credit to the opinion of Mr. Justice Mackaskie in the famous case in 1939 in Sandakan.

A second agreement was signed by the same Sultan of Sulu on the same date, January 22, 1878, of which we have not the original text but have received from the Department of State in Washington a photostat of a typewritten document in English, entitled: "Commission from the Sultan of Sulu appointing Baron de Overbeck Datu Bandahara and Rajah of Sandakan." The appointment is said to be in almost identical language with the commission of Rajah or Governor of the Brunei lands by the Sultan thereof in 1865 to Consul Charles Lee Moses. The delegation of powers to the Rajah or Governor of Sandakan is very complete, and all persons are called upon "to respect his authority therein *as our own.*"

This second agreement was evidently an appointment as Governor or Rajah under the feudal system which then still prevailed in the Mohammedan Malay sovereignty.

(4) The very special pleading of Mr. Justice Mackaskie in his decision in the High Court of Sandakan on December 18, 1939, has been, no doubt, the basis upon which the British government acted in absorbing these territories as a Crown Colony on July 16, 1946. This decision is discussed at some length in my previous memorandum of September 26, 1946. I shall take up again one point made in that paper, namely the argument of Justice Mackaskie that upon death in 1936 of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II, President Quezon did not "recognize" any new Sultan of Sulu in response to enquiries from the North Borneo Government. I wish to reiterate my previous statement that so far as the Sultanate of Sulu was concerned, President Quezon had no legal power to abolish the Sultanate—that could have been done only by the Moros themselves, either by positive action of their own, or by neglect to elect a new Sultan—but promptly thereafter two Sultans of Sulu were chosen by rival factions. The only other way in which an ancient State like the Sultanate of Sulu could have been abolished would have been by force, as, for example by armed conquest, and that determination of the question was, of course, lacking in the premises.

As to the question as to what should now be done by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines in this matter, I wish to enter here the opinion expressed by Dr. Beyer on page 10 of his memorandum of December 8, 1946 (hereto annexed) as follows:

"The question as to whether the present Government of the Republic of the Philippines should take any definite action in the way of officially recognizing the existing Sultan of Sulu is a matter of public policy on which I have no desire to make specific recommendation. In the interest of the peace and welfare of the numerous Mohammedan citizens of the Sulu Archipelago, however, I believe that it is a matter that should sooner or later receive serious consideration from the President and his Cabinet with a view to arriving at some just solution of this vexatious question."

Your Government has honored me with a request for an opinion on these matters, and I recommend that the Sultanate of Sulu be advised to eliminate the existing anomaly of having two rival Sultans, and that they elect only one legal Sultan, and that the latter, whoever he may be, should, as promptly as may be, request the Government of the Republic of the Philippines on behalf of the Sultanate to protest the absorption of their sovereign rights in North Borneo territories into a British Crown Colony, and if met with a refusal, on the part of the British Government, to reconsider this action, that the whole matter be laid before the United Nations Organization for adjustment.

In conclusion, I draw attention to the parallel situation in the adjoining States of Sarawak which was taken by the British Government as a Crown Colony a few weeks before similar action on British North Borneo. The negotiations for Sarawak were made by its recent Rajah, the grand nephew of the first Brooke who had been commissioned as Rajah or Governor of Sarawak by the Sultan of Brunei in 1841. In 1888, Sarawak was "recognized" by the British Government as an independent country under the protection of Great Britain, still under a Rajah Brooke. The Third Rajah Brooke, for certain compensation, recently ceded his country to England as a Crown Colony. The nephew of Rajah Brooke, his successor in line, Mr. Anthony Brooke, has made protest against the destruction of the independence of his country; has recently (in December 1946) been refused admission to the new Crown Colony of Sarawak; has aroused support both in Sarawak and in the British Parliament, and he now proposes to lay the whole matter before the United Nations Organization.

In reviewing the subject of the claims of the Sultanate of Sulu to their ancient patrimony in North Borneo, one must come to the conclusion that the action of the British Government in announcing on the sixteenth of July, just twelve days after the inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines, a step taken by the British Government uniterally, and without any special notice to the Sultanate of Sulu, nor consideration of their legal rights, was an act of political aggression which should promptly be repudiated by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines.

The proposal to lay this case before the United Nations should bring the whole matter before the bar of world opinion. Never, in history, has there been given any people such an opportunity as exists today, to secure justice by an appeal to the enlightened conscience of mankind.

(Signed) FRANCIS B. HARRISON
Adviser to the President

Radio Remarks of President-elect Roxas over the Columbia Broadcasting System

Radio Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President-elect of the Philippines
Over the Columbia Broadcasting System

[Delivered on May 10, 1946 (American Standard Time)]

"I HAVE COME TO THE UNITED STATES TO DISCUSS OUR PROBLEMS WITH YOUR LEADERS"

I am not a stranger in America. My first visit here was in 1923 when I was a member of one of the early independence missions which came to ask that our deep yearning for political independence be satisfied. I have been here many times since.

But America is much more to me than a country I have come to know by travel and residence. America is, in a sense, my country and will be until July 4 of this year. Since 1898, when I was six years old, I have been a national of the United States, owing allegiance to your flag and to your Constitution, subject to your laws and the provisions of your Congress. In the 47 years that I have been an American national, I have learned to know and to admire, and to believe wholeheartedly in, the philosophy of life which you exemplify and have taught us. Your system of government by law rather than by men is our system. Your system of a tripod type government, of Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, with coordinate powers and responsibilities, is our system of government. Your institutions are our institutions. Your political and moral principles are our political and moral principles. Although the color of our skin is brown, the temper of our minds and our beliefs are almost identical with yours. The Philippines, in governmental system and tradition, is a replica in miniature of the United States. There has been transplanted to a land 10,000 miles across the seas, the seed of American democracy. We hold as firm a devotion to the institutions of democracy as you have here. I think our people have *proved* their devotion to those institutions beyond all question or doubt.

Yet we must begin our national existence in a land torn and shattered by war. The wheels of industrial and agricultural production are in large measure idle. We have almost no transport to link our 7,000 islands. Our communications are broken down. World food shortages, combined with the ravages of war, face us with a severe food crisis. The stark spectre of hunger looms over the land. Our capital goods, our machinery, our factories and homes are in ruins. Our export trade, beginning only *now* to be restored, is but a modest fraction of what it was before the war. We are in the grip of a ghastly inflation. Mass unemployment is increasing daily.

Many people of my country have been seized with a deep sense of unrest. Some of them anxiously and hopefully inspect foreign ideologies, and look for new panaceas. In some few parts of the country, law and order have broken down. Yet the goal of economic plenty has been glimpsed by many in the midst of the swift rush of events of recent history. In the Philippines today we are faced both with the problem of binding up the wounds inflicted by war and at the same time bringing a new era of plenty to the large underprivileged sectors of the population. I have pledged my earnest efforts to advance this development.

We are not deceiving ourselves. We must travel a long and difficult road. It cannot be brought about by a mere laying on of hands. It can be accomplished only by hard, patient and persistent toil over a long period of time. The Philippine people are ready and willing to undertake such a task.

But the United States to whom we gave all our devotion during the recent world conflict is necessarily a major factor in all our plans for future development. Our prospects for national existence would be bleak if we could not hold to the hope that the United States will stand firmly by our side with assistance and counsel during the difficult months and years ahead. We have not asked and are not asking for a gratuity. We have asked and are asking only for

the opportunity to help ourselves. Give us a chance to make democracy in the Pacific succeed. Give us a chance to secure and maintain the independence you are about to grant us.

The United States Congress has already taken steps to assist us to recover from the ravages of war. The Congress has granted us 8 years of free trade and 20 years of gradually decreasing tariff preferences following the free trade period. The Congress has authorized to be appropriated the sum of $520,000,000 for the payment of war damages to private and public property.

For this we are grateful. One of the purposes of my coming here on the eve of my inauguration as President of the Philippine Commonwealth, is to express as fervently and as often as I can to as many people as I can the heartfelt gratitude of the people of the Philippines for your understanding and assistance. I must make it plain, however, that the trade concessions granted us do not represent an outright grant on your part. We are called upon to give *your* products and *your* exports the same concessions in our markets as you give ours. And for the next several years at least your exports to the Philippines will far exceed in value our exports to the United States. The balance of trade will be overwhelmingly favorable to you. But I do not wish to speak in terms of dollar benefits. I do not wish to weigh in the balance the dollars that will be earned by your exporters against the dollars that will be received by our producers. I realize that the measures which have been enacted by the United States Congress provide a feasible formula which, together with other steps which must be taken by both the United States and the Philippines, will permit the gradual rehabilitation of our economy. Meanwhile, we have made plans for an over-all reconstruction of our economy so that eventually—and the sooner the better—we will not be dependent upon trade preferences in the United States market for our national existence. We hope to industrialize and to diversify and to construct an economy capable of sustaining an increasingly high standard of living, to achieve full employment and profitable employment.

The measures which have been provided for the rehabilitation of our economic life and for the repayment of our war damages will not, in themselves, produce an immediate reconstruction of our economy. Meanwhile, the *needs* of the Philippine people *are* immediate. We must have food, we must have funds with which to finance the activities of government, to provide for the restoration of law and order, the encouragement of production and the beginning of a program of social reform.

I am sure that our needs will not fall on deaf ears in Washington. The American people who have watched over our welfare for so many years, who liberated us from the enemy and who have indicated their desire to see our nation thrive and our people prosper, will be willing, I think, to give us the immediate assistance we require. Remember that today you have in the Philippines not only an ally but a *protagonist* of your *own* way of life. It is for the advancement of that way of life, as well as for the welfare of my people, that I have come to the United States to discuss our problems with your leaders. I was in the Philippines during 3 1/2 years of tragic Japanese occupation. I have seen with my own eyes and felt in my own person the tremendous pressures exerted to win us over to the designs of the so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. United States High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt has given eloquent testimony to the American people that this attempt did not succeed. I can tell you without qualm or qualification that not for one moment during the occupation did the Philippine people waver in their complete devotion to the American cause and to our common ideals. The Philippine people resisted the enemy, but at what great cost! They resisted passively with the weapons of indifference, of disobedience and of scorn. They resisted actively with guns, bolos, knives, and with grim courage. Many were victims of a violent Japanese vengeance which knew no bounds of humanity, in grim retribution for pro-American acts and pro-American thoughts. Hundreds and thousands of my countrymen died in this cause. Though we mourn them, their deaths were not in vain. I think we have proved to the people of the world the validity and the strength of the ideals of freedom and human dignity. Violence and cruelty cannot destroy those ideals. Brute force cannot drive the love of democracy and liberty from men's minds.

During the Japanese occupation there was little that could be done to alleviate the sufferings and humiliations of the people. The enemy was the more savage against us because he could not sway the loyalty of our hearts. Appeal as he would and did to the false doctrine of race, he could never understand our rejection of that doctrine. In his impotent fury, he committed against us unbelievable acts of cruelty, as the shadow of defeat came closer. Liberation, though it brought with it the destruction of much of our land, was the happiest day in our history. It is soon now to be followed by the grant of independence.

In preparing to assume our future role as an independent nation, we are showing no ingratitude to the United States. We are showing no forgetfulness of the great gifts which American sovereignty brought us; rather we are reflecting the teachings of American patriots and heroes whom we revere as much as you do. We are following the path toward independence charted for us by your leaders during 47 years of political association. We have taken to heart the lessons of liberty you taught us. We hope to practice them, to advance them, to maintain them. We are not cutting our ties with the United States, we are merely terminating the period of political dependence. What we propose to substitute instead is interdependence, a mutually beneficial relationship based on two great foundation stones: first, a mutually beneficial trade and community of economic interests, and second, a steadfast mutual allegiance to identical political principle and to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

We invite American capital and American businessmen to help us develop our homeland. There are vast opportunities in the Philippines for enterprise, for ingenuity and for technical know-how. The Philippines are rich in resources, resources which have scarcely been touched. We have no prejudices against profits legitimately gained by a positive contribution to the economic life of our nation. But we expect that whatever development of our resources takes place shall take place under conditions which will be both profitable to enterprise and capable of contributing to the social and economic welfare of the great masses of the people. Not only must the damages of war be repaired, but the economic status of the Philippine people must be raised the purchasing power of the people increased and the stability of democracy made secure.

The United States can earn for itself in the Orient a national profit that will be beyond value and calculation. If a prosperous and free democracy can be built in the Philippines upon the ruins of war, the prestige of America and the American way of life will be raised to towering heights and the millions of people of the Far East will look to us, and to you as their models.

On our side we are conscious of an obligation to you and to the world to promote this development. Our obligation is to represent political stability in the unstable Orient. Economically we of the Philippines need assistance, but politically we are secure in a chosen way of life, your way of life. We are the only people in the many peopled Orient who understand their own destiny. We alone in the Far East bear aloft the banner of democracy without internal dissent. We carry that banner through convictions. We know that the eyes of the Oriental world are upon us. We will not falter or fail.

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NOTE.—Following his election, the President-elect decided to make an unofficial visit to the United States for the purpose of discussing with American high officials the immediate problems of the Philippines, specially the relations between the American and Filipino peoples and their governments. Upon knowing of his plans, President Truman extended to him an invitation to be the guest of the United States.

In company with Paul V. McNutt, then the American High Commissioner in the Philippines, the President-elect made the trip on May 8, returning on May 21. On his arrival he said that America will not let us down. See Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 for other speeches during his trip.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 1). Manila : Bureau of Public Libraries.

Radio Interview of President-elect Roxas over the National Broadcasting System

Radio Interview
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President-elect of the Philippines
Over the National Broadcasting System

[Released on May 16, 1946 (American Standard Time)]

RADIO INTERVIEW OVER THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM

HARKNESS: General Roxas, before we go into the specific problems facing your country as it approaches independence, I think it might be interesting, I know it would be for me, to hear a few basic facts about the Philippines. What, for instance, is the racial relationship of Filipinos to the other peoples of the Orient? What kind of customs do you have in the Islands? What is the prevalent language?

Roxas: That is a large order, Mr. Harkness. Books have been written on some of the questions you have asked me. However, I will answer as briefly as I can. Filipinos are of Malayan stock and came to the Philippines many, many centuries ago. They are related to the inhabitants of Indo-China and the Indonesians in general. Together they form the racial group called the Malaysians. During recent centuries there has been little intercourse between the Filipinos and their racial kin. Since the great Spanish explorer, Magellan, discovered the Philippines in 1521, the Islands have been exposed largely to Western influence, As you probably know, over 90 per cent of our people are Catholics and although we have many local dialects the one common language spoken by all Filipinos today is English. Our customs, although they still contain some evidence of Malayan origin, came largely from Spain; in more recent years they have been liberally mixed with American customs and habits. I suppose one of the major cultural influences in the Philippines today is Hollywood and its movies. As I said, English is the prevalent language although most of the old folks cling to their native dialects which differ from island to island.

HARKNESS: What success did the Japanese have, General in trying to win over the Filipinos to their viewpoint? I assume they did try.

ROXAS: They tried, and tried hard for three years but their failure was total. There were a few Filipinos who, even before the war, were pro-Japanese. Some of them had studied in Japan. There were a few others, before the war, who thought that our future lies in an alliance with Japan after we became independent. Those who were pro-Japanese are either dead or in jail. Those who had some idea that we could or should get along with the Japanese have been greatly disillusioned and have changed their viewpoint. The Japanese tried to appeal to us on the basis of race. They said the colored peoples of Asia ought to control Asia and the world, and they invited us to join in that control. They spoke about the so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It became one of the common jokes in the Philippines and many of my countrymen were punished just for laughing. But the Japanese coupled their extensive propaganda efforts with terrible and inhuman barbarism practiced against all those whom the Japanese accused of having, what they called, bad and dangerous thoughts. No, the Filipino people were not deceived by the Japanese propaganda. They could not be. They could not think in the same idiom the Japanese thought in. Of course they did not speak the same language. The Japanese could no more shake the Filipino belief and faith in democracy than the pagans of Roman days could destroy Christianity by persecution and brutality. And it is exactly the same kind of faith that the early Christians had in their religion that the Filipinos had and have in democracy, in liberty, and in America.

HARKNESS: Well, if the Philippines and the Filipinos are as loyal and devoted to America as you say, I suppose there is little objection to our maintenance of air and naval bases in the Philippines after independence?

ROXAS: Mr. Harkness, rather than say little objection, I would say no objection. Indeed we welcome the retention by the United States of those bases. It was agreed to back in 1944 and was actually approved both by your Congress

and the Philippine Congress a year ago. There is no major group in the Philippines which seriously objects to American bases in the Islands. As far as the great majority of the Philippine people is concerned, they welcome the use by the United States of base facilities for the protection and defense of both the Philippines and the United States. In fact, when I become President, I hope to propose to the United States a plan under which Philippine troops would cooperate with American troops in the defense of these bases . . . so that eventually some of your boys can come home. As I see it, these bases are essential not only for the protection of American interests, and for the protection of Philippine interests, but also for the promotion of the whole system of security by which the peace of the Pacific will be guaranteed. These bases will fit into the general pattern of United Nations security. Filipino and American troops employed in this sector will be, in a sense, functioning as members of the international police force required to secure the peace.

HARKNESS: Would you feel that these naval and air bases infringe upon your sovereignty, General?

ROXAS: No, not at all. No more than the presence of the United Nations Council sitting in New York infringe on the sovereignty of the United States. As long as we feel that these forces are situated in the Philippines to help support international policies to which we subscribe, we will feel that the American troops are there in our cause and we will feel the same toward them as we feel toward Filipino troops.

HARKNESS: I understand that you have informally proposed that the United States Congress vote the Philippines a $400,000,000 loan. What do you propose to do with that money and how would you pay it back?

ROXAS: The loan we seek and to which you refer, Mr. Harkness, is, what one Congressman with whom I discussed the subject, called a “loan of convenience”. It will be a loan to enable us to pay for the essential services of government. At the present moment we have no source of government revenue to speak of. Our land is devastated. Our industries are prostrate. We cannot tax properties which are in ruins. We cannot tax land that is not being used. We cannot tax civilians who are barely able to eke out a living. But gradually we expect to rehabilitate our economy. Your Congress has provided measures to assist us in this, and from the industries that develop and from the new investments which we hope will flow into the Philippines, we hope to obtain sufficient revenue not only to support the government but to repay the loan. We will repay that loan with interest. We have never yet failed o meet an external obligation. We have requested a loan of $100 000,000 for the first year of independent existence and decreasing amounts after that for four more years. I might say that the reception given by your officials to our request has been sympathetic. I think we are going to get the loan.

HARKNESS: What is the most serious problem your country faces on the eve of independence, Mr. President?

ROXAS: Our most serious problem, Mr. Harkness, is independence. I mean, we are going to be a free nation, yet we are a nation in ruins. That is a general statement, Mr. Harkness. But speaking of our internal problems, there is one which is more serious than all the others and that is the land problem. We have lived for centuries in the shadow of a feudal regime. We have not yet gotten away entirely from that feudalism. There are many tenant farmers, whose average cash income before the war in an entire year was 30 gold dollars. These people are discontented. They have reason to be. Many of them now have arms which are held illegally. There were hundreds and thousands of guns distributed by your armed forces or stolen from the Japanese which are being held by individuals who see in their guns an assurance of economic justice. Of course they are completely wrong in that. We cannot discuss economic reforms at gunpoint. While we are reestablishing law and order in these isolated sections of my homeland, we will also be working at economic reforms to bring to these people, many of whom fought bravely for our common cause during the war, a measure of relief and of social justice. Some of the larger estates will be purchased by the government and will be divided up. We plan to initiate resettlement projects in some of our undeveloped areas, to relieve the plight of the tenant farmers. We propose to increase the proportion of the crops that the tenant receives and at the same time to increase the yield by modernization of agricultural methods and by the large-scale building of farm-to-market roads. The landlords have not been without fault in the Philippines. Usury was practiced in many areas. We intend to use to the full the powers of government to protect the underprivileged. That is certainly a major function of government. It will all be done within the framework of free enterprise. It is a direction which you in the United States have followed during the past generation.

There is much more I could say, Mr. Harkness. We have many problems to be solved in the next few years. I am confident that the American people will sympathize with our needs and our requirements and will, when necessary, give us a helping hand along the way.

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NOTE.—In this interview with Mr. Richard Harkness, the President indicated that of our internal problems the land problem is the most serious, for under the prevailing land system the average annual cash income of the tenant is very low—around 30 gold dollars only before the war.

This problem has its root deep in history. Long before Spain came, the land was more or less communal, and its administration had been placed in the hands of the head, the datu or the sultan. Gradually the idea of individual ownership developed and in the 15th or 16th century the land occupied by the *barangay* was already generally and in large part divided, each one knowing his own. As the Spanish rule was being extended here, gratuitous land grants were awarded to those who came over to help in the discovery and conquest. The documents of these grants were not drawn up in precise terms, or were dishonestly made, and many lots owned privately were included in many of them. Court litigations arose in view thereof and these only served to fan general discontent for usually the small owners lost in the court battles. This was one method whereby extensive landholdings developed.

Other big landholdings grew out of the misfortune or shiftless character of many native owners who borrowed at usurious interest and soon could no longer pay their debts except by transferring their rights on their lands.

The big landholdings that were causing much trouble at the beginning of the 20th century were those held by the Roman Catholic Church, comprising 420,000 acres or 190,000 hectares, most of which, the tenants thereon believed, had belonged to their ancestors who were deprived of their rights in some way or other. The U. S. authorities in the Philippines saw immediately that here was an opportunity at social amelioration, and the Government bought most of the estates for 15 million pesos to be sold on long-term installments. Aside from this major transaction, the Government had not done much; and President Roxas had indicated it as his policy to buy and subdivide the larger estates.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 1). Manila : Bureau of Public Libraries.

Remarks of President-elect Roxas at the Overseas Writer's Club

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President-elect of the Philippines
At the Overseas Writers' Club

[Delivered in Washington, D.C., May 16, 1946 (American Standard Time)]

"WE ARE NOT AFRAID OF IMPERIALIST DESIGNS ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES"

This is my second appearance in two days before a body of American newspapermen. I am told that I have the privilege of speaking off the record here. It is a privilege I value but which I decline. What I have to say can be said to the world. I am limited only by time and opportunity to say all I wish to say to the American people about the Philippines and about Philippine-American relations.

In my homeland, where an entire people have suddenly developed a tremendous avidity for world news, for information on the trends and currents of affairs beyond their immediate concern, realizing today more than your people how those affairs affect their daily lives, the newspaper profession is a young and vital one. Many of our newspapermen have had little previous training. They have taken to the smell of ink and paper like the proverbial duck to water. They are fearless and crusading. Frequently they are overzealous. They crusade at the drop of a typewriter. It is a good sign, an encouraging sign. But it is often uncomfortable for those who have the responsibility of government.

Where before the war Manila had approximately a dozen periodical publications including daily newspapers, today we have a hundred, and the total circulation is many times that before the war. Almost all these publications are printed in English. They resemble yours in style and makeup In the case of some, the resemblance is not close enough to flatter you; but your newspapers and magazines in the United States are the models of ours in the Philippines. We have nothing to approach the *New York Times* as yet, but we have had several newspapers which bear a striking resemblance to the *New York Daily News* and the *Washington Times-Herald.* I mean no disrespect to those two very interesting and enterprising newspapers.

I am about to wind up my official visit to the United States. I have been in Washington seven days. Into that short time I have tried to compress the activities of a month. I have enough pending business to keep me here two months more. But time is always of the essence when you have the least of it. I must go back for my inauguration on May 28. I must organize my Government. Cables reaching me from Manila indicate that the leaders of my party are having trouble sharing the glory of political victory. It is time I was back home.

But I cannot leave without telling you how overwhelmingly gratifying has been this visit to the United States. The last time I was in this country was in 1939 when I was a member of an economic mission seeking some adjustment of our post-independence trade relations. It was a hard, uphill fight. We accomplished little more than to compile an excellent record, which is still useful today, but is rather more important for historians than for current use.

I have found a completely different atmosphere on this occasion. The leaders of Government, and just plain people everywhere in the United States, are as interested in the Philippines as they are in their own affairs. Your President, who is, in a sense, our President, too, exhibited an amazing knowledge of the Philippines and is showing by deed as well as by word his wholehearted desire to advance in every way possible the cause of Philippine independence and the welfare of my people.

When I mentioned, almost casually, because I was afraid to do it otherwise, my desire for a $400,000,000 loan for the support of my Government on Capitol Hill the other day, I was amazed to find how friendly was my reception. I think we are going to get our loan, although we have only begun the process of applying for it. But you and your

leaders have demonstrated a receptiveness to our needs and our interests which assures us of success. For this mere gratitude is a poor and inadequate word.

During the recent election campaign, I spoke early and often regarding the necessity of maintaining on a primary plane the closest possible relations with the United States after independence, I said that America was the hope of the Philippines and that your Government could be depended upon to aid us navigate the desperate waters of economic chaos which now surround us. I said American had not forgotten and would not forget our loyalty during the war. I said the blood we shed under the American flag, mingled with the blood of American boys who struggled with us shoulder to shoulder, had fertilized the soil of Philippine-American relations and would bring forth a harvest of mutuality to repay our sacrifices and sustain us in common purpose through the years to come.

In my campaign speeches, I invited American businessmen to come to the Philippines and invest and help us develop our underdeveloped land, provided that they come to help and not to exploit, assuring them of profits, but warning them not to seek undue privilege or advantage.

I fought under the American flag during this war. I swore loyalty to your flag. I had been raised and educated to feel that loyalty. During the dismal years of Japanese rule, my heart did not change. Neither did the hearts of my countrymen. Nor can we modify the feeling we have for your country although we are about to get our independence. By associating the United States and the Philippines in a common system of interest, we can retain, and always will retain, I trust, our love of America while maintaining our primary devotion to the interests of the Philippines.

A few of my countrymen are alarmed about your imperialists. I am not alarmed. I think that between the democracy-loving people of both our countries, we heavily outnumber the imperialists. It is my impression that the majority rules in this country as in the Philippines. We are not afraid of imperialist designs on the part of the United States. If imperialism had been a basic part of American policy toward the Philippines, we would not be on the road to independence today. If imperialism had been the American credo, it would not have had to wait until we were a free land to accomplish its purposes. The Philippines today is a living testimonial and perpetual monument to the lack of imperialistic pattern in American foreign policy.

There have been imperialist phases of your history. But it is my impression that they have been few. And over the long reach of 47 years of political association, your policy toward my people and my country has been a shining instance of unselfish and enlightened conduct toward a dependent territory.

We resisted you in 1898. There were some desperate and heartbreaking moments and months when we thought we had lost our freedom in being liberated by you from Spanish rule.

We were accustomed to promises. And when you promised us self-government and progressive development toward independence, we were skeptical. But then we saw miracles. Instead of sending us soldiers and laborers, exploiters and overseers, you sent us teachers and road-builders, doctors and engineers. Instead of building barracks, you built post offices; instead of forts you constructed bridges.

In 1912 we were given a definite pledge of independence. In 1934 we were given the charter of independence, itself, to be effective in 1946. So this enlightened attitude on the part of the United States is no novel development in our relations. It is part of a studied pattern. You gave us, you taught us, you trained us in political democracy. You Filipinized our government, our school system, our municipal administrations. You taught us a devotion to and a love of your ideals and principles, your heroes and your pioneers.

Knowing the American people as we do, we are not afraid of your imperialists.

It is my feeling that there is a studied attempt by some forces in the world today to make us and other people believe that American imperialism is on the march. I do not believe it. I reject the notion. If there is such a thing on the horizon as the American century, it will be an American century by example and by emulation rather than by extension of control by either subtle or direct power. We are a living allegation to that effect. I hope we remain so.

I do not doubt that there are forces in the United State as there are everywhere in the world, which would like to use the ower and prestige of the American Government to gain personal profit. I do not believe the American people will ever elect a Government which would allow itself to be so used. There are other countries of whose regimes I am not so confident.

I do not mean to be undiplomatic. I speak with feeling because I feel deeply on this question. Besides I am not yet the President of my country, and still have here the status of a national owing allegiance to the American flag. I think we can speak frankly to each other.

But on July 4, my status and that of 18,000,000 of my countrymen will be changed. On that day the American flag will be replaced by the free flag of the Republic of the Philippines. We will be citizens of our own land. We will be masters, within the limits of our capacity, of our own destiny.

We can, if we choose, reject special relations with the United States. We can refuse to approve the formula of trade relations laid down by your Congress recently. We can decline to modify our Constitution as required in the Philippine Trade Rehabilitation Act to grant equal rights to American citizens.

We can orient our foreign relations as we determine best. We can become allied with China, with Siam, with England, or with France. We can become allied with Soviet Russia. We have that full freedom of choice. That is implicit in the grant of sovereignty.

But I assure you that as far as I am concerned, and I think I will have some influence in the matter, we will do none of the things I have just mentioned. The magnetic pole of our foreign policy gravitation will be the United States. As long as the present foreign policy of the United States is maintained, we will support it with whatever power and authority we have. This, I am certain, represents the overwhelming sentiment and unshakeable determination of the people of the Philippines.

We do not overlook the need of developing a friendly foreign policy toward the other nations of both east and west. Although we are today a part of the western world, other than by geography, I believe we must develop a strong commercial ties and cultural understanding with the great oriental nations which surround us. China is a natural market for the industrial goods we hope soon to be producing. Russia may one day buy many of our agricultural products. Australia is within our natural trading area. We must gradually enter and flow with the trade currents dictated by our geographic position and our natural resources. But our ties with the United States will be based on a foundation much stronger than trade.

We will accept the economic assistance you have offered us with deep and dignified gratitude. We will try as best we know how to manage our economy so that it can become independent of your tariff preferences while at the same time we continue to sell and buy preponderantly in your markets. We will welcome the existence of your naval, air, and army bases on such of our soil as is mutually agreeable for the common protection of the United States and the Philippines, and will cooperate in the defense and security of those bases insofar as it is within our power to do so. I pledge my efforts in support of these policies because we are devoted to the same goals and principles as you are. If ever two peoples had a common world policy they are the American and Filipino peoples. Peace, security, and prosperity for all men, the maintenance and advancement of the four freedoms, the espousal of free economic enterprise, the elimination of restrictive trade barriers among all nations, and the promotion of democracy as a way of life. . . these are the cardinal points of our world idealism as they are of yours. It should be no surprise that this is so. We developed an attachment to those ideals as part of the same body politic. We learned to love them in the same school systems, and out of the same books; we have discussed and spoken of them in the same language.

I have emphasized the overall pattern of our attitude toward world principles because I thought that to be your main interest today. I have not referred to the internal problems of the Philippines, to the great needs of my people, to the heavy and difficult burdens we assume in a war-shattered land as we become independent. I have spoken of those matters elsewhere during my visit here. I know most of you are acquainted with those problems.

Naturally we can assume our rightful place in world affairs and can exert an influence in the solution of world problems only if our internal structure is made strong and secure. As we prepare to cut the Gordian knot which connects our two nations, I hope we are doing no more than arranging for another even more intimate association. That association will represent at first a transition stage during which your country has undertaken to help us repair the ravages of war, as we begin the first major test of our existence as a nation. Although economically today the Philippines is a wasteland, I think we have the tools, and we have the promise of more, to repair and refashion in modern design our devastated land. When we have justified your faith in us, and our faith in ourselves, we will approach the next phase of our relations more as equals than as benefactor and recipient.

And as we thrive, as we expect to one day, the fame of your system of government, of your institutions, which have been transplanted to the Philippines, will grow.

I hope to live to see the day when in the vocabulary of the world the word Philippinism is synonymous with Americanism, and when the peoples of the earth will see in the full grandeur of its world significance the attainment by the Philippine Republic of the same standard of living and the same exemplification of democratic liberalism which the United States stands for today.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 1). Manila : Bureau of Public Libraries.

RADIOGRAM TO PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN

Radiogram
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
President Harry S. Truman

[May 30, 1946]

MANILA

HIS EXCELLENCY

HARRY S TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

Thank you for your congratulations on my inauguration. I pledged in my inaugural address to maintain the closest possible relations with the United States. I defined the gratitude of my countrymen to America and specifically to you for the great interest you have taken in our welfare. I take this occasion to reiterate our thanks.

MANUEL ROXAS

Speech of United States High Commissioner to the Philippines Paul V. McNutt at the Philippine-American Memorial Day program

Speech
of
Honorable Paul V. McNutt
United States High Commissioner to the Philippines
At the Philippine-American Memorial Day program

[Held at the gymnasium of Santo Tomas University, May 30, 1946]

Today we honor the war dead of our two lands. President Manuel Roxas, in his first official action on assuming his high office, proclaimed this day, long observed in the United States as Memorial Day, as Philippine-American Memorial Day. It is fitting that he should have done so.

We mourn, we remember, we pause in prayer for the souls of our heroe dead. But that is far, far from enough. A soldier poet whose nationality I cannot recall wrote after the first World War some words which express the meaning I see in this Memorial Day:

"Wherefore for us, when heroes die
Shall be no mournful, graveward glance.
Our souls with theirs invade the sky
And to immortal strife advance
For great is our inheritance,
When heroes die."

In this ceremony here, we honor all those who have died in battle for America and for the Philippines. It does not matter today whether they died at Malabon, at Bull Run, at Santiago de Cuba, at Chateau Tierry, at Bataan or on Leyte. They died in all these wars for the same causes . . . for freedom, for liberty, for the sanctity of human worth. And in recent years their blood streams drenched the same battlefields. The brimming cup of their youth was emptied on the soil of this good land without regard for creed or race. They died, and others live. We owe both the living and the dead, we will always owe them, a debt far beyond our power to repay. Theirs is an immortality which will not grow vague with time, but will deepen in its significance as we learn to appreciate not only the sacrifices they made, but the gift of life they gave us in yielding theirs. They won for us a world of freedom, a world of opportunity, a world in which the voice of the lowly may be heard along with the voice of the proud. They saved for us a world in which brown men may join with men of lighter skin in a common purpose and common devotion to a common cause. In such a world I am glad to live. Such a world our children may be proud to inherent.

Their sacrifices did not leave us a world fully achieved in all its purposes. These goals of peace and well-being for all men are still distant on the horizon. The threat of war has not yet been banished from the earth. Men of one nation still quarrel with those of another. National ambitions of the strong still menace the rights of the weak. Man has not yet . . . nor will he for a long age . . . achieve the fullness of his dignity and of his destiny in a world far from bright.

But the immortal dead have left unblemished the values of right and justice. These still remain the standards by which the world measures deeds. Truth is still right, and there has been retained for our children, and our children's children, the ethics of justice, of gentleness, of tolerance and racial brotherhood. The doctrines of hate and savagery, of might converting evil into right have been thrust back into the darkness of an ancient age from which they emerged on the banners of our enemies.

For this we have you, the dead, and you the living of our defending hosts, to thank. Filipinos and Americans, united in this single faith, achieved the single victory. Who will claim credit for liberation from evil? Was it the men who fought or the intrinsic forces of good? I will not weigh the claims. I will only say that those who fought with hand,

brain, or will were able to fight only because they had either faith or understanding in the rightness of their cause. As doubt destroys strength, so faith gives us power. We had the same faith, and so our dead died in the same glory.

The unity that was achieved on the field of battle needs now to be claimed for the strivings of peace. We face the test of achieving in action the goals which the living and the dead fought to preserve in prospect. Let me define those goals. They are: the right of men, of all men, to live in contentment and happiness, to retain the products of their work, to maintain themselves and their children in health and security, to speak their minds freely and to think freely, to worship freely, and finally to value each life as worthy of its creation and to give each person the respect and the dignity that is owed to the immortal soul.

Although we overcame with inspired force the evil aspirations and concepts of our national enemies, we have not yet conquered their ideas. They still spring up among us, in other forms, perhaps, but stamped unmistakably with the mark of error. There is racial pride, which make men of our color judge themselves superior to men of another. There is national arrogance, which in other forms is called imperialism or perhaps facism. There is statism, which implies that man exists solely to serve the state, rather than the state to serve man. There is dictatorship either of the so-called proletariat or of entrenched wealth which, in whatever form, infers that government or monopolistic power, once constituted, has the wisdom of divinity and the right to stifle criticism and destroy opposition.

These evils, these concepts of the relation of government to men, are still with us in every land including our own They are errors of thought which exist often in men of standing and even of good intention; they exist more violently and more openly in demagogues who would use the injustices of our imperfect society as justification for the abolition of all that is good in our social forms. These evils lurk in every nation; constant vigilance is necessary to maintain our liberties and rights against the onslaught, insidious or direct, of these forces.

But more than vigilance is necessary. Passing resolutions will not keep them down. Neither pious wishes nor blind persecution will defeat these forces. Our approach must be constructive; our approach must be tolerant and wise.

In our nations, in the United States and in the Philippines, we must move constantly forward with the perpetual movements of advance . . . toward full employment, toward security, toward equal opportunity for the young, toward racial understanding, toward higher wages, toward greater production, toward a fuller life for every man. And the paths of our advance must be paths of freedom, in which Government rules and runs as little as possible, but guides, help and regulates as much as is necessary.

In the field of relations among nations we must strive toward a greater and greater degree of internationalism, recognizing that the welfare of one nation is inseparable from the welfare of all, that prosperity as well as peace is indivisible, and that national security is not synonymous with national expansion at the expense of the weak and the defenseless.

These are general statements, describing what must be our goals. It was for these goals that the honored dead whom we mourn today gave up their lives. They yielded in this cause not only their own lives but the immortal seeds of generations which might have sprung from them. How many potential scientists, teachers and benefactors of mankind lie in this soil. How many seeds of genius are forever buried in this ground. It is not for mortal man to say.

But against the background of these limitless offerings made by our dead we must resolve again and again not to abandon the struggle in which they died. There is no easy formula for progress. Sometimes, very often, the way is not clear. Some men may point in one direction some in another. But each man, each citizen has the undeniable responsibility to contribute his wisdom and his effort to the sum of progress. The final course will then represent the total wisdom of all the people. There is no greater wisdom that we know.

In this spirit the American and the Filipino people today plan their futures. The United States, rich and powerful as it may be, faces a troubled present. Strikes in essential industries threaten to cripple the life of a nation whose life blood consists of rails, steels, coal and power. Selfish management and selfish labor are blind in their own interests, and cannot see the interests of the country. Neither the United States nor any other nation can afford to tolerate economic paralysis stemming from conflict between individual interests. The nation is greater than any of its parts.

Labor has waged a long and bitter struggle to obtain recognition of its worth and dignity. A great problem in the world today is to resolve the conflicts of internal interests without sacrificing the freedom of action of any individual interest, individual or group. That problem we must solve. That problem is here in the Philippines too. It is one of your greatest problems as it is of ours. It is the central problem of the democratic way of life . . . the reconciliation of freedom and liberty with modern mechanized society in which the actions of individuals often and intimately affect the public welfare.

As we strive for a deeper understanding of our problems, of our machines, our industries, and our economy, we must not lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with people. Despite their involvement in massive concerns, and despite our attempt to fit great groups into sweeping plans and patterns of actions, we must remember that the individuals involved in those plans are people, with hopes, prejudices, pride and passions. We must deal with these human elements. They cannot be reckoned on a mathematical calculator.

We may speak blithely of Philippine-American relations, and of the great intimacy and understanding which will bind us through the years. But unless we begin with people, with Filipinos and Americans, Philippine-American relations remain in empty phrase. There must be a concerted effort on the part of Americans in the Philippines, all Americans, to understand and know the real Filipino; there must be an effort on the part of the Filipinos to know and understand Americans in their national character.

Prejudices and barriers built on race must be swept aside, forever Philippine-American unity can be built only on sincere friendship and equality. The doctrine of racial superiority is abhorent to us in theory. It must be obliterated in practice.

Beginning on July 4, Americans must realize and keep firmly in mind that they are and will be guests in a proud and sensitive land. The United States Government will not I am sure, use its influence and prestige in the Philippines to protect any fancied superiority which individual Americans might wish to assert in this nation, there has been provided in recent congressional legislation a provision seeking to guarantee equal economic privileges for Americans and Filipinos after independence. It is to be emphasized that the phrase reads “equal privileges” not “superior privileges.” The Filipino will not tolerate his being considered an alien in his own land. And it is properly so. For the sake of the economic rehabilitation of the Philippines, Americans are to be given an opportunity to assist to the full extent of their capacity, and to the fullest possible measure of their investment potential. But I am ready to say to my fellow Americans that investment and enterprise in the Philippines must be primarily for the benefit of the Philippines. Production must come before profits. There is a “not welcome” sign out for those who come to plunder or get rich quick. This is not an ungrateful land. Its intrinsic riches are waiting. Profits are here to be made by the enterprising and the bold, but there must be a double profit in every undertaking . . . profit to the land and to its people, as well as to the investor and business man.

The United States Congress, in providing for the economic rehabilitation of the Philippines, saw fit to encourage American enterprise and investment in the Philippines. That provision, the equal rights provision, was in a sense a declaration of national policy, calling upon Americans to join in discharging our great obligations to the Philippines. The implementation of that policy will require a change in the Philippine Constitution. It is not an undertaking lightly entered into. It has aroused great criticism in certain circles here. I have assured the Filipino people that this clause is not an open invitation for exploitation. It is not a grant of authority to individual Americans to take advantage of the ravaged condition of the Philippines. It is an opportunity for service as well as for individual enterprise. In a sense it is more of a national duty than an avenue for gain. I enjoin Americans to observe this attitude in all their actions here. Filipinos must be invited into the maximum amount of participation in economic enterprises. Filipinos should be given the greatest possible opportunity to be trained in all branches of business and technical undertakings.

I have not spoken much of the war or of the results of the war. I have referred to the mutuality which binds our two people together. That mutuality was forged in battle as never before. Who of those who fought here before or after the liberation, recalls a bullet that made a distinction between American and Filipino? Which of you can recall a difference between the devotion to our common cause felt by Americans and Filipinos? There was no distinction in war. Let there be none in peace.

The war taught us one great lesson. That lesson was this: that there is no color in the hearts of men. They fight for causes their minds and hearts have faith in. The minds and hearts of Filipinos are of exactly the same complexion as those of Americans. It is our great achievement that it is so. It is the greatest monument to our stewardship here.

I realize that these principles, noble in concept, are difficult to observe in detail. Ingrained prejudices and unfortunate experiences of individuals, both Filipinos and Americans, make a poor text for the axioms I have recited. The road to every goal is difficult if that goal is worthwhile. It entails first of all, tolerance and understanding of individual differences. It entails a vision of objectives and of purposes, and a firm determination to achieve those objectives and purposes despite all the obstacles which intervene. But the profit to be gained from strict adherence to these principles is too great to be lost by individual failure. It must be a national effort . . . an effort by all Filipinos and all Americans. To fail in this will be to fail in one of our essential national obligations. To fail in this will be to fail in realizing the hard-earned results of 47 years of efforts. To fail at this point will be to cheapen the price that was paid for victory in the recent conflict. I hope I am speaking the mind of both the Filipino and American people when I say, we will not fail in this.

Americans and Filipinos together defeated the most treacherous and barbaric enemy to wage war in modern times. The Philippines were rescued from an enslavement worse than death. It is now our purpose to protect the sacrifices which were made on the far-flung battlegrounds. It is our purpose to secure for the dead the victory they won. This can be done by assisting with all our might and main in the tasks which confront the Philippine people, and thus help to advance and promote the sacred causes of liberty, of freedom, of democracy, and of independence everywhere throughout the earth.

But in the end, what greater honor can we pay the dead of war than to work unceasingly for peace? We have peace on earth today, but a feverish and uncertain peace. It is the peace of preparation for war, the ominous peace of the acceptance of the inevitability of war. I will not believe it. I do not believe it. With the shadows of the dead still hovering anxiously about us, with fresh-marked graves calling for their first flowers, we must not withhold a single ounce of effort that can bring us the blessings of permanent, secure world peace. There is no action which is too small to be overlooked. There is no idea which is too extreme not to merit inspection if its objective is peace.

The common people of the earth cry for peace, for rest, for respite from war and struggle. They ask for bread, for health, for freedom. Whatever the action of governments, I cannot believe that any people in the world looks forward today to war.

Let us in the name of the people, and in the name of those departed heroes pledge our efforts, our energies and our total concern for the advancement of the principles of world unity and understanding which will finally give us the people's peace.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Speech delivered by United States High Commissioner to the Philippines Paul V. McNutt at the Philippine-American Memorial Day program. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 43(5)*, 990-996.

Address of United States High Commissioner to the Philippines Paul V. McNutt at the Commencement Exercises of the University of the Philippines

Address
of
Honorable Paul V. McNutt
United States High Commissioner to the Philippines
At the Commencement Exercises of the University of the Philippines

[Delivered on June 4, 1946]

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY, AND FRIENDS:

It is good to return to the comparative quiet of academic surroundings. Half of my mature life was spent as a member of the faculty of the University of Indiana, and your University of the Philippines is built along very much the same lines as my own State University. There is more than a similarity in organizational structure. The University of the Philippines means the same thing to the Philippines that the State University means in America. It means democracy in education. It means that students from different family backgrounds, students from different parts of the land, and even students from foreign nations may live and study and learn together. It means that a wide variety of subjects and interests are brought together and intermingle. It means further that for many students an opportunity for education is provided which might otherwise have been denied because of social or economic handicaps.

That is what I mean by democracy in education. But there is a necessary interdependence between the two. Each supports and sustains the other. Education is itself the source and the means of democracy. It is the source because with knowledge comes the desire and the growth of skills to participate in and shape the destiny of one's nation. It is the means because only by education can the general masses of people develop from their numbers the men and women to represent them in government. This University has thus the double function of providing an education for those who are ready for higher learning, and secondly, of providing that education to strengthen and support the democracy which gives such an opportunity. It is the duty of a university such as this to offer education in democracy.

I am proud to say this duty, this responsibility is a heritage of America. I am proud that your system of education in the Philippines has been so closely modelled on the American. If that alone were all our country had brought to yours in the 47 years of our association, it would be a contribution of infinite value to the future Philippine Republic. It is not the only contribution, but I consider it one of the most important.

It began very soon after Americans came to these shores. Something wonderful happened after the pacification of the Philippines at the turn of the century. Our soldiers proved to be emissaries of learning. In a series of spontaneous moves, once the fighting had ended, soldiers opened schools for the local population. A number of local garrison commanders appointed flying patrols of junior officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted men for an attack on illiteracy. Without textbooks or equipment, they taught English and primary arithmetic. It was a small beginning, but it was an omen for the future. It was an indication of what America intended to bring to the people of the Philippines.

We came as warriors. We stayed as teachers. One of Governor Taft's first acts was to appoint a Commission of Education under the direct control of the Vice-Governor. In 1901 an army transport came to the Philippines, carrying no soldiers, no guns, but bearing 1,000 teachers. The ship was the U. S. Army Transport "Thomas" and these teachers later were known as the "Thomasites." They brought equipment and textbooks, but most important they brought themselves and their zeal for spreading knowledge. They penetrated to remote places where their gain could be the respect they earned and the feeling of satisfaction they could develop in bringing learning to people who needed it and wanted it. They went into remote barrios to bring the elements of knowledge to the people in the villages.

Schools were built with local materials and by volunteer labor. The hunger for learning, the improved future parents saw for their children if only they could have the advantages of education, and the eagerness for expanded horizons, gave strength to the many willing hands. The rude temples of learning were built.

And then began the work of building up a corps of teachers so that the work could expand, not with Americans, but with Filipinos to teach Filipinos. Within ten years several thousand Filipino teachers had been trained. In the years that followed, American supervision and American participation diminished. The means, the tools, and the training, were being provided. Filipinos reached for the banner of education to bear it aloft themselves.

By 1920 practically every village had at least a primary school, and many of them had an elementary school. In each province there was at least one trade school, perhaps in woodworking, or metal-working, or even in the mechanical arts. By the end of the 20's, the schools were largely Filipinized. And Filipinizing the schools meant Filipinizing the government.

The measure and the influence of the schools have spread constantly since the early years of the century. In modern-pre-war times an average of 30 per cent of the income of central, provincial, and municipal governments, of all governments in the Philippines was spent for education. The Philippines took their school system seriously.

In higher education, your own University is an example of native growth. When in 1906 Dean Copeland, together with 12 students, some Army tents, and the bare essentials of existence, voyaged up the Pasig, across Laguna de Bay, and then hacked a path up the slopes of Mount Makiling to a spot above Los Baños, he was founding what later became the finest institution of natural science in the Far East. With their bolos this small party slashed out a camp site on the sides of the mountain and began the College of Agriculture, so long and with such reason, a pride of the Philippines.

Copeland was succeeded by Charles Fuller Baker, and through him and his successor, one of the original twelve voyagers to Los Baños, Dr. Bienvenido Gonzales, the College reached its great height as an institution of learning. These educators and leaders, helped by so many I cannot name here, created among the students a sense of coherence in work and study and in play which came to be known, and is still known, as the "Los Baños spirit."

The building of schools in the Philippines preceded the building of roads. The desire to dissipate ignorance, the hunger for learning, the need for education, could not wait for roads and bridges. But as learning spread, the Filipino people began to emerge from four centuries of social and economic isolation. In those centuries the few lords of land and position kept pace with the cultural gains of the world, if not with its advance in ideas, but the masses of the people remained steeped in illiteracy, their very desires limited by lack of hope and lack of knowledge of the world beyond their brief horizons.

But as the lights of learning gradually pierced through to even the remotest area of the Islands, a new spirit began to take hold. Inquiry and curiosity took the place of blind acceptance of circumstance. The revolt of the few which occurred prior to 1898 became transfixed with deeper shades of meaning and became identified with a national hope of freedom. The ideas of liberty and equality which American troops brought with them in their knapsacks were shared with the people. Like ripples spreading in a lake of calm, those ideas were passed on and on and soon encompassed the people of these Islands.

The first American teachers brought with them the traditions of America and its concepts of freedom. American history in the light of these traditions was taught here. But Filipino history was taught too. Filipinos were encouraged to sanctify those elite heroes of freedom who had preceded the American arrival . . . Rizal and Bonifacio. And so there was formed the Filipino national spirit, within the framework of American sovereignty. It had existed before in the hearts of your early patriots. It had not existed, generally speaking, in the hearts of the people. But education by word and book, in English and in native dialects, spread the concept of the Filipino nation. In this historic development, the school system was the incubator and the womb of the national spirit.

Now again, the schools of the Philippines face great task, and responsibilities in the crisis of the present moment in history. They face first of all the responsibility of rebuilding and renewing themselves. Like the Phoenix, the school

system of the Philippines must rise renewed and revitalized from the ashes of destruction. From this very group must come the teachers to take the place of those who have died in the great struggle of the past half-decade. You are the shock troops of the post-war struggle for rehabilitation.

That is your first duty. To teach, not only in the classrooms, but in your daily contacts; you must supply the learning when doubts and questions arise in the minds of the people and need answer. You must help crystallize the great lessons that have been learned from the sacrifices of war.

But that is just the beginning, the very first elements of the functions of the University and of the schools of this land. There is a higher and greater responsibility resting upon your shoulders, and upon the teachers and the institutions of learning of the Philippines. In a month, independence will be yours . . . national freedom, national existence. From these halls, and from other universities in the Philippines must come the leaders, the teachers, the scholars, and the scientists to breathe life into the clay of nationhood, to give it purpose, direction and the wisdom required for advance and progress.

It is well to speak of the tasks of rehabilitation . . . of restoring production, of developing new industries, of spreading the benefits of the twentieth century among the people, of eradicating feudalism, of rebuilding this tragically shattered land. But every general purpose requires a very specific implementation. Those tasks must be carried on by people, by workers, by experts, by technicians. They must be inspired by leaders, and guided by scholars. It is on you that the Philippine Republic must depend for her future, you and the classes of graduates who succeed you in the immediate years ahead.

The University, mother-protector of learning, womb of leadership, has still another function. That is the function of free research and untrammelled scholarship. No nation which proudly calls itself by that name can long exist a free nation unless there flows into the stream of its intellectual life a constant infusion of new ideas, fresh and free ideas. Those ideas may be from many fields, they may spring from many lands. But they must be woven integrally into the warp and woof of the national ideology. That can come only from the schools and universities of the country. And as you continue in your strivings to develop and advance your own particular culture and system of thought, you cannot neglect the importance of giving free play to your scholars and teachers in the introduction of new ideas, no matter how extreme or how strange they may seem on first acquaintance. The only test they should be called upon to pass is the test of final truth and benefit, and such truth is not always to be found in the edicts of men, nor in the votes of majorities, but often only in the massive movement of the great tides of time. Because of this, teaching and scholarship must be given the freest rein. They must not be limited by the morals or prejudices of a particular régime or a particular period. Yet learning is not without its own responsibilities and teachers are not without theirs. That which is imparted to the young must be related to the mass of experience which men have had, and must bear a direct relationship to the immediate problems, dreams and hopes which inhabit the nation.

I hope the University of the Philippines will move forward in the general direction I have suggested . . . . in the direction of the free exchange of all the currencies of thought which exist and will exist in the world. In such a marketplace of intellect, the coin of democracy will demonstrate its soundness. I have no fears that if truth and light are given every encouragement here, that your youth will be devoted to the ideals of freedom and the dignity of man as your elder brothers, were, and showed that they were, in the world conflict just ended.

There are dangers ahead of your university as there are for all free institutions in a young and troubled nation. In many lands, especially in some of the countries of central Europe, the universities became nursing beds of nationalism, of extreme and blind nationalism. There developed the malignant dream of belligerent superiority, which scholars call ethnocentrism, the belief that your own people are superior to any other people. In the end that belief takes the form of assuming that your own people have the right to rule any other people. Super-nationalism in any form is dangerous. It mocks history, it tyrannizes reason, it destroys democracy. Teachers become exhorters, and students turn not to sifting ideas and to searching for truth and understanding, but to attacking régimes and political institutions.

Nationalism is a path to internal power. It is a path, sometimes, to temporary glory. But it is never a path to peace or understanding. Truth bespeaks tolerance, because only by tolerance can truth prevail. I do not mean by tolerance that

evil must be accepted and comforted. I mean only that there must be tolerance of sincerity, trusting to free discussion and the wisdom of the many to select right from wrong. It is an essential part of such a scheme that there be free discussion, and that the ballot be free, and that peace and order prevail. The advocates of violence, have, by their advocacy, foresworn their right to equality in the marketplace of thought. The advocate of force, with gun in hand, cannot plead for the protections of the moral society which he is trying to overthrow. He is a sworn enemy of democracy and force must be met by force. We learned this in Germany. The force need not be force of arms. But strength, courage, resolution and all the forces of right are required when small groups of men threaten the institutions which generations strove and died to erect and preserve. This courage and resolution also means the courage to change, to correct these institutions to meet modern needs without destroying the foundation of freedom and democracy. If this sensitivity to the needs of a people is maintained, the forces of right and reason will always be aligned with the forces of peace.

The greatest poet of the English language wrote:

Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.

Here in your University you must develop the truth of our way of life, and acquire the tools with which to defend that truth in the years ahead. An educated man stands in the midst of a boundless arsenal and magazine, filled with all the weapons and engines which man's skill has been able to devise from the earliest times.

Of course you cannot be content with your own education, or be satisfied you yourself are learned. No educated man's responsibility is discharged to the school which gave him learning while he is not striving to pass on his learning to his fellow men.

A great Speaker of the United House of Representatives, Robert Charles Winthrop, once said in a famous oration that "slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education. Justice to them, the welfare of the States in which they live, the safety of the whole Republic, the dignity of the elective franchise—all alike demand that the still remaining bonds of ignorance shall be unloosed and broken, and the minds as well as the bodies of the emancipated go free."

That is your function and should be your purpose now. I recognize that there are many other concerns which will engage your attention. You will be thinking of commerce, of industry, of the professions, of your own part in the tumbled world into which you are today graduated. But your own self-interest demands that you spread light and learning wherever you go, in order that your countrymen may increase their capacity for following intelligently the pattern of leadership you set.

Nor must you abandon your efforts to contribute in this land to the native store of culture and scholarship which is the proudest possession of any nation. You have been given your institutions, your languages and your way of government. You must apply your native genius to Filipinizing them. It is no answer to go backward to call or ancient rites, and an ancient dialect as the vehicle for your thoughts. I have always thought that the pressure for a national language in the Philippines was misdirected. You have gone far with the English language, one of the world's most flexible composite tongues. Filipinize the American language as American has done with English. Today there is an American tongue which is clearly distinct from the English spoken in England. You can do the same with American.

Filipinize your country. Develop further your national spirit, not in the sense of pride but in the sense of contribution to the world's store of culture.

In your past differences of dialect, of geography, of religion and of custom divided these Islands from one another. Are you an Ilocano, or a Visayan, a Tagalog, a Moro or an Igorot? There are some 87 answers to these questions, but they are all wrong. You are Filipinos. You are identified as a nation. You will be even more so identified within a few weeks. You will not be identified especially by the region you inhabit, because there are near-by other lands

and other peoples. You will not be identified by racial complexion because there are others of the same complexion who pass by a different name. You will be called Filipinos because you inhabit a political entity which stands for certain principles and ideas; you will be called a nation because you will advance those principles and ideas under a single national banner. The more you contribute to world peace and world understanding, the greater your role of leadership among the small nations of the earth, among the democratic nations of the earth, the greater will be your fame and glory. Not by chauvinism, not by belligerent righteousness, by oppression of minorities or by racial self-assertiveness will you make a name as a nation. It is rather by tolerance, by accepting and adopting the wisdoms and contributions of other peoples will your greatness grow.

America has gained so much by the fusion of different nationalities and strains of men that I, as an American can expound the benefits of such an integration of cultures and such an amalgam of ideas. Such a path points in the direction of the world of peace and understanding. I indicate it to you as one which it is well to follow.

You as individuals stand today on the threshhold of your greatest personal adventure. Your futures are unbounded, your prospects unlimited by experience or failure. Your country faces, in a sense, a similar future. You have been given tools with which to function. Despite many handicaps you, yourself, have the keys to your destiny. You can make it great or you can make it small.

Look yonder, beyond the horizon of the immediate and difficult days ahead. There are pastures of peace and plenty for all your countrymen, for all men. You must have vision to see those fields and pastures. You must have strength and courage to reach them. This institution of learning has given you certain skills and training for your venture into the future. You must keep those skills sharp; you must add to them with an open and hungry mind. You must not lose respect for them if they do not prove immediately useful. If you have the courage for the deed, you need not fear the future.

If I were to frame one message for you who have taken your diplomas today, it would be this:

Go forward, then, in the fullness of the faith of youth, take with you strength without insolence, and courage without ferocity. Search for the truth, but beware of her many disguises. Build here a city, and make fertile again the lands of your fathers. Bring in many harvests, amass wealth and knowledge. But beware of the drug of contentment which is next to smugness. Strive for freedom, fight for liberty. Beware of the chains of tyranny and ignorance.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Address delivered by United States High Commissioner to the Philippines Paul V. McNutt at the Commencement Exercises of the University of the Philippines on June 4, 1946. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(6)*, 1307-1315.

Agreement for the transfer of the Borneo Sovereign Rights and Assets from the British North Borneo Company to the Crown

SEAL

COLONIAL OFFICE

NORTH BORNEO

Agreement for the transfer of the Borneo Sovereign Rights and Assets from the British North Borneo Company to the Crown 26th June, 1946 [24]

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LONDON: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1946
THREEPENCE NET

Colonial No. 202

AN AGREEMENT, dated the twenty-sixth day of June, 1946, between HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES on behalf of His Majesty (hereinafter referred to as "the Crown") of the one part; and the BRITISH NORTH BORNEO COMPANY, incorporated by Royal Charter dated the first day of November, 1881, whose offices are situated at 80/82, High Street, Rickmansworth, in the County of Herthfordshire (hereinafter referred to as "the Company" which expression shall be deemed to include the Company's successors and assigns) of the other part.

WHEREAS by the several grants and commissions mentioned in the recitals to the said Charter, the interests, powers and rights therein respectively mentioned over or in respect of the territories and lands therein respectively described (which territories and lands together with others hereinafter mentioned are now known as and are hereinafter referred to as "the State of North Borneo") were granted, ceded, assured to or conferred upon the persons therein respectively named, and such persons were thereby nominated and appointed supreme rulers over the State of North Borneo with all the powers and rights usually exercised by and belonging to Sovereign rulers as in the said grants and commissions respectively mentioned:

AND WHEREAS by certain instruments, including those set out in the First Schedule hereto, subsequent to the said Charter further interests, powers and rights over or in respect of the territories and lands respectively described in the said instruments were granted, ceded, assured to or conferred upon the Company:

AND WHEREAS under and by virtue of the said Charter and subsequent instruments the Company became, and are now entitled to the full benefit of the said grants, commissions and instruments and acquired, and now hold, use, enjoy and exercise, all the said interests, powers and rights therein respectively comprised (all of which are hereinafter referred to as "the Borneo Sovereign Rights"):

AND WHEREAS by an Agreement dated the twelfth day of May, 1888, the State of North Borneo was placed under the protection of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria:

AND WHEREAS the Company are the owners of certain movable and immovable property and assets which are within the State of North Borneo and are used by the Company for administrative and public purposes, and the expression "the Borneo Assets" wherever used herein shall mean all the said properties and assets as they exist on

the fifteenth day of July, 1946 (hereinafter referred to as "the day of transfer") and shall be construed as including all funds established by the Company in connection with its administration and public services of the State of North Borneo and all debts payable to the Company in respect of its administration and public services as aforesaid whether the same shall have accrued, or shall accrue, on, before, or after the day of transfer and whether such funds are held, or such debts are payable, in the State of North Borneo or elsewhere:

AND WHEREAS it is considered desirable that the Crown should, in consideration of the payment to the Company of a mini by way of compensation, assume direct, responsibility for the Government of the State of North Borneo and for that purpose acquire from the Company the Borneo Sovereign Eights and the Borneo Assets:

AND WHEREAS by the terms of the said Charter the Company has no power to transfer wholly or in part the benefits of the grants and commissions aforesaid which the Company was thereby authorized and empowered to acquire or any of them except with the consent of one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State:

AND WHEREAS the consent aforesaid of one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State has been given as is evidenced by these presents:

NOW IT IS HEREBY AGREED by and between the parties hereto as follows:

1. The Company hereby transfers and cedes the Borneo Sovereign Rights to the Crown with effect from the day of transfer, to the ir that the Crown shall, as from the day of transfer, have full sovereign rights over, and title to, the territory of the State of North Bo and that the said .territory shall thereupon become part of His Majesty's dominions.
Provided that His Majesty shall from the date of execution of this Agreement have full power and authority to make provision fo Government of the said territory, such provision to take effect on or after the day of transfer.
2. As from the day of transfer the Borneo Assets are hereby transferred to and shall vest in the Crown, subject to and with the benefi all grants, concessions, leases and other rights or interests in or over the said assets and vested in or possessed by third parties subsisting on the day of transfer; and the property of the Company described in the Second Schedule hereto is hereby transferred to shall vest in the Crown.
3. The Crown shall, subject to the provisions of Clause 6 hereof, discharge and indemnify the Company against all obligations liabilities properly incurred by the Company to any third party in the course of its administration or in respect of the public servic the State of North Borneo prior to the day of transfer, whether the same shall have accrued, or shall accrue, on, before or after the da transfer including specifically, but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing:
(1) all obligations and liabilities relating to the matters specified in the Third Schedule hereto;
(2) all obligations and liabilities under or in respect of all grants, concessions, leases and other rights or interests, subject to and witl benefit of which the Borneo Assets are by Clause 2 hereof expressed to have vested in the Crown;
(3) all obligations and liabilities under or in respect of grants and concessions mentioned in the recitals to the said Charter subsequent instruments mentioned in the recitals hereto.
4. (1) On or after the day of transfer the Company, as and when requested by the Crown so to do, shall execute and do, at the cost expense in all respects of the Crown, all such deeds, acts and things as may be necessary or convenient for effectually transferring vesting in the Crown the Borneo Sovereign Rights and Borneo Assets as and in the condition in which they exist on that date, and other property described in the Second Schedule hereto, and in particular shall formally assign to the Crown all debts outstandin that date and comprised in the Borneo Assets.
(2) In so far as these presents are effectual to assign and transfer such debts the Company hereby assigns and transfers them to Crown.
(3) If on or after the day of transfer any such debt be paid to the Company, the Company shall account for and pay any amounts SC ceived to (he Grown or as the Crown may direct.
5. (1) In consideration of the premises, the Crown shall pay to the Company:—
(a) in respect of the Borneo Sovereign Rights and the Borneo Assets, the sum awarded in the Arbitration to be held in accordance Clauses 10 and 11 hereof;
(b) in respect of the shares and debentures set out in the Second Schedule hereto, the sum of £5,000 on the day of transfer;
(c) in respect of the maps, plans, books and records set out in the Second Schedule hereto the sum of £1,000 on the day of transfers.
(2) The Crown shall pay to the Company the sum of £860,600 on the thirtieth day of December, 1946. In consideration of this payn the Company shall take all steps necessary to redeem on or before the first day of January, 1947, all outstanding, debentures issue

the Company and shall redeem such debentures accordingly. The said sum of £860,600 shall be deemed full or part satisfaction o amount payable under sub-paragraph *(a)* of paragraph (1) of this clause, but whatever the sum awarded in the said Arbitration Company shall not be required to repay any part of the said sum of £860,600.

(3) The Crown shall pay to the Company interest at the rate of £2 10s. per centum per annum on the sum awarded in the said Arbitra as from the day of transfer down to the date of payment. Provided that on payment of the said sum of £860,600 interest shall there be calculated and paid only on the amount by which the sum so awarded exceeds the said sum of £860,600.

6. (1) All persons who immediately before the day of transfer are employed by the Company in the administrative or public servic the State of North Borneo shall, as between the Crown Company, be deemed to be in the employment of the Crown on and after day and the Crown shall discharge mid indemnify the Company against, and where necessary recoup to the Company, any paym properly made by the Company on or after that day in respect of:—

(a) all obligations and liabilities relating to the salary or emoluments payable to such persons (subject to paragraph (3) of this Clause or after that day;

(b) all obligations and liabilities arising out of any act or default of any such person done or omitted on or after that day;

(c) all obligations and liabilities in respect of any pension to which any such person or any dependent of any such person shall o after that day become entitled.

(2) Subject to paragraph (3) of this clause, the Crown shall discharge and indemnify the Company against all obligations and liabil in respect of any pensions or instalments of pensions falling to be paid on or after the day of transfer to any person who before that ceased to be employed by the Company in the administrative or public services of the State of North Borneo or to the dependents of such persons.

(3) The salaries and emoluments mentioned in sub-paragraph *(a)* of paragraph (1) of this Clause and the pensions mentione paragraph (2) of this Clause shall be apportioned in point of time as at the day preceding the day of transfer, and the Company warr that it has paid or will pay all arreas of such salaries, emoluments and pensions due and the respective apportioned parts the accruing due before that day.

(4) For the purpose of this Clause the word "pension" shall mean all annuities, gratuities and other like payments payable under super-annuation regulations of the Company in force at or before the date of these presents, or otherwise.

(5) The Crown undertakes that all persons employed by the Company at the day of transfer 10 the administration or public servic the State of North Borneo shall retain all their rights existing at such day; and such rights shall in any case or cases in which Company so requires be ascertained on the footing that no service contract was abrogated or dissolved by reason of the war of 1 1945 or any event arising thereout. Any such person shall, at any time within six months of a date to be appointed by the Crown entitled at his election to retire from such administration or public service and in such case shall be entitled to receive from the Cr the pension which he would have been entitled to receive from the Company if his retirement had been from the employment o Company in the administration or public service of the State of North Borneo and had been necessitated through ill health.

(6) Nothing in this Clause shall apply to any person employed by the Company outside the State of North Borneo and the Comp shall remain liable to discharge all obligations and liabilities in respect of such persons.

7. Wherever in this Agreement the Crown undertakes to discharge any obligation or liability of the Company to any third p (including any employee of the Company) such undertaking shall be a covenant granted to the Company for its own benefit and fo benefit of each such third party; and the Crown will, at the request of the Company enter into an agreement with any such third par employee in such form and manner as the Company may reasonably require that the Crown will discharge such obligation or liabilit

8. Nothing in this Agreement shall be taken to affect the principle that persons in the service of the Crown hold office at the pleasu the Crown.

9. If the Crown are of the opinion that any contract with respect to any matter, being a contract made by the Company after the 20th of June, 1944, was not reasonably necessary in the course of its business and that liabilities arising thereunder ought not t transferred to the Crown, the Crown may give notice in writing to the Company to that effect at any time within one year after the of transfer, or within six months after the day upon which the provisions of such contract come to the knowledge of the Cr whichever shall be the later. If the Crown give any such notice as aforesaid any dispute, difference or question arising by reason o notice is not disposed of by agreement between the Crown and the Company, the matter shall be referred to arbitration in accord with Clause 12 hereof, and the Arbitrator shall consider whether or not the contract was reasonably necessary in the ordinary cours the business of the Company and determine whether and to what extent as between the Crown and the Company any obligatio liability arising thereunder is to be transferred to the Crown or is to continue as an obligation or liability of the Company.

10. (1) It shall be referred to the Award and final determination of an Arbitrator to decide what would be a fair sum by wa compensation to be paid by the Crown to the Company, having regard to the terms of this Agreement, for the Borneo Sovereign R and Borneo Assets transferred to and vested in the Crown hereunder.

(2) The Arbitrator shall ascertain the fair price on the day of transfer on the basis of:—

(a) the net maintainable revenue;

(b) the number of years purchase which, in the opinion of the Arbitrator, should be applied thereto.

The Arbitrator shall take as the net maintainable revenue of the Company the net annual revenue which the Company might reason have been expected to earn in the future if this Agreement had not been entered into.

(3) In making an award under this Clause the Arbitrator shall add nothing as compensation to the Company for any effect or condition of the Borneo Assets of damage or deterioration consequent upon the war of 1939-45.

(4) The Arbitrator for the purpose of this clause shall be The Right Honourable Lord Uthwatt or, if he shall be unable or unwillin act, a person appointed in the manner provided in Clause 12 hereof.

11. (1) The Arbitrator shall have power to obtain, call for, receive and act upon such oral or documentary evidence or informa (whether the same be strictly admissible in evidence or not) as he may think fit, and in conducting the arbitration he shall not be bo by the strict rules of procedure or evidence.

(2) The Arbitrator shall be entitled to summon to his assistance one or more persons of skill and experience who may be willing t with him and act as assessors.

(3) The Arbitrator shall pay the costs of the Arbitration tribunal. Costs of the hearing shall be in the discretion of the Arbitrator.

(4) Subject as aforesaid, the provisions of the Arbitration Acts, 1889 to 1934, shall apply and the Arbitral or shall have all the po conferred on Arbitrators by the said Acts.

12. Subject to Clause 5 hereof if any dispute difference or question shall at any time hereafter arise between the parties hereto in res of the construction of these presents or concerning anything herein contained or arising out of this Agreement, or as to the ri liabilities or duties of the said parties hereunder, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of some person to be agreed upon by said parties or, failing agreement, to be nominated by the Lord Chief Justice of England for the time being, or failing such nominatio the law provides, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the Arbitration Acts, 1889 to 1934, or any statutory varia modification or reenactment thereof for the time being in force.

13. The entry by the Company into this Agreement shall not, nor shall any deed, act or thing executed or done in pursuance of Agreement, operate as a forfeiture or surrender of the said Charter or in any way affect or prejudice the validity thereof.

14. The Crown shall on the execution of this Agreement pay to the Company all legal costs and expenses reasonably incurred by Company in connection with the negotiation and preparation of this Agreement.

The Common Seal of the British Borneo Company was affixed hereto the presence of

NEILL MALCOLM,
Major-General.
M. W. ELPHINSTONE.

E. J. PHILIPS, *Secretary.*

Signed by His Majesty's Secretary of for the in the presence of

G. H. GATER,
Permanent Under-Secretary of State.

Footnote:

[24] This agreement, which omits the delegation by the Sultan of Sulu of the powers and rights usually exercised by and belonging to sovereign rulers in the Commission appointing Overbeck Datu Bandahara and Rajah of Sandakan, constitutes, together with the North Borneo Cession Order of 1946 (page 141), an unwarranted assumption of sovereign rights by the British Crown and a repudiation of the contract of lease of 1878, which merely ceded or gave

leasehold rights to Overbeck and Dent, which justifies the termination of the lease and the institution of the present claim. (See also explanatory note on page 141.)

Source: **Philippine Claim to North Borneo, Vol. I**

Letter of General Douglas MacArthur to President Roxas on the former's anticipation of His Excellency's visit

Letter
of
Honorable Douglas MacArthur
General of the U.S. Army
To President Roxas on the former's anticipation of His Excellency's visit

[Released on June 30, 1946]

O C-in-C LEB/gg

TO: COMGEN AFWESPAC

PAREN PAREN Personal for President Roxas PD Unless some unforeseen circumstances arises in Japan ITEM plan to inspect in able general way American Army installations in Luzon PD This would require from three to four days PD ITEM will probably therefore leave Manila for Tokyo about the eighth PD We are all looking forward with keenest anticipation to the visit

MACARTHUR

OFFICIAL:

JOHN B. COOLEY
Colonel, AGD
Adjutant General

DISTRIBUTION:

C-in-C
C/S

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

MacArthur, D. (1946). [Letter of General Douglas MacArthur to President Roxas on his anticipation of His Excellency's visit]. Quezon Family Collections. The MacArthur Memorial Archives and Library, Norfolk, VA.

Remarks on the occassion of the presentation by the U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, July 4 1946

Remarks
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
on the occasion of the presentation
by the U.S. Ambassador
to the Philippines

[July 4, 1946]

MR. AMBASSADOR:

I thank you for coming here today to deliver this letter from the President of the United States, and for the words you have just spoken. This is, indeed, a day of great significance. When you and I, Mr. Ambassador, participated in this morning's ceremonies, we replaced the flag of the national sovereignty over this country. But the friendship between our two nations remains otherwise unchanged. United by unbreakable bonds of mutual respect and affection—bonds forged in a common struggle in peace and in war for the greater happiness and welfare of our two peoples—let us go forward and in close association continue that struggle for the benefit not only of the peoples of the Philippines and of the United States, but of all the world. I echo your hope, Mr. Ambassador, that from this point we will go forward side by side, co-equal members of the family of nations.

Please convey to President Truman my deep satisfaction that he has chosen as his first Ambassador to the Philippines one so familiar with our problems and sympathetic to our aspirations. I also request you, Mr. Ambassador, to assure him of my best wishes for his own welfare and prosperity as well as for that of the great nation over which God has called him to preside.

MANUEL ROXAS

Proclamation of Philippine Independence read by U. S. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt on the inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines, July 4, 1946

Proclamation
of
Philippine Independence
Read by Honorable Paul V. McNutt
U. S. High Commissioner
On the inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines

[Delivered at Luneta, July 4, 1946]

WHEREAS the United States of America by the Treaty of Peace with Spain of December 10, 1898, commonly known as the Treaty of Paris, and by the Treaty with Spain of November 7, 1900, did acquire sovereignty over the Philippines and by the Convention of January 2, 1930, with Great Britain did delimit the boundary between the Philippine archipelago and the State of North Borneo, and whereas the United States of America has consistently and faithfully during the past forty-eight years exercised jurisdiction and control over the Philippines and its people, and

WHEREAS it has been the repeated declaration of the legislative and executive branches of the Government of the United States of America that full independence would be granted the Philippines as soon as the people of the Philippines were prepared to assume this obligation, and

WHEREAS the people of the Philippines have clearly demonstrated their capacity for self-government, and

WHEREAS the act of Congress approved March 24, 1934, known as the Philippine Independence Act, directed that on the 4th day of July immediately following a ten-year transitional period leading to the independence of the Philippines, the President of the United States of America should by proclamation withdraw and surrender all rights of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control or sovereignty of the United States of America in and over the territory and people of the Philippines except certain reservations therein and thereafter authorized to be made, and, on behalf of the United States of America should recognize the independence of the Philippines; now therefore, I, *Harry S. Truman,* President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the aforesaid Act of Congress, do proclaim that, in accord with and subject to the reservations provided for in the pertinent provisions of the existing acts of Congress, the United States of America hereby withdraws and surrenders all rights of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control or sovereignty now existing and exercised by the United States of America in and over the territory and people of the Philippines and on behalf of the United States of America, I do hereby recognize the independence of the Philippines as a separate and self-governing nation and acknowledge the authority and control over the same of the Government instituted by the people thereof under the constitution now in force. *IN WITNESS WHEREOF*, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington this fourth day of July in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-six and of the independence of the United States of America, the one hundred and seventy-first.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

By the President:

DEAN ACHESON
Acting Secretary of State

Source: **Blue Book of the First Year of the Republic. Manila : Bureau of Printing, 1947.**

Remarks on the occassion of the presentation by the U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, July 4 1946

Remarks
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
on the occasion of the presentation
by the U.S. Ambassador
to the Philippines

[July 4, 1946]

MR. AMBASSADOR:

I thank you for coming here today to deliver this letter from the President of the United States, and for the words you have just spoken. This is, indeed, a day of great significance. When you and I, Mr. Ambassador, participated in this morning's ceremonies, we replaced the flag of the national sovereignty over this country. But the friendship between our two nations remains otherwise unchanged. United by unbreakable bonds of mutual respect and affection—bonds forged in a common struggle in peace and in war for the greater happiness and welfare of our two peoples—let us go forward and in close association continue that struggle for the benefit not only of the peoples of the Philippines and of the United States, but of all the world. I echo your hope, Mr. Ambassador, that from this point we will go forward side by side, co-equal members of the family of nations.

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MANUEL ROXAS

Proclamation of Philippine Independence read by U. S. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt on the inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines, July 4, 1946

Proclamation
of
Philippine Independence
Read by Honorable Paul V. McNutt
U. S. High Commissioner
On the inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines

[Delivered at Luneta, July 4, 1946]

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WHEREAS it has been the repeated declaration of the legislative and executive branches of the Government of the United States of America that full independence would be granted the Philippines as soon as the people of the Philippines were prepared to assume this obligation, and

WHEREAS the people of the Philippines have clearly demonstrated their capacity for self-government, and

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HARRY S. TRUMAN

By the President:

DEAN ACHESON
Acting Secretary of State

Source: **Blue Book of the First Year of the Republic. Manila : Bureau of Printing, 1947.**

Letter of General Douglas MacArthur to President Roxas on extending the former's gratitude to His Excellency

Letter
of
Honorable Douglas MacArthur
General of the U.S. Army
To President Roxas on extending the former's gratitude to His Excellency

[Released on July 5, 1946]

OPERATIONAL PRIORITY
IN THE CLEAR

FROM	:	GENERAL MAC ARTHUR
TO	:	HIS EXCELLENCY MANUEL A. ROXAS MALACAÑAN PALACE

Have just been called back to Tokyo and am leaving tomorrow morning PD Once more ITEM want to extend my grateful thanks to you and Mrs Roxas for all your courtesies and kindness PD Independence Day will linger always in our memory PD We are sorry not to see you both again but hope to have you with us in Tokyo before long PD Mabuhay PD SGD MAC ARTHUR

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

MacArthur, D. (1946). [Letter of General Douglas MacArthur to President Roxas on extending gratitude to His Excellency]. Quezon Family Collections. The MacArthur Memorial Archives and Library, Norfolk, VA.

Letter of General Douglas MacArthur to President Roxas on his absence to the Quezon obsequies

Letter
of
Honorable Douglas MacArthur
General of the U.S. Army
To President Roxas on his absence to the Quezon obsequies

[Sent from Tokyo, Japan, July 16, 1946]

Dear Mr. President:

It becomes increasingly evident that the situation in Japan at this serious moment will not permit me personally to attend the Quezon obsequies. I am enclosing my brief tribute to him which I hope you will present in my name at such time in the ceremony as you deem appropriate. It would help to assuage my regret at not being present to know that you, the worthy inheritor of his mantle, were to be the spokesman for my words of tribute and veneration.

I am looking forward with keenest pleasure to your visit to Tokyo. Jean joins me in affectionate regards to you, your wife and daughter.

Faithfully,

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.

The Honorable Manuel Roxas,
President, Republic of the Philippines,
Manila.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

MacArthur, D. (1946). [Letter of General Douglas MacArthur to President Roxas on his absence to the Quezon obsequies]. Quezon Family Collections. The MacArthur Memorial Archives and Library, Norfolk, VA.

Eulogy delivered by President Roxas on the life of the late President Manuel L. Quezon, July 28, 1946

Speech
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
For the Eulogy on the Life of the late President
Manuel L. Quezon

[Delivered on July 28, 1946]

We do not gather here to grieve or weep. Time has stanched our tears. The sorrow now in our hearts is not alone for him who lies in blissful sleep before us, but also for ourselves, the living, who yearn still for the strength and comfort of his presence.

This was a man whom we loved with all devotion; this was a man whom we honored with all the gifts at our command. Today we pay formal tribute to his mortal remains. Today our nation, the Republic of the Philippines, enshrines him as a hero on the altar of our love and gratitude.

Manuel L. Quezon has at last returned to his native land. For him, it has been a long voyage home. But as we prepare to yield his body to the good earth which first nurtured him, we know that we will not inter, we cannot inter, the essence of his being. That essence is as much a part of us as the free air we breathe. We are a free people and a free nation, in large part, because of him. This Republic, its Government and its institutions are as much his works as they could be of any single man. These are his perpetual monuments. Across the trackless and virgin territory of time, Manuel Quezon's wisdom led the way, through four critical decades, through two great world wars, to victory and finally to independence.

The entire world is similarly in his debt. To him it owes a portion of that flaming spirit of leadership, which guided mankind through the valley of evil and darkness to salvation and redemption. In this larger sense, we cannot claim him for ourselves alone. This death took both a father from his country and a leader from the world. The pain of loss is felt wherever men are free. In our sorrow we are one with all mankind.

The sad bugle notes of death sounded for Manuel Quezon even as the forces of world freedom gathered for their final forward thrust. The critical battles had been fought; his work was done. His strife had ended. Victory lay soon ahead. But the leader of his people, the captain of our hosts was not to see the moment of triumph. In an alien but spiritually native land, in the land where he had helped arouse the legions of redemption, he died. On the beautiful wooded shores of Lake Saranac in New York, heartland of the nation he had learned to love second only to his own, the great soul, which had clung so long to a frail and hard-spent body, joined the immortals of all ages.

Perhaps the Almighty, in His surpassing goodness, saw fit to claim the life of Manuel Quezon, after his great work was ended, that he might be spared the trial and pain of seeing the cost his countrymen were to pay for liberty. Perhaps the Divine Mercy was extended that he might one day return home in glory, beloved and mourned, but blissfully blind to the scars of ruin spread across this grotto of tropic beauty, the land whose grace and charm he loved so well.

In this critical epoch, he was the first of the mighty leaders of liberty to pass from the world scene. Eight brief months later, Manuel Quezon's great and good friend, Franklin D. Roosevelt, joined him in death, on the very eve of those final triumphs which brought peace to mankind. But Franklin Roosevelt lived long enough to see the redemption of the pledges he had made to the Filipino people, to see MacArthur's men return in irresistible power to wrest Manila and the Philippines from the enemy. From Franklin Roosevelt, from that weary body, too, the mantle of life slipped away.

These two men, fast and devoted friends, had ascended beyond the limits of race and nation and reached the blinding heights of universality…one an American, one a Filipino. They were of the chosen race of benefactors of mankind.

It is difficult to evaluate the works of Manuel Quezon at this short space from death, because all of our present is in a sense a product of his past. The record of that past is a continuous canvas of our history in this century. In recalling his life, we recall the story of the modern growth of our nation. His climb to fame and leadership is a tale which must be told to all our generations. The impetuous spirit which broke the bonds of personal poverty, which hurdled every obstacle because there was none great enough to stay him, is one of the proudest products of our race. His name is truly a glittering ornament of this nation.

In Baler, that storied seacoast town of Tayabas, steeped in historic lore and crossed by all the currents of his time, Manuel Quezon grew to manhood in the typical atmosphere of the Spanish era. His rebellious soul declined to bear the indignities of alien rule and national inferiority. Scholarly in spirit, hungry for knowledge, and ambitious, yet he bridled angrily at the plight of his people. With the frank eyes of youth, he learned to distinguish the dignity of worth from the trappings of authority. Although bound to inaction by parental pledge, he was spiritually one with Rizal, with Bonifacio, with Del Pilar , and the other great patriots of that day. When the armies of revolution took the field in 1898, he was quick to join the struggle for liberty. When the antagonist became not Spain but America, when it was feared that the Republic across the seas came but to replace the former tyrant, Quezon fought while there was yet hope, and in the jungles of Bataan suffered privations and dangers which 40 years later he had new occasion to know. But it was not until American deeds and American policies had received the basic doubts in the questioning mind of Major Quezon that he obeyed his orders to surrender.

Suddenly clapped into an American military prison and held without charge for four long months, and then as suddenly released, Manuel Quezon was not conditioned to trust or love the new rulers of his land. The more credit to him, then, and to America, that in the vista he observed in the following years he comprehended in the detail of events the firm pattern of basic benevolence; he saw imported from America not only economic goods for sale but the priceless wares of liberty, of justice and of democracy. He saw American soldiers build hospitals and roads and bridges. He saw schools spring up, and Americans teaching the ways of freedom in them. He saw American judges dispense the law impartially between American and Filipino. He perceived the cult of fair play being preached and practiced by the conqueror. He heard from an American Civil Governor, William Howard Taft, that the Philippines were to be governed for the benefit of the Filipinos. A former revolutionist, Quezon was named prosecutor, then Governor of his proud province.

Elected to the first Philippine Assembly, an avowed advocate of immediate and absolute independence, Manuel Quezon revealed for the first time the great talents endowed him…the lightning speed of thought, the brilliance of intuition, the unerring judgment of decision, the unswerving devotion to principle and ideal, and the keen incisiveness which enabled him to distinguish between truth and illusion, between appearance and reality, between honesty and pretense. These were the faculties in rare and multifold combination which marked Manuel Quezon for the role of leadership among his people.

In 1912, having already spent some years in the United States Congress as Resident Commissioner and having mastered for his purpose the American language, he helped secure from the Democratic Party a firm pledge of Philippine independence. By a scholarly presentation of the Philippine position, he won President-elect Woodrow Wilson to his side, and through personal persuasion, gained the interest and intercession of Representative Jones of Virginia. The historic product of those labors was the Jones Act of 1916 which promised, to the great wonder of the world, independence to the Philippines as soon as the Filipinos were ready to govern themselves.

In the blazing glory of that accomplishment, Manuel Quezon returned to his homeland to receive a hero's welcome such as few have ever witnessed. In triumph he was elevated to the supreme leadership of his party and of his people, a leadership he never lost in the 22 remaining years of his life. Seldom if ever has one man attained such power and influence among his people and held it unchecked for so long. Yet it was not power held through force or intimidation; there was no Gestapo to retain him in his rule. It was a leadership exercised by the prestige of his person, by the stature of his accomplishments, by the dominating proportions of his talents, and by the unswerving loyalty of his followers. Few men in all history, unclothed in the purple of royalty, have equaled Manuel Quezon's tenure as a people's leader. It has no counterpart anywhere in the world in our time. How did he use this authority, this power, this influence? That is the statesman's test, perhaps the answer to his greatness. He used it mildly, carefully and skillfully in the interests of his people, in the interests not of vested wealth which sought his favor, not of the socially elite who courted him, but in the interests of the great trusting mass of people, inarticulate, plain and

poor. To them he was devoted. For them he was a spokesman and a champion. In their name he espoused, against the opposition of intrenched wealth and power, the cause of social justice. We, today, carry forward with renewed and steadfast resolve the program he so nobly advanced…the struggle against the inhumanity of man to man. We pledge in his name that we will not falter on the path he blazed so well.

He feared no man; often he dared defeat; he was unimpressed by danger. Quick in his anger, and quick to forgive, warmly loving and cordially hating, enjoying ease, yet indefatigable in labor, stern and soft by speedy turn, sentimental yet realistic, the unquestioned master of the spoken word, loving people so much that he hated solitude—this was the man behind the statesman. This was the sum of things which added up to that magic and unforgettable personality. This was the presence which inspired his followers, which awed or won over his enemies, which impressed presidents and kings, which delighted friends, which made him the tender husband and the loving father that he was throughout his life.

Manuel Quezon was no ordinary man. He was beloved by Providence. In his later political career, his decisions were occasionally inscrutable, but almost always right. Through the flat decade of the twenties, when the vessel of independence was becalmed in a sluggish sea, he kept up the flagging will of his countrymen, continued to beat the drums of freedom, and never once lost sight of his goal.

As the tempo of events quickened in the world, Manuel Quezon was ready. With enthusiasm undimmed by a quarter century of public life, with energy apparently undiminished by the drain of the dread illness which was so common among our people, he plunged into the crisis of his lifelong battle for independence. That battle, too, he won.

It was in 1935 and an exulting people voiced overwhelming will that Manuel Quezon be the first President of the Philippines. It seemed that he had reached the high plateau of his career. He toyed indulgently with the thought of retiring at the end of his term in office, to tend his health, to take his ease, to travel, to spend his reclining years in the warm and comforting circle of a devoted and cherished family.

In his first historic term, he set the new Commonwealth well on the road to freedom. He obtained from President Roosevelt a pledge of' special economic concessions after independence. He dreamed and designed the construction of a magnificent capital city, the crowning jewel of the fame that was to outlast him. He made a goodwill trip to Cuba and to Mexico, and in accents which rang clear in those lands, he told of his faith in America, in democracy, and in world unity.

Then, from a narrow strip of land called the Polish Corridor, there burst the lightning of war. Guns grew louder; throughout Europe freedom was vanquished; a new tyranny ran rampant over the ancient seats of western civilization. In the Orient, deep out of the north China Sea, there rose the menacing clouds of war. Closer and closer they drew to the Philippines, still only a mark in the sky, but to the wise and practiced eye of Manuel Quezon, they tokened danger .

The time for retirement of the leader was not yet come. This new danger had to be met. In the United States, ideologically pledged to the support of the western allies. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected for an unprecedented third term. In the Philippines Manuel Quezon was chosen for his second. In the few remaining lands of freedom and peace, men girded their loins for battle. Our leader called on his countrymen to rally without question to the cause to which the United States was pledged—the sacred cause for which he had fought all his life, for justice and liberty. The youth, who had fought America with desperate fury in 1898, poured out his eloquence and spent his magnificent spirit in support of that nation now.

The rest of the story of Manuel Quezon is the history of Philippine participation in the war. When the mailed fist of Japan struck without warning, first at Pearl Harbor and then at Manila, Quezon's choice was already made. It was not an easy choice. It was a choice previously faced by Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Siam, and Malaya. It was a choice between resisting for the sake of principle, or yielding for the sake of relative safety. Not all these nations made the same choice. At that time the issue on which hung the future of the world was in grave doubt. The forces of evil were on the march; there were many men of impartial mind who thought the age of barbarism had already won. But the lion heart of Manuel Quezon would admit neither doubt nor despair. He threw, not without

question without hesitation, the force of eighteen million Filipinos into the struggle on the side of right, on the side of the United States. In a major sense, of course, Manuel Quezon's choice was gathered, from the hearts of his people. There was no question in their minds. There was no unwillingness on their part. The die was cast. And when the time came, when he was asked to leave his beloved land, and to wage the fight from afar, he acceded, but with painful sorrow. His heart ached at the thought of leaving his people to face their fate alone. First from Australia and then from Washington, he urged his countrymen to resist, to keep high their hopes, to maintain intact their faith in the eventual triumph of liberty.

He plunged with all his heart and soul into his new task…on the one hand as supreme leader of the forces of resistance, and on the other as the eloquent advocate, for the gathering and launching of the offensive against Japan, for the rescue of our people from their brutal bondage.

The flickering flame of physical vitality burned lower now that he was drawing from unseen reserves the last elements of energy for his final work. The fragile body which supported with so much strain the explosive energy of a dynamic mind served its fatal warning. But death was no stranger to Manuel Quezon. Often it had beckoned, never perched far distant from him. The sultry veil, which those who live call death because they cannot see beyond it, drew closer to him. Still he fought it, refused it. But as to all, even so to Manuel Quezon, death finally came. The essential task accomplished, his glorious achievements lying in brilliant array behind him, the great soul, with the strong surge of the upward flying eagle, wrenched itself from its mortal house. This life was ended.

The American nation and the American people mourned him as one of their own. The leaders of state of many lands paid him tribute. The muffled drums which sounded as the

funeral cortege wound its way through Arlington National Cemetery reverberated across distant waters. They were heard in the Philippines, and the millions here wept in unison.

I remember that day. I was at morning mass in the House of God when the tragic news was spread. Choked with grief, I prayed with all my heart for the repose of his soul, for the solace of his widow and his children, for the salvation of our people, smitten anew with this irreparable loss.

Now the storm and terror of the recent past are ended. The dark and angry clouds which long enveloped us are rolling away. The golden fingers of the new day's light rest with healing touch upon the pain and wounds which this, our people suffered. Strong and willing hands rebuild that which is destroyed. This rich, kind earth renews itself; the blossoms of tomorrow will hide the scars of yesterday.

Now the body of our leader returns to rest. From the voiceless lips of the unreplying dead come reassurance, courage and hope. The spirit of Manuel Quezon which never left us, soothes with gentle balm our heavy sorrow. In the Night of Death in which he dwells, our love can hear the rustle of a wing, and the seraphic song of angels to lull our grief, to give us strength, to bring us peace. Let there then be peace, too, for Manuel Quezon; for now he belongs to the ages. May the causes for which he lived and in whose names he died…Liberty, Justice and Democracy…exult in eternal triumph!

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NOTE.—The remains of President Manuel L. Quezon arrived in Manila on July 27, 1946, at 9 o'clock in the morning, on board the United States aircraft carrier, Princeton. The last American Governor General of the Philippines, Justice Frank Murphy, in representation of the President of the United States, accompanied! The casket in its voyage across the Pacific. The arrival gave occasion for the delivery of the foregoing eulogy.

President Quezon died at 10: 05 a.m. on August 1, 1944 (American time) at Saranac Lake, New York State. In the afternoon of the next day, his body arrived in Washington, D.C., and was taken from the Union Station to St. Matthews Cathedral, where a mass for the repose of his soul was celebrated the following morning. After the religious ceremony which was attended by high officials of the Philippines, the United States and other countries,

and by many Filipinos living in and around Washington, the remains were transferred to the Arlington Cemetery where they were deposited until their transfer to the Philippines.

It is of interest to note in this connection that the second Act passed by the First Congress of the new Republic appropriated P50,000.00 to defray the expenses for a state funeral and for the erection of a mausoleum to contain the remains of the late President. This mausoleum will only be temporary, for there has been created a Quezon Memorial Committee entrusted with the task of soliciting funds from the public for the construction of a permanent Quezon Memorial.

Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of his visit to the sick and invalid war veterans in the first General Hospital of the Philippine Army in Mandaluyong, August 14, 1946

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Occasion of his visit to the sick and invalid war veterans in the first General Hospital of the Philippine Army in Mandaluyong

[Released on August 14, 1946]

MY COMRADES IN ARMS:

This is a glad day for your country. This is a day many of our comrades did not live to see. This is the first anniversary of the surrender of our enemy, marking the total defeat of his armies and his navies. Today Japan, which ruled so proudly and so cruelly here, whose treacherous ambitions are responsible for your sad plight, is a nation facing a future heavy with retribution. Those armies which overran our land, and which sought with barbaric arrogance to torture and terrorize us into mute servility, are now disarmed and penitent. Broken forever is the myth of Japanese invincibility. An alien army, the army of our allies, occupies the Japanese homeland. Slowly and inexorably Japan's war potential is being stripped from her. The mighty Empire of the Rising Sun will wage no more aggressive war in our time. The barbaric hordes from the north are being taught, at whatever pain to their pride, the lessons of civilization.

This is your achievement, yours as much as that of many others. Yours is the honor and the glory. Yours is whatever satisfaction there is in knowing that you were the instruments of justice and righteousness, that your arms bore the keen sword of mankind's certain vengeance and retribution against the evil-doers, the war makers, the tyrants, the oppressors.

You here have suffered bitterly. You are evidence of the cost that war exacts from a nation. You are its victims, its savage sacrifice. It is from seeing you, and the thousands and hundred of thousands of your comrades here and elsewhere throughout the earth that we derive the urgent determination to insure that war will never again blight the earth. There must be no more living monuments to the tragedy and the folly of war.

But it is not enough to weep and to pledge our efforts for the future. Neither tears nor good intentions will bind up your wounds, will restore limbs and sight, or will give health of mind and body to those who have paid, in full measure, the cost of our devotion to freedom and democracy.

True, we are a free nation today largely because of you. In the world outside these walls there is a Philippine Republic which all men honor because of you.

Certainly you must be honored in turn. Certainly you must be cared for in turn. But individual justice is an elusive force in world affairs today. I cannot justify, I cannot fully explain the lack of proper provision for you, and your dependents. Certain measures for which we have been working with might and main to give you the recognition and assistance that is due you have been sidetracked. The United States Government, whose leaders desire with all their heart to help you, to reward you for your sacrifices, is, I believe, anxious to rectify the injustices of your present situation. Your own Government is determined to do everything in its power, and I mean everything, to provide for you, to provide for your dependents, and to secure such assistance from the United States as can be gotten. I pledge you my own efforts to this end. But I must sadly admit that our means are severely limited. We are a young, struggling and war-impoverished nation. The same conflict, which struck you down has done the same to our entire country. We are trying to heal the nation's wounds. It is a difficult job, and it requires all our fortitude, resources, and will power. It requires vast amounts of money which at present we must seek from sources outside our borders. Such money as we obtain must be repaid. But as far as it is within my power, I will do everything I can to help in your rehabilitation… whatever is not done will not be through lack of effort on my part. For the time being, and until

we can obtain proper support and facilities for you from the United States, your Government will continue to care for you to the best of its ability. I have asked the Philippine Congress for funds to continue to keep you on the army payrolls and to pay for your hospitalization. Despite our slender means, you will not be neglected, at whatever other sacrifice we must make. I know what you have done for your country. Your country is proud. What is much more important, it is grateful. This is a cause in which my interest, and the interest of your countrymen, will never flag. Be of good cheer. You are not forgotten.

Proclamation of President Roxas to the People of Central Luzon

Proclamation
of
Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
to
The People of Central Luzon

[September 6, 1946]

The Government's forces of law and order are today engaged in a campaign to restore peaceful conditions to all parts of Central Luzon, as well as elsewhere in the Philippines.

CIVIL LIBERTIES ASSURED

There is no desire to carry out retributions against any individual, group, or organization, as such. The Government has no wish to prevent people of any political or economic persuasion from assembling peacefully to seek redress of grievances, to petition the government, or to organize for the improvement of social or economic conditions. The Government does insist, however, that all activities anywhere in the Philippines be carried on within the framework of law, order and duly constituted government authority.

ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

The Government will not permit the usurpation of public authority or the seizure of the functions of government by unofficial individuals, groups, or organizations. Any organization which tries to use or advocates the use of force or violence, or pretends to perform functions which only the Government should perform, is an illegal organization and outside the pale of the law.

Membership in such organization is illegal. I call upon the people of Central Luzon to separate themselves from any activities which fall into this classification.

AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

The practices of grasping and unjust landlordism, oppression, usury, and exploitation will be eliminated by the efforts of the Government itself. I have pledged myself to such a program and the Government is moving as swiftly as it can in this direction. Nothing will be permitted to interfere with these efforts.

But the interests of the nation require that peace and order be restored, and that food production be stimulated to the fullest extent possible in order to stave off national starvation.

ARRESTS AND PROTECTIVE CUSTODY

The Government has decided to restore law and order to the Central Luzon provinces in the briefest possible time and to enforce by all necessary means an end to violence and to personal retributions for past violences. In order to accomplish this, some persons are being taken into custody for their own protection as well as for the preservation of the peace of the land. Every consideration will be given their civil rights and personal security. The forces of law and order have been directed to use persuasion, where persuasion is possible, and to use firm force where that is the only alternative.

THE PROGRAM—12 POINTS

I call upon all the people to cooperate with the Government in this program. I promise them that I will hear and give attention to every legitimate complaint which is made that the interests of any individual group or class are being discriminated against. Meanwhile, I pledge that I will pursue with all vigor possible a social and economic program of agrarian reform, not only in Central Luzon but everywhere in the Philippines. This program includes:

1. 70-30 crop division.

2. Stamping out of usury.

3. Purchase of big estates and their resale to tenants.

4. Loans to small farmers and tenants.

5. Encouragement to farm cooperatives.

6. Resettlement projects in sparsely settled areas.

7. Scientific aids to increase agricultural production.

8. Safeguarding of persons and properties everywhere.

9. Work projects for the unemployed.

10. Support of claims for official recognition of those who served against the enemy.

11. Legal aid for the presentation of claims for war damages, veterans' benefits, etc.

12. Encouragement of small business and industries to provide seasonal employment especially in Central Luzon.

In order to make the execution of this program possible the Government needs and requires the cooperation and support of every citizen. We need especially the cooperation and support of the citizens in Central Luzon. I appeal to you, therefore, to assist me in this great task by doing or observing the following:

1. All arms must be surrendered.

2. Peace and order must be effective and maintained not only by the forces of law but also by the positive will of all the people.

3. Private "armies" must be disbanded.

4. The support and cooperation of every citizen must be given to the Government in its efforts to realize every part of this program.

Long live the Republic of the Philippines!

Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of the presentation by the Chinese Minister to the Philippines

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the presentation
by the Chinese Minister
to the Philippines

[*October 3, 1946*]

MR. MINISTER:

I am happy to receive you on behalf of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines as first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China to the Philippines. It is my earnest desire that in appreciation of the mutually beneficial aims sought by your Government in setting up your diplomatic representation here, the Philippines may soon be able to establish a Legation in your country.

The peoples of our two countries are bound together by many ties. Geographically we are next-door neighbors and for centuries your people have contributed by their industry and thrift to our economic life. In the recent war, we fought together for the same causes against the onslaught of the common enemy and I have only words of admiration for the indomitable courage with which your people for eight long years bore the brunt of aggression, under the gallant leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek.

I have no doubt that the Philippines and China will continue their fruitful collaboration, based on mutual respect and understanding, toward their common goal of lasting peace and prosperity for the peoples of the Orient and of the world.

In the worthy mission of strengthening the bonds of friendship between the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of China, you may count on the whole-hearted cooperation of this Government and on my own.

You have my best wishes, Mr. Minister, that your work among us will redound to the mutual benefit and advantage of our two countries.

Reply of President Roxas to the Address of Chinese Minister Chen Chih-Ping at his presentation of credentials Reply
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the address of Chinese Minister Chen Chih-Ping
At his presentation of credentials

[Delivered at Malacañan, October 3, 1946]

Minister Chen's address:

Mr. PRESIDENTE,

I have the honor to place in Your Excellency's hands the Letters by which the President of the National Government of the Republic of China accredits me near the Government of the Republic of the Philippines in the quality of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of China.

It is extremely gratifying to me to have been charged with the establishment of a Legation of China in the Philippines and I consider it a great honor for me to be the first one to represent the Republic of China near Your Excellency's Government.

Besides, I draw great satisfaction from my coming into close contact with the Philippine people, for whose industry and heroism I have the profoundest admiration, and witnessing the fruitful efforts they are making under Your Excellency's leadership in the development of their country and in the attainment of their high ideals and aspirations.

All my activities will be directed toward strengthening the bonds of friendship based on mutual respect and good will which unite our two countries. And it is my firm belief that the close cultural and economic relations which have bound together our two peoples for many decades and our common objective of helping to build a lasting peace in the Far East will render my mission particularly agreeable.

May I be permitted, Mr. President, to entertain the hope that in the accomplishment of my task I shall be able to count on the benevolent cooperation and support of Your Excellency and the Philippine Government.

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President Roxas' reply:

Mr. MINISTER,

I am happy to receive you on behalf of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines as first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China to the Philippines. It is my earnest desire that in appreciation of the mutually beneficial aims sought by your Government in setting up your diplomatic representation here, the Philippines may soon be able to establish a Legation in your country.

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I have no doubt that the Philippines and China will continue their fruitful collaboration, based on mutual respect and understanding, toward their common goal of lasting peace and prosperity for the peoples of the Orient and of the world.

In the worthy mission of strengthening the bonds of friendship between the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of China, you may count on the whole-hearted cooperation of this Government and on my own.

You have my best wishes, Mr. Minister, that your work among us will redound to the mutual benefit and advantage of our two countries.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Chinese Minister Chen Chih-Ping's address and President Roxas' reply at the presentation of credentials by the former to the latter. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2547-2548.

Press Statement: Vice-President Elpidio Quirino on the occasion of the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of General Relations between the Philippines and the United States

Press Statement of Vice-President Elpidio Quirino:
On the occasion of the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of General Relations between the Philippines and the United States

[Issued on October 22, 1946]

The exchange of instruments of ratification for the broad treaty of general relations between the United States and the Philippines today is a signal occasion for my Government. I am proud to have participated in the preparation of the first treaty that the Republic of the Philippines has signed with another sovereign nation. It lays down the legal framework around which will develop and grow the great community of interest which will forever bind two peoples and two nations. I do not share the fear entertained by some that this may prove to be an unequal partnership. Although we are a small nation and the United States is a great and powerful one—one of the greatest on the earth—we have every reason to believe and to expect that we will be regarded as a nation on an equal footing with all the great and small nations of the world. The fact that the United States so regards us, as set forth in this historic document which we have ratified today, is a guarantee that we will be so regarded by the other nations of the earth. This ceremony today signalizes all but the final ceremonial act in the establishment of relations between our two countries, which will be at the heart of our fundamental pattern of relations with all the nations in the world. This nation subscribes to the same principle to which the United States is adherent—the principle of the most favored nation. Except for the special economic provisions entailed in our Executive Agreement, which are designed to meet a special situation, we invite all the countries of the world to enter into the same kind of relationship with us that we have entered into with the United States.

We are not entering into a new arrangement with the United States. Basically, our relationship remains as intimate as it ever was. But now we are equals rather than guardian and ward. This recognition of unmitigated equality which we have signed and sealed today signalizes a deeper and stronger tie than ever existed in the past.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Press statement issued by Vice President Elpidio Quirino on the occasion of the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of General Relations between the Philippines and the United States. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2545-2546.

Remarks of President Roxas on the exchange of ratification of the treaty of general relations with the United States, October 22, 1946

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Occasion of the Exchange of Ratification of the Treaty of General Relations between the Philippines and the United States Signed On July 4, 1946

[*October 22, 1946*]

MR. AMBASSADOR:

I am happy to exchange with you the instruments of ratification of our respective governments of the treaty of general relations signed on July 4, an act that at once makes effective the provisions of one of the truly historic documents of our times. Although clothed in legal language, this treaty has a great and immediate meaning in the life of our two countries. This is the last formal act in the drama of independence. We are here ratifying the establishment of formal relations between the Philippine Republic and the United States of America. This is a testament of faith of the American people in our freedom, in our future. This is the testament of our faith in our freedom, in our nationhood and in democracy itself. I take this treaty as a basic charter of friendship between our two governments and, of course, our two peoples. It has been said before, but it can be stated again, that no such charter is really necessary. That friendship is secure. Yet in this treaty, we can hold up before the eyes of all the world the example of a firm and equal relationship for all to see. The Vice President who is concurrently my Secretary of Foreign Affairs and you, Mr. Ambassador, have worked long and hard to effect this particular document. Our respective peoples have worked long and hard to effect the particular relationship that exists between them. May that relationship continue and expand in the years to come.

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NOTE.—The treaty of general relations between the Philippines and the United States was signed on the Independence grandstand at the Luneta, in the full view of the vast multitude that gathered to witness the proclamation and establishment of the Republic of the Philippines. The signing of the document followed the inaugural address of President Roxas.

Remarks of President Roxas and United States Ambassador Paul V. McNutt on the occasion of the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of General Relations between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States

President Roxas' remarks:

Mr. AMBASSADOR:

I am happy to exchange with you the instruments of ratification of our respective governments of the treaty of general relations signed on July 4, an act that at once makes effective the provisions of one of the truly historic documents of our times. Although clothed in legal language, this treaty has a great and immediate meaning in the life of our two countries. This is the last formal act in the drama of independence. We are here ratifying the establishment of formal relations between the Philippine Republic and the United States of America. This is a testament of faith of the American people in us and in our future. This is the testament of our faith in our freedom, in our nationhood and in democracy itself. I take this treaty as a basic charter of friendship between our two governments and, of course, our two peoples. It has been said before, but it can be stated again, that no such charter is really necessary. That friendship is secure. Yet in this treaty we can hold up before the eyes of all the world the example of a firm and equal relationship for all to see. The Vice President who is concurrently my Secretary for Foreign Affairs and you, Mr. Ambassador, have worked long and hard to effect this particular document. Our respective peoples have worked long and hard to effect the particular relationship that exists between them. May that relationship continue and expand in the years to come.

———

Ambassador McNutt's remarks:

I thank you very much, Mr. President, for what you have just said.

By this Act, and by the proclamations about to be made by you and by the President of the United States, there will be completed the chain of events which bring into effect the first treaty between my country and this Republic. These acts and ceremonies, together with the actions of our two Senates, represent the method sanctioned by the law and custom of nations whereby two independent sovereign states, by the exercise of their own free will, enter-into agreements between themselves and make those agreements known to the world. But our actions would be meaningless, empty formalities if they did not signify a true meeting of the minds and a genuine determination loyally to abide by what is written in this document.

In a sense this first treaty between our countries is unimportant, for it merely gives legal force and effect to a political relationship between our two countries which both have long desired and to which both long ago agreed through action of their legislative bodies. But in a larger sense it is very important. For it is the proof, to ourselves and to the world, that the will of the peoples, as expressed by their legislatures, prevails. Two sovereign nations, by decision of their duly elected legislators and Chief Executives, have agreed to live together as close relatives within the family of nations.

There will be other treaties and agreements between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines, regulating specific arrangements and settling a multitude of questions which, between nations as between members of a family, have to be settled from time to time.

This treaty of General Relations, whose instruments of ratification we are exchanging at this moment, is an earnest of our intent and determination to regulate all our relations by free agreement, freely arrived at.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Remarks made by President Manuel Roxas and United States Ambassador Paul V. McNutt on the occasion of the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of General Relations between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States.*Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2544-2545.

Radio Appeal of President Roxas for support to the annual fund drive of the Philippine Red Cross, October 27, 1946

Radio Appeal
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
For support to the annual fund drive of the Philippine Red Cross

[*Broadcast over a national hook-up of radio station KZFM, October 27, 1946*]

There has recently been a succession of appeals to the Philippine people to contribute to worthy causes. In all the cases of which I have personal knowledge, those causes were deserving ones.

I will speak to you tonight not in behalf of a cause, but rather in support of a national necessity. I am referring to the Philippine Red Cross.

The Red Cross, of course, is not a charity in the ordinary sense of the word; it is rather an essential function which has appealed so deeply to the people of the world that it has come to be recognized by governments and by international agreements. It performs services for men, women, and children of all colors, races and creeds in times of disaster, tragedy or national need. The Red Cross, is in a sense, the very conscience of mankind in action. It is a concrete expression of the fundamental humanitarianism which we all acknowledge as a basic element of our modern civilization. The Red Cross has done much in its long and glorious history to arouse and crystallize that conscience of mankind. The simple symbol of this organization has come to be recognized the world over as a symbol of rescue, of help to the sick, the wounded and the starving, as well as to those weakened or oppressed by disaster. It has also become the symbol of health and sanitation, of medical service. That symbol is now a mark of inviolability and of neutrality. Red Cross workers are recognized by international convention as belonging to no army and to no nation in time of war. That inviolability was unfortunately transgressed during the recent conflict, as we in the Philippines have good reason to know.

Each nation has its own Red Cross, but the Red Cross of each nation is part of the International Red Cross, which preceded even the League of Nations as a truly international body.

Soon the Philippine Red Cross will apply for recognition as an independent Red Cross Society and for membership in the League of Red Cross Societies. Since the inception of the Red Cross movement 82 years ago, one of the basic criteria of nationhood has been the existence in each independent country of an independent Red Cross organization. The attainment of Red Cross recognition lies within our grasp.

Following liberation, the Philippine Red Cross was reestablished. While at present it is, as it has been for many years, a chapter of the American Red Cross, we now have a reconstituted Philippine Red Cross, devoted solely to the cause of our people and working on an active program of service in every province of our country.

It is our inescapable duty to maintain and develop this organization so that its service to our people may grow in stature in the years to come.

Financial independence is an indispensable prerequisite of the independence of the Red Cross. I call upon you all, therefore, to support this campaign with your generous contributions and maximum volunteer efforts.

The Chairman of the Philippine Red Cross is Mrs. Aurora Quezon, widow of our late heroic president. She has undertaken this great and humanitarian work because of her deep love for our people. She, and all the many others who are working with her in this fund drive, deserve and should have the unstinted support, cooperation and assistance of the entire population of the Philippines. You are asked to give, in mercy's name. You are asked to give, as a patriot. You are asked to give, as a member of the human family.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Speeches of United States Ambassador Paul V. McNutt and Philippines Secretary of National Defense Ruperto Kangleon on Navy Day

Speech
of
Honorable Paul V. McNutt
United States Ambassador
and
Honorable Ruperto Kangleon
Philippines Secretary of National Defense
On Navy Day

[Delivered on October 27, 1946]

Ambassador McNutt's speech:

The role of the United States Navy has always been one of the proudest, just as its record has always been one of the most brilliant, in the history of the United States. In the structure of Philippine-American relations, the Navy has been especially prominent, and has played its part in the magnificent manner that we have grown to expect from that great branch of the armed service.

The dawn of Philippine-American associations was heralded by the guns of Commodore Dewey's famous fleet in Manila Bay. The scarred and rusted hulks of the enemy fleet can still be seen in the harbor, lasting evidence of the Navy's early presence in these waters.

Between 1898 and 1941, the Navy played a friendly and constructive role in the Philippines, maintaining watch and establishing for itself an enviable record of smartness and efficiency.

Recently, only very recently, the ships and men of the United States Navy wrote themselves an epic of undying glory in the liberation of the Philippines, and in the mighty counter-assault on Japan which contributed so much to the ultimate victory. That victory was also the victory of the Filipino people. It was a victory of our common arms and our common aims. But in the deathless operations which led to the liberation, the naval forces of the United States, in the face of overwhelming odds in the early days, carved, an immortal niche in the military annals of this part of the world.

The American and Filipino soldiers who gave their lives for victory have a common brotherhood with many of our naval heroes who gave up their lives on the unmarked stretches of the sea, that this nation, the Philippine Republic and the United States might grow and prosper in freedom and security.

I have spoken of the Navy's contributions to our common victory in war. Likewise in peace the Navy has served valiantly on shore and on sea to cement our mutual interests, to insure our mutual security, and to draw closer the ties which bind our two countries. The Navy has a long tradition in the Philippines. I know that that tradition will always be maintained in shining splendor.

As an American citizen, I am proud of the American Navy, of its past glories and its present accomplishments. I feel a thrill of pride in every bluejacket, in every officer, in every sleek vessel I see, flying its proud ensign in Manila Bay. I hope that the men and ships of that branch of the armed service will continue to carry on, as I know they will, with their essential missions. I know that the security that they afford both the United States and the Philippines, by the strength and power of their mighty organization, as well as by the traditional courage and heroism which has always characterized them, will always be appreciated by peace-loving men and women.

I raise my hat in salute to those hardy men of the far-flung seas, who protect our frontiers and constitute our first line of defense, the United States Navy!

—

Secretary Kangleon's speech:

It is a distinct honor and privilege to convey to you, on behalf of the Republic of the Philippines, our greetings and sincere wishes for your continued success and prestige on this memorable day. The observance of this day has linked us to that historic event of Dewey's victory in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, which marked the beginning of America's experiment in the Philippines.

The maintenance of a nation's navy is as important as its army. Our experience in the two World Wars has shown the important role a navy plays in winning a war fought overseas. No army, however brave and powerful it may be, can hope to win a modern war without the help of the navy. The navy transport the army and sustains it with arms and ammunitions, food and other vital supplies at the fronts.

No people on earth can appreciate the magnificent role played by the U. S. Navy during the last global conflict, better than the Filipinos. The navy operated and maintained the lifeline of the resistance movement in the Philippines against almost unsurmountable difficulties and dangers. I refer to the great work performed by the U. S. Navy's undercraft forces particularly the USS *Narwhal* and the USS *Nautilus* which, during the Japanese occupation, brought supplies to the Guerrillas all over the Philippines. This bolstered the morale of the Filipino people who steadfastly maintained faith in their ultimate redemption by the forces of democracy and freedom. I also refer to the great work performed by the U. S. Navy's air forces which, in the month of September of 1944, bore the initial brunt of the counter-attack and destroyed the air supremacy and exposed to attack the military installations of the enemy in the Philippines. The appearance of hundreds of hellcats, helldivers and wildcats in the air, and their display of aid might brought to the oppressed people of the Philippines hope and confidence and inspired them to new heights of courage. The Filipinos saw in the first aerial offensive the forces of liberation coming to dislodge the brutal enemy in the Philippines. The period between the landing of General MacArthur on the island of Leyte, and five days thereafter, was the most trying of all. On October 24th three naval task forces of the Japanese Grand Fleet coming from North, South, and West of the Philippines converged on the gulf of Leyte to attack the American convoys of more or less 600 ships. Those task forces were destroyed one by one by the great American Armada. The naval battle which took place in the vicinity of Leyte was not only thrilling but also the most decisive naval operation in the Philippines. Had the United States Navy failed in that crucial encounter, the liberation of our country would have been delayed, and many more lives would have been cruelly sacrificed. To the United States Navy, therefore, we of the Philippines, cherish a special feeling of gratitude and admiration.

The war is over. The victory has been won. The Filipinos have won their freedom. But the war has taught us the price of unpreparedness. As a new independent country, preparedness should be our watchword if we expect to preserve our territorial integrity and the security of our democratic institutions.

Our plan for the defense of this country will be coördinated with that of the United States Forces in the Pacific. We may be lacking in material means, but we have the manpower, the proven courage and determination side by side with the United States and all forces of freedom, to defend this outpost of democracy in the Pacific.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Speeches broadcast by United States Ambassador Paul V. McNutt and Philippines Secretary of National Defense Ruperto Kangleon on Navy Day, October 27, 1946. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2566-2568.

Remarks of President Roxas during the presentation by the British Minister to the Philippines, October 30, 1946

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Occasion of the presentation by the British Minister
To the Philippines, Harry Linton Fould, of His Letter of Credence

[*October 30, 1946*]

MR. MINISTER:

On behalf of the Republic of the Philippines, I am happy to receive you as the first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Republic of the Philippines. I am particularly happy that you who have spent many years among our people have been chosen to represent His Majesty's Government in this Country. To reciprocate the mutually beneficial aims sought by your Government in setting up diplomatic representation here, it is my hope that we may soon be able to establish a legation in your country.

Our two countries are linked by historical, economic and cultural ties. As early as the 18th century, our two peoples engaged in commercial intercourse. Today British business houses established in the Philippines are an important factor in our commercial life. The same language spoken in your country is spoken throughout the length and breadth of the Philippines. Your philosophy of government came to us as a precious legacy from the great Republic of the United States of America, herself an heir to the Anglo-Saxon principles of liberty and justice. It is my sincerest desire that the ties that bind our two countries may become stronger with every passing year.

Throughout our long struggle for freedom, our leaders have drawn unfailing inspiration from the ideals and principles enunciated by Anglo-Saxon political thinkers. The Magna Charta, your immortal contribution to the cause of human freedom, is deeply imbedded in the Filipino soul and its principles form the mainstay of our political faith.

We admire your people for their indomitable courage and tenacity. The Battle of Britain during the recent conflict is recalled by us, as by all free men everywhere, as having been waged by you in defense of human liberty. Britain played her part nobly and well. It is hoped that the great struggles of the last war in which we were allies in fact will bind us closer than ever before and that our two countries will cooperate towards the promotion of peace and understanding among all the nations of the earth.

In directing your constant endeavors to maintain and strengthen the ties of friendship which have so happily been established between this Republic and the British Commonwealth, you can count on the full support of my Government.

You have my best wishes, Mr. Minister, for a pleasant sojourn with us. I feel sure that your mission will be fruitful and bring mutual benefit and advantage to our two peoples.

Address of British Minister Harry Linton Foulds and Reply of President Roxas at the Presentation of Credentials

Reply
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On British Minister Harry Linton Foulds's address
at the presentation of credentials by the former to the latter

[Delivered in Malacañan, October 30, 1946]

Miniser Fould's address:

Mr. PRESIDENT,

The King, my August Sovereign, whose Royal Letter accrediting me as His Majesty's Minister to the Republic of the Philippines I am about to present to you, has commanded me to renew to Your Excellency the friendly greetings and good wishes which He recently conveyed to you through His Special Ambassador, the Right Honourable Lord Killearn, and to express His Majesty's earnest hope for the happiness and prosperity of the Philippines.

In accordance with the instructions which I have received from my Government, I shall make it my constant endeavour to maintain and strengthen the good relations which have so happily been established between the British Commonwealth and the new Republic, in the firm belief that by so doing I shall be fulfilling my high duty. I feel sure, Mr. President, that for this purpose I may count upon full encouragement and help from yourself and the members of Your Excellency's Administration.

I count myself particularly honoured to have been chosen as the first British Minister at Manila. But I am happy to reflect that this is only a new phase in British official relations with the Philippines which, apart from the violent interruption caused by the Japanese attack, have subsisted continuously and harmoniously since the first opening of a British Consulate at Manila in the year 1844. Even before that date, British merchants had come to the Philippines and had set up business houses which are still well known in the country and are still, despite the recent war, carrying on their peaceful avocations. It is my sincere hope that these trade relations may long prosper and develop the mutual advantage of our two countries.

May I conclude by saying that I have returned to the Philippines as an old friend, some of whose happiest years were spent here, and that I look forward to the renewal of many old associations as well as the formation of new ones.

I beg to express to Your Excellency my most sincere and confident hope for the renewed prosperity of this beautiful country and its friendly people.

President Roxas' reply:

Mr. MINISTER:

On behalf of the Republic of the Philippines, I am happy to receive you as the first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britanic Majesty to the Republic of the Philippines. I am particularly happy that you who have spent many years among our people has been chosen to represent His Majesty's Government in this country. To reciprocate the mutually beneficial aims sought by your Government in setting up diplomatic representation here, it is my hope that we may soon be able to establish a legation in your country.

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factor in our commercial life. The same language spoken in your country is spoken throughout the length and breadth of the Philippines. Your philosophy of government came to us as a precious legacy from the great Republic of the United States of America, herself an heir to the Anglo-Saxon principles of liberty and justice. It is my sincerest desire that the ties that bind our two countries may become stronger with every passing year.

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In directing your constant endeavors to maintain and strengthen the ties of friendship which have so happily been established between this Republic and the British Commonwealth, you can count on the full support of my Government.

You have my best wishes, Mr. Minister, for a pleasant sojourn with us. I feel sure that your mission will be fruitful and bring mutual benefit and advantage to our two peoples.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). British Minister Harry Linton Foulds' address and President Roxas' reply at the presentation of credentials by the former to the latter at Malacañan on the afternoon of October 30, 1946. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(10)*, 2549-2550.

Memorandum on Public Relations for the Philippine Government in the USA, October 31, 1946

MEMORANDUM ON PUBLIC RELATIONS FOR PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT IN THE U.S.A.

October 31, 1946

FROM: The President

TO: Ambassador Elizalde

The prime objective of a public relations program in the United States at the present time is to eradicate misapprehensions and false impressions now prevailing in some quarters of the United States, and correctly to present current events emphasizing (1) total nature of Philippine independence, (2) devotion of the Philippines to democracy and democratic principles, (3) devotion of the Philippines to United Nations principles, and (4) intimacy and mutuality of Philippine-American relations.

It would not be an economically sound investment nor in any sense justifiable, considering the present state of government financial condition, to spend at this time any large amount of money on public relations in the United States. To spread a wider general knowledge of the Philippines beyond what is already known in the United States would require expenditures out of proportion to the benefits derived. At the same time, it is desirable to take maximum advantage of the great interest and emotional attachment which millions of Americans have toward the Philippines. It is also desirable and essential that publication media in the United States have ample current and factual knowledge of what is actually taking place here. The continuous flow of information regarding the Philippines to editors can be achieved at minimum expense. Much of the material for circulation can be produced in the Philippines. The operation in the United States would be largely one of circulation.

It is therefore my view that for the time being the public relations program in the United States should be set up as follows:

1. Public relations. — All major speeches by the President and the Foreign Secretary will be radioed to Washington in digest form to be followed by air express texts. Major press releases bearing on relations with the United States and on controversial matters of interest to the United States will likewise be radioed. These can be mimeographed and sent by messenger to Washington bureaus, newspapers and press associations. This should be immediately followed up by mailing to editors, columnists, radio commentators, magazines, weeklies, and dailies. Fullest mailing lists should be developed. (I should like to have a copy of that mailing list, current in Manila as well as in Washington).

When texts of speeches arrive in Washington, they should be sent to members of Congress, government officials interested in the Philippines, forums, discussion groups, and university professors teaching far-eastern affairs. (A mailing list of the latter should be obtained by inquiry and by obtaining list from such organizations as the Institute of Public Relations). These texts should also be mailed to business organizations with interest, or possible interest, in the Philippines.

The development of this mailing list is an important undertaking and should occupy whatever attention is required from the members of the Embassy staff. An estimate of mailing cost should comprise the basic item in any public relations budget. Duplicate of such mailing lists should be supplied to Manila.

Speeches by the Ambassador, etc. should be handled in the same manner. A copy of the mailing list should be supplied to the Philippine Delegate to the United Nations for his use in the same manner. It would be a sound practice, if it could be arranged, to have the material from the Office of the United Nations Delegate circulated by the Embassy on a cost compensation basis.

Lectures and speeches before forums and discussion groups at any great distance from Washington are not economically justified, unless made by the Ambassador or the Minister Counselor, unless such engagements are financially self-liquidating. An exploration should be conducted, however, as to the feasibility of establishing within the Embassy a Lecture Bureau with one or two men assigned particularly for the purpose, with the Philippine Government bearing the expense. An estimate of the cost of such a program in terms of travel and allowances and the number of engagements that could be filled weekly, before what kind of audiences, should be made and a report submitted to Manila. The point is, in this connection, that unless the individuals assigned to this work are especially prepared and equipped, the cost is probably out of proportion to the benefits derived. Even with such personnel, the cost factor must be carefully weighed. At such time as it would be feasible to establish a separate Philippine Public Relations Bureau, a Lecture Bureau would be an essential part of the establishment.

Treaty of Conciliation between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America, November 16, 1946

TREATY OF CONCILIATION

The Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America, being desirous to strengthen the bonds of amity that bind them together and also to advance the cause of general peace, have decided to conclude a treaty of conciliation and for that purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the Republic of the Philippines:

His Excellency, ELPIDIO QUIRINO, Vice-President and concurrently Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines; and

The President of the United States of America:

His Excellency PAUL V. MCNUTT, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of the Philippines;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Any disputes arising between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, and the Government of the United States of America of whatever nature they may be, shall when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the High Contracting Parties do not have recourse to adjudication by a competent tribunal, be submitted for investigation and report to a permanent International Commission of Conciliation constituted in the manner prescribed in the next succeeding article.

ARTICLE II

The International Commission shall be composed of five members to be appointed as follows: One member shall be chosen from each country by the Government thereof; one member shall be chosen by each Government from some third country; the fifth member shall be chosen by common agreement between the two Governments, it being understood that he shall not be a citizen of either country. The expenses of the Commission shall be paid by the two Governments in equal proportions.

The International Commission shall be constituted within six months after the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty; and vacancies shall be filled according to the manner of the original agreement.

ARTICLE III

In case the High Contracting Parties shall have failed to adjust a dispute by diplomatic methods, and they do not have recourse to adjudication by a competent tribunal, they shall at once refer it to the International Commission for investigation and report. The International Commission may, however, spontaneously by unanimous agreement offer its services to that effect, and in such case it shall notify both Governments and request their coöperation in the investigation.

The High Contracting Parties agree to furnish the International Commission with all the means and facilities required for its investigation and report.

The report of the Commission shall be completed within one year after the date on which it shall declare its investigation to have begun, unless the High Contracting Parties shall limit or extend the time by mutual agreement. The report shall be prepared in triplicate; one copy shall be presented to each Government, and the third shall be retained by the Commission for its files.

The International Commission shall, together with its report submit its recommendations for the settlement of the matter in dispute.

Should no definite settlement be reached, notwithstanding the report and recommendations of the International Commission on the matter in dispute, the High Contracting Parties agree to submit the dispute to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice conformably with Article 36 of its Statute, and further agree to be bound without need of special agreement by the decision of the Court.

ARTICLE IV

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Republic of the Philippines in accordance with its constitutional laws and by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Manila as soon as possible, and the Treaty shall take effect on the date of the exchange of the ratifications. It shall thereafter remain in force continuously unless and until terminated by one year's written notice given by either High Contracting Party to the other.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at Manila this 16th day of November, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand and nine hundred and forty-six and of the Independence of the Philippines the first.

For the Government of the Republic of the Philippines:

ELPIDIO QUIRINO

For the Government of the United States of America:

PAUL V. MCNUTT

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Air Transport Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines

Air Transport Agreement between The United States of America and The Republic of the Philippines

Having in mind the resolution signed under date of December 7, 1944, at the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago, for the adoption of a standard form of agreement for air routes and services, and the desirability of mutually stimulating and promoting the further development of air transportation between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines, the two Governments parties to this arrangement agree that the establishment and development of air transport services between their respective territories shall be governed by the following provisions:

ARTICLE I

Each contracting party grants to the other contracting party the rights as specified in the Annex hereto necessary for establishing the international civil air routes and services therein described, whether such services be inaugurated immediately or at a latter date at the option of the contracting party to whom the rights are granted.

ARTICLE II

Each of the air services so described shall be placed in operation as soon as the contracting party to whom the rights have been granted by Article I to designate an airline or airlines for the route concerned has authorized an airline for such route, and the contracting party granting the rights shall, subject to Article VII hereof, be bound to give the appropriate operating permission to the airline or airlines concerned; provided that any airline so designated may be required to qualify before the competent aeronautical authorities of the contracting party granting the rights under the laws and regulations normally applied by these authorities before being permitted to engage in the operations contemplated by this Agreement; and provided that in areas of hostilities or of military occupation, or in areas affected thereby, such inauguration shall be subject to the approval of the competent military authorities.

ARTICLE III

Operating rights which the Philippine Government may have heretofore granted to any United States air transport enterprise shall continue in force in accordance with their terms, except for any provisions included in such operating rights which would prevent any airline designated under Article II above from operating under this Agreement.

ARTICLE IV

In order to prevent discriminatory practices and to assure equality of treatment, both contracting parties agree that:

(*a*) Each of the contracting parties may impose or permit to be imposed just and reasonable charges for the use of public airports and other facilities under its control. Each of the contracting parties agrees, however, that these charges shall not be higher than would be paid for the use of such airports and facilities by its national aircraft engaged in similar international services.

(*b*) Fuel, lubricating oils and spare parts introduced into the territory of one contracting party by the other contracting party or its nationals, and intended solely for use by aircraft of such other contracting party shall, with respect to the imposition of customs duties, inspection fees or other national duties or charges by the contracting party whose territory is entered, be accorded the same treatment as that applying to national airlines and to airlines of the most-favored-nation.

(*c*) The fuel, lubricating oils, spare parts, regular equipment and aircraft stores retained on board civil aircraft of the airlines of one contracting party authorized to operate the routes and services described in the Annex shall, upon arriving in or leaving the territory of the other contracting party, be exempt from customs, inspection fees or similar duties or charges, even though such supplies be used or consumed by such aircraft on flights in that territory.

ARTICLE V

Certificates of airworthiness, certificates of competency and licenses issued or rendered valid by one contracting party shall be recognized as valid by the other contracting party for the purpose of operating the routes and services described in the Annex. Each contracting party reserves the right, however, to refuse to recognize, for the purpose of flight above its own territory, certificates of competency and licenses granted to its own nationals by another State.

ARTICLE VI

(*a*) The laws and regulations of one contracting party relating to the admission to or departure from its territory of aircraft engaged in international air navigation, or to the operation and navigation of such aircraft while within its territory, shall be applied to the aircraft of the other contracting party, and shall be complied with by such aircraft upon entering or departing from or while within the territory of the first party.

(*b*) The laws and regulations of one contracting party as to the admission to or departure from its territory of passengers, crew, or cargo of aircraft, such as regulations relating to entry, clearance, immigration, passports, customs, and quarantine shall be complied with by or on behalf of such passengers, crew or cargo of the other contracting party upon entrance into or departure from, or while within the territory of the first party.

ARTICLE VII

Each contracting party reserves the right to withhold or revoke the certificate or permit of any airline of the other party in case it is not satisfied that substantial ownership and effective control of airlines of the first party are vested in nationals of that party, or in case of failure of such airline to comply with the laws of the State over which it operates, as described in Article VI hereof, or otherwise to fulfill the conditions under which the rights are granted in accordance with this Agreement and its Annexes.

ARTICLE VIII

This Agreement and all contracts connected therewith shall be registered with the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

ARTICLE IX

This Agreement or any of the rights for air transport services granted thereunder may be terminated by either contracting party upon giving one year’s written notice to the other contracting party.

ARTICLE X

In the event either of the contracting parties considers it desirable to modify the routes or conditions set forth in the attached Annex, it may request consultation between the competent authorities of both contracting parties, such consultation to begin within a period of sixty days from the date of the request. When these authorities mutually agree on new or revised conditions affecting the Annex, their recommendations on the matter will come into effect after they have been confirmed by an exchange of diplomatic notes.

ARTICLE XI

This Agreement, including the provisions of the Annex thereto, will come into force on the day it is signed.

In witness whereof, the undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed the present Agreement.

Done in duplicate this 16th day of November, 1946 at Manila.

For the Government of the United States of America:

PAUL V. MCNUTT
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of the Philippines

For the Government of the Republic of the Philippines:

ELPIDIO QUIRINO
Vice President and Concurrently Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines

ANNEX TO AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES.

A. Airlines of the United States of America authorized under the present Agreement are accorded the rights of transit and non-traffic stop in Philippine territory, as well as the right to pick up and discharge international traffic in passengers, cargo and mail at Manila, on the route or routes indicated below:

From the United States, via intermediate points to Manila and thence to points beyond in both directions.

B. Airlines of the Republic of the Philippines authorized under the present Agreement are accorded the rights of transit and non-traffic stop in United States territory, as well as the right to pick up and discharge international commercial traffic in passengers, cargo, and mail at Honolulu and San Francisco, on the route indicated below:

From the Philippines to San Francisco, and thence to points beyond, over a reasonably direct route via intermediate points in the Pacific which are United States territory, including Honolulu, in both directions.

C. In the operation of the air services authorized under this Agreement, both contracting parties agree to the following principles and objectives:

1. Fair and equal opportunity for the airlines of each contracting party to operate air services on international routes, and the creation of machinery to obviate unfair competition by unjustifiable increases of frequencies or capacity.

2. The adjustment of fifth freedom traffic with regard to:

(*a*) Traffic requirements between the country of origin and the countries of destination.

(*b*) The requirements of through airline operation, and

(*c*) The traffic requirements of the area through which the airline passes after taking account of local and regional services.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Air Transport Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(12)*, 3270-3274.

Address of Vice President Quirino on the occasion of the awarding of diplomas of merit and medals to the "Outstanding Mothers of 1946"

Address
of
Honorable Elpidio Quirino
Vice President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the awarding of diplomas of merit and medals to the "Outstanding Mothers of 1946"

[Delivered on December 2, 1946]

We have gathered this afternoon to do due homage to the worthy fathers and mothers of this nation. We have singled out this one day of the year to lift the ordinary reverence of every home to a national worship of the first order. We do this not because we believe the reverence of the home is in great need of being bolstered up. Neither do we do it as second thought for unpaid tributes to those who lived before us as fathers and mothers for whom as a Christian people, we have long observed and reserved a day of prayer and religious remembrance. We do this for a great national purpose. Now more than ever this country needs good fathers, good mothers,—parents who can intelligently guide their children in our new national existence and teach them the true meaning of independence, our right outlook, our obligations and responsibilities, and the value of self-reliance, and thus properly inspire them with the natural pride and courage of self-respecting people in the spirit of true devotion to their home and country as a patriotic duty.

We have set a day for our national heroes. Their worship sets the standard of greatness which the youth should follow. The youth can only follow such a set standard to the extent as parents are willing to work and sacrifice for their offsprings in order to give them the best guidance and discipline at home and wherever they may be. That is the plain story of every man who has attained renown. His beginnings always started at home—be it a palace or a humble hut—the inspiration has always been that of his mother or father. And that is the lesson of parenthood we should all learn if Parents' Day were to have a meaning and purpose as we conceive it as a day of dedication and worship.

It is fitting that on such an occasion like this we should be presented with both the subject and object lesson. For the object lesson, we are honored today by the citation of the National Federation of Women's Clubs with the presence of the two most distinguished Filipino mothers.

The respect and affection that all men have for their parents, their families, and their homes, is born with nature. The most inexhaustible spring of literature, the world's finest poets have poured inspired and sublime thoughts to exalt it in words of lasting form and beauty. The modern state itself, with its complicated structure of rights and obligations, has evolved from the basic pattern of the family; and even religion has borrowed the imagery of parenthood to illustrate the relations between man and his Creator. But the war from whose general disaster we are only slowly and painfully emerging has emphasized anew the urgent need of formulating a philosophy of human relations fit to withstand the new demands of modern times. I have made reference to the war because, in large measure, it was a conflict between rival and irreconcilable ideologies, a conflict that has not yet been fully resolved. Especially here in the Far East, it was a clash between two antagonistic philosophies shaped and reenforced by different conceptions of the role of the family and of the home.

One of those philosophies, darkened with the cruelty and brutality of primitive man, had fossilized the ethics of the jungle. It subordinated and submerged the individual completely, enslaving him to a rigid tyranny of age and status. The wife was subject to the husband, the children were subject to the father, the widow was subject to the eldest son, and all were subject to the patriarch of the clan. The entire nation was likened to a vast and disciplined family and, like children subject to their father, every man and woman was subject to the sovereign who was the god-emperor. In this primitive pattern, the individual had no more rights or responsibilities than a minor child; he had only one duty, the duty to obey, to obey blindly, to obey without argument or compunction. The individual did not matter in the scheme of things; he had no value or worth as a human being; his sole significance and reason for existence was found in the family and in the greater family of the State.

There may have been a time in human history when these ethics were justified and even necessary. There may have been a time when the paramount need for survival of the species, for the continuity and propagation of the race, demanded and exacted the subordination of the individual to the larger unit, to the family, the clan, the tribe, or the empire. But we have seen for ourselves the horrible fruits of such a philosophy in our duty.

The modern era, however, in a violent reaction against these feudal theories of the home, has formulated a radically opposite philosophy of its own, with which we cannot be in entire agreement. This modern philosophy exalts the individual above any and all social ties or obligations; it enthrones and crowns him as an almighty tyrant, without responsibilities or obligations other than the satisfaction of his own selfish desires. The family becomes for him no more than a temporary arrangement like those of the beasts of the field or the birds in the sky. When the biological needs of the care and feeding of the young are filled, the home is deserted like a cave or a nest when the mating season has run its course.

Closely allied to this philosophy, and indeed its logical outcome in modern times, is the totalitarian doctrines which holds that if the individual has any obligations, he has them only to the State, to the dictator, the most powerful individual of them all. Marriages become experiments in eugenics conducted by State scientists. Children are bred and reared in the cold efficiency of State nurseries. Thus, we saw the Nazi dictatorship encouraging the promiscuous union between German soldiers and German girls in order to produce more cannon fodder, without benefit of marriage or the inconveniences of establishing and maintaining a home. We have seen also other totalitarian systems vainly endeavoring to destroy the family by making marriage and divorce a matter of purely routine registration with the police.

The Filipino people have rejected all these evil and pernicious philosophies. Our ancient, traditional, and deep-rooted faith in the Christian doctrines cannot allow us to accept the theory of extreme individualism, just as our profound and war-tested belief in democracy cannot permit us to enslave the individual to the tyrannies of the primitive family. The family that we honor today, the home whose sanctity we are pledged to preserve, is a Filipino family in a Filipino home, with all the rights and obligations that it implies.

The Filipino family of today should be, and is, an equal partnership of mutual love, respect, and trust, where the individual man or woman is equally conscious of his personal inalienable rights and of his personal obligations to his marital partner and his children, and where the children render due obedience and respect to their parents while the parents guide their children, as long as it is necessary, along the road to full personal fulfillment and achievement.

There is a test that is usually reliable in evaluating the institution of the family, and that is the position of the wife and the mother. Where the woman is a mere chattel, the family cannot be strong and healthy. But where the wife enjoys the rights and prerogatives of an equal partner, where the mother directs the education of the children she has borne, the family is likely to be a legitimate and valuable human institution.

The Filipino family, I believe, can pass this test with conspicuous honor. Few nations in the world, if any, can compare with ours in the position of the woman in the family and in the home. The peculiarly fortunate circumstances which have given us the benefit of both Oriental and Occidental philosophies, of both Christian and secular influences, and of tradition as well as modern science and democracy, have produced a Filipino family that combines stability with freedom. The Filipina today can well boast of a position that few of her sisters of other lands enjoy, and it is most fitting that we should honor her in observing a day set apart for the Filipino family.

Thus, it is most appropriate that we should honor on this occasion the outstanding mothers of the year. It is the Filipino mother who has nourished the true traditions of our family; it is also she who has taken the boldest steps to strengthen and modernize it. I am thinking now especially, of one Filipino mother whom we would undoubtedly honor today if she were alive to receive our homage of respect and admiration. I refer to Josefa Llanes Escoda, who was in many ways the prototype and model of the modern Filipina. Surely by her fruitful life and her heroic death she has given the world a shining example of the modern women of our race. A progressive champion of the rights of her sex, an unselfish and tireless social worker and educator, she displayed fully the capacities of the Filipina in fulfilling her duties to her country and to society. You who were her colleagues in the National Federation of

Women's Clubs, of which she was president in her lifetime, can testify to the energy, abnegation, and leadership with which she pursued her high objectives. But what is more significant for the Filipino family and home, is that she did not allow these numerous and exacting duties to distract her from her obligations as a wife and a mother. She was a devoted partner and helpmate of her husband, and she gave the last proof of her devotion by risking her life together with his in the extremely dangerous task of underground work and resistance against the enemy. She risked her life and she gave her life, side by side with her husband. And in giving her life for the cause of our national liberation, certainly she also gave final and uncompromising proof of her love for her children, for she died that they might enjoy the blessings of liberty and democracy. A nobler example of the modern wife and mother of our race cannot be found than this heroic fighter for the very spirit of the Filipino home.

Today she cannot receive the earthly honors which we should have wanted to bestow upon her. But we honor her in honoring her own mother, Doña Mercedes Madamba de Llanes, the worthy parent of her heroic daughter. The National Federation of Women's Clubs has set forth her achievements in its citation of her as an outstanding mother of the year. But I like to think of her as the traditional type of Filipina mother, so similar to the mothers of most of us, the modest, self-sacrificing mothers found in almost every Filipino home. She is a simple woman and yet her simplicity is her greatness. Simply she faced the challenge of life when she was widowed and left with the care of seven children, six of them daughters. Simply and with quiet courage, she gave each of them an education, supporting them single-handed until they were equipped to face life on their own. And just as simply, when the time came, she received with brave resignation the news of the fatal imprisonment of her eldest daughter.

Doña Mercedes, let me say to you here that there would be no Filipino heroes or heroines without Filipino mothers like you.

Yes, Mrs. Llanes is a typical Filipino mother. Indeed we have only to look around us to see in every street and in every barrio, mothers who fulfill in every respect our national ideal of womanhood. Of how many others might this admirable achievement be told! How many fathers and mothers in our provinces, determined to rescue their children from their own lot of ignorance or poverty, have made the most painful sacrifices, have denied themselves the most urgent necessities, have sold their work-animals and their small inherited possessions, in order to send their sons and daughters to school! I cannot think of these brave unselfish parents without feeling proud that they are Filipinos!

The story is the same throughout our history. It was the immortal Teodora Alonso who shaped the mind of the young Jose Rizal; it was she who encouraged him in his high ambitions and sent him abroad to study how he might serve his oppressed people. And it was she, the eternal Filipino mother, who dedicated heart and soul to her children, and whom Rizal afterward pictured as the unforgettable Sisa, weaving bright dreams for her sons out of her blood and tears. So powerful is the theme of motherhood throughout our national history and literature that it is a commonplace to say that our greatest men have in their own words paid the tribute that Mabini paid in dedicating his principal work to his mother. "Mother," he wrote, "wishing to place above your tomb a crown devised by my own hands, I dedicate this little book to your memory. It is poor and unworthy of you but, to this day, it is the best crown that the inexpert hands of your son have been able to fashion."

For the mothers of these heroes and patriots, the true reward, and indeed the only reward that they expected and the only reward that could content them, was the greatness of their sons. In the greatness of their sons they found their own greatness, the fulfillment of their dreams, the realization of their ambitions, the winning of their heart's desire. For this they had made their daily sacrifices, suffered their repeated privations, endured their trials and their tribulations. And they asked no other recompense than that they had not labored and suffered in vain; their sons were learned and famous and great, and they, in their obscure humility, were well content.

Of all this gallant legion of Filipino mothers, no one today can be prouder or more content than she whose son has reached the summit of fame and glory, whose son has been consecrated by popular election with the leadership of our entire people in the bright dawn of freedom. No Filipino mother can find more cause for satisfaction and rejoicing than the mother of the President of the Philippines, Doña Rosario Acuña Roxas de Picazo.

Doña Rosario, we honor you today not only because of the eminence of your beloved son. The dignity which surrounds you is not merely the glory reflected from your son's position as the leader of our people. The honor and

the dignity are yours, of your own right. They are the measure of your own achievement as a wise, devoted, and unselfish mother, as the mother whose training, guidance and inspiration lighted the spark of intelligence, high vision, daring courage, and the unfaltering qualities of leadership of the worthy first President of the Republic of the Philippines.

Ladies and gentlemen, the honor of being the living mother of the President of the Republic has been enjoyed by no other Filipina in our history. No other Filipina has lived to see such a rich fruition of her hopes and sacrifices or such a magnificent reward for her labors and privations. No other Filipina has lived to see her son receive the highest honor and trust in the power of her people to bestow, the Presidency of the Republic.

But she has carried all these honors with graceful modesty. Her unassuming figure is rarely seen in the palace halls of Malacañan. Although a room has been reserved for her there, she prefers to live in her own house, unattended by privilege and publicity. This is indeed the true Filipino mother, content that she has fulfilled her own unique mission with all the energy and devotion at her command. It was not easy to do it. The mother of seven children, she brought them up and gave every one of them an education in the face of all handicaps and difficulties. Whatever honors and distinctions she may receive now or hereafter were surely won legitimately by her motherly efforts, the efforts of a gallant and patriotic Filipina who deserves well of her country and of her people.

It is parents such as this that the Philippines needs in this decisive era. We are raising ourselves from the debris of a ruthless war to a place in the council of progressive and free peoples worthy of our new dignities and responsibilities as a sovereign nation. More than ever before in our history, we need patriots, men and women who have been taught from childhood to defend their country, to treasure freedom, and to love their fellowmen. We need clear minds, strong arms, stout hearts, and souls that are self-possessed. All this must come from the Filipino home and from there alone. It is there that future generations will learn the heroic traditions of our race, its legitimate aspirations for the future, its urgent and demanding challenges for the present. Let us hope that the models of Filipino parenthood whom we honor today will inspire every Filipino family to be the nursery of a brave, free, progressive and prosperous Filipino people.

Fortunate is the mother who, in the momentous life of her son, lives to observe his eloquent achievements and share in his glory. Happy is the mother who, in the posthumous consecration and glorification of her daughter, can hear the encomiums and national recognition of her daughter's heroism from the very lips of gratified admirers. But more fortunate and happier still must be the son who, at the zenith of his political and patriotic career, still has a mother whom to impart his fears, his longings, his aspirations, his happiness, and a distinguished and loving mother of his children with whom he can discuss the latter's future and glory. Doña Rosario, Doña Mercedes, with your presence you have honored us. I congratulate you both. And, may I say, Mr. President, I envy you.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Address delivered by Vice President Quirino on Parent's Day, December 2, 1946, on the occasion of the awarding of diplomas of merit and medals to the "Outstanding Mothers of 1946". *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(12)*, 3261-3268.

Brief memorandum on the government of the Sultanate of Sulu and powers of the Sultan during the 19th century

Brief Memorandum on the Government of the Sultanate of Sulu and Powers of the Sultan during the 19TH Century*

By H. OTLEY BEYER**

The internal government of the Sulu Sultanate has often been misunderstood or misinterpreted by outsiders — especially during the past half-century, when Spanish, American and Filipino controlled administrations in Manila have been endeavoring to limit the powers of the Sulu rulers, and to incorporate the Sultanate into the regular Philippine Government.

Unlike many of the southern Malay states where the sultan is despotic, in Sulu the government is an oligarchy — vested-in the sultan and datus, in the Ruma Bechara assembled. This condition has existed for a long time, and has been noticed or described in the 17th and 18th centuries by such well-known Spanish, Italian, French and English writers as Combes, Gamelli-Carreri, Dampier, Sonnerat, and Forrest.

In the first half of the 19ch Century, it has also been described in the excellent reports on Sulu and Borneo prepared by J. Hunt, Esq., for SirThomas Stamford Raffles, in 1812 (and revised in August, 1814) —which have been included in J.H. Moor's "Notices of the Indian Archipelago, etc.", Vol. I, printed at Singapore in 1837. Another excellent account, written by an unnamed American merchant-trader, is included in Vol. V of the "Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition to the East Indies", by Commodore Charles Wilkes, U.S. Navy (printed at Philadelphia in 1845).

Hunt's account is substantially as follows (with a few omissions and corrections of later date):

Even at this day, the Sultan is a mere cipher, neither feared nor respected . . . unable to decide on the most trivial points, without the aid of his Ruma Bechara. All the royal Datus and Princes (entitled to be called *Paltik)* – the whole of these had formerly a right to seat and voice in the Ruma Bechara; but their overgrown number became inconvenient, and when the Sultan Aliyud Din ascended the throne (c. 1802) he ordered a Council of six members… "whom he invested with such powers, that even the Sultan's commands, without their sanction, should, in commercial affairs, be deemed null and void" … "But as several powerful chiefs were dissatisfied with this arrangement not relishing a total exclusion of power, a considerable extension of the Ruma Bechara has taken place (recently) consisting not only of Datus but of other chiefs, not descended from the blood royal." In 1814 the Ruma Bechara consisted of 17 members (12 Datus, and 5 *orangkaya* and*panglima,* as follows:) …

Forest's account (written in the late 18th century, c. 1776) clarifies some of the powers of the Ruma Bechara:

"About 15 datus … make up the greater part of the legislature … They sit in council with the Sultan. The Sultan has two votes in this assembly, and each datu has one. The heir apparent… if he sides with the sultan**,** has two votes; but if against him, only one. There are two representatives of the people, called *mantiris,* like the military tribunes of the Romans. The common people of Sulu … enjoy much real freedom, owing to the above representation."

In another part of this account (p.40) Hunt further says:

"The Sulus are certainly more polished than the generality of the Malays … The form of their government stamps in great measure the character of these people and makes the difference between them and the Malays. The slender power of the sultan and the freedom of their mode of government give an unlimited latitude to commercial industry and the life interest which every slave retains to his personal acquisitions, gives the united mass of people a far greater proportion of activity and industry than what is to be found among any of their neighbors. But this unshackled liberty renders the chiefs and people haughty, overbearing, and insolent, to aninconceivable degree."

The account given by Commodore Wilkes (written 1812) runs as follows: (p. 353)

"The government has also undergone a change; for the sultan, who among other Malay races is usually despotic, is here a mere cipher, and the government has become an oligarchy. This change has probably been brought about by the increase of the privilege class of datus, all of whom were entitled to a seat in the Ruma Bechara until about the year 1810, when the great inconvenience of so large a council was felt, and it became impossible to control it without great difficulty and trouble on the part of the Sultan. The Ruma Bechara was then reduced until itcontained but six of the principal datus, was enlarged; but the more powerful, and those who have the largest numerical force of slaves, still rule over its deliberations**.** The whole power, within the last thirty years, has been usurped by one or two datus, who now have monopolized the little foreign trade that comes to these islands**.** The sultan has the right to appoint his successor, and generally names him while living. In default of this, the choice devolves upon the Ruma Bechara, who elect by a majority."

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Such was the state of affairs down to the middle of the 19th century. On April 30, 1851, Sultan Mohammed Pulalun (father of Sultan Jamalul A'lam) signed the first important Sulu treaty with the Spanish Government. The following persons signed the treaty in representation of the Ruma Bechara of the Sulu Sultanate:

1.	Maulana Sultan Mohammed Pulalun
2.	Datu Mohammed Buyuk
3.	Datu Muluk
4.	Datu Amil Bahar
5.	Datu Bandahala
6.	Datu Muluk Kahar
7.	Datu Amil Badar
8.	Datu Tumanggung
9.	Datu Johan
10.	Datu Sauja'an
11.	Datu Na'ib
12.	Datu Mamancha
13.	Tuan Sharif Mohammed Binsarin

On January 22, 1878, Sultan Jamalul A'lam (son of Sultan Pulalun, above) signed a one-page document, written in the Malay language in Arabic characters, giving to Gustavus Baron de Overbeck and Alfred Dent, Esq., and their Company, a permanent lease to the territories allegedly owned by him in northern Borneo, in consideration of a permanent payment of five thousand dollars per annum; and on the same day he signed another document investing the said Baron de Overbeck as *Datu Bandahara and Raja of Sandakan,* with full powers to govern said territories as delegate of the Sultan of Sulu. These two documents bear only the signature and official seal (witnessed by W.H. Treacher, H. B. M. Consul-General for Borneo) of Sultan Jamalul A'lam — and are not officially witnessed or signed by any other member of the Ruma Bechara.

A question therefore arises as to the legality of the above two documents, and this question will be duly discussed on a later page. First, however, we may look into the status of the Ruma Bechara in later years.

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On the 20th of July, 1878, only six months after the date of the Borneo lease, Sultan Jamalul A'lam and his Council signed another treaty with the Spanish Government — the document bearing the following signatures in representation of the Sultanate of Sulu:

1. Padukka Mahasari Maulana Sultan Mohammed Jamalul A'lam
2. Padukka Datu (i.e., Royal Datu) Mohammed Badarud Lin
3. Padukka Datu Raja Lawut Mohammed Zaynul 'Abidin
4. Padukka Datu Muluk Bandarasa Mohammed Pula
5. Padukka Datu Mohammed Harun ar-Rashid

Saleeby, in his "History of Sulu" (Manila, 1908) states that Jamalul A'lam always kept a firm control over the datus, but during the last years of his reign (1880-81) the power of the state council was considerably increased, and it became into two factions – the strongest being led by the greatest figure of later Sulu history, the Pangian Inchi Jamila (mother of Sultan Jamalul Kiram).

The power and influence of Inchi Jamila continued to increase, although – due to Spanish interference – she was not able to make her son Sultan of Sulu until 1893, but she then forced the Spanish recognition and remained as the dominant influence in the Sulu state council until the end of the Spanish regime.

On August 20, 1899, Brigadier-General John C. Bates, representing the United States Government, negotiated an agreement with the Sultanate of Sulu commonly known as the "Bates Treaty". This document was signed for the Sultanate of Sulu by the following members of the state council:

1. Padukka Mahasari Maulana Sultan Hadji Mohammed Jamalul Kiram.
2. Padukka Datu Rajamuda Mohammed Muallil Wasit
3. Padukka Datu Atik
4. Padukka Datu Kalbi
5. Paduka Datu Zulkarmain

Although the Bates Treaty was tentatively abrogated in 1904, the Sultanate of Sulu was still regarded as in legal existence in 1915; and on March 22nd of that year a document was negotiated, now known as the "Carpenter Agreement" signed for the Sultanate of Sulu by the following persons:

1. Sultan Hadji Mohammed Jamalul Kiram
2. Datu Rajamuda
3. Bandahara Hadji Butu
4. Datu Mohammed
5. Abdullah Awang
6. Hadji Mohammed
7. Panglima Tahil

By the Carpenter Agreement, negotiated under the administration of Governor-General Harrison, the Sultan relinquished all temporal power over territory within the Philippines (except for certain specific grants of land to Sultan Jamalul Kiram and his heirs), but retained his rights of sovereignty over the territory of North Borneo and his religious authority as titular head of the Mohammedan Church in Sulu and Mindanao. The Sultanate of Sulu was in no wise abolished by the Carpenter Agreement; but the sultan and his council merely relinquished their temporal powers to be exercised by regularly appointed or elected officials of the Philippine Government. It is generally believed that only the Sulu people themselves (through a plebiscite or an elected popular assembly) could legitimately abolish the Sultanate.

The land grants and other obligations on which the Carpenter Agreement was predicated, were never properly carried out by the Philippine Government as originally agreed; although the Philippine Legislature had authorized the original arrangement by Act 2722, and the Sultan and his heirs had in May, 1919, signed papers accepting the arrangement authorized in the Act. (Actually these papers were signed five days before the Act became a Law, through signature of the Governor-General). The provisions of Act 2722 were never properly carried out — due partly to a change of administration in Manila, and partly to the fact that the placing of the lands on a revenue-paying basis (as the Government had guaranteed) proved impractical as an official project. This neglect, together with the over-persuasive methods by which the signatures to the original "agreement" had been obtained, led to a

legitimate feeling on the part of the sultan and his council that they had been deceived and mistreated by the Philippine Government. Recognizing the general justice of this complaint, together with the impracticality of carrying out the original provisions of Act 2722, the Philippine Legislature in 1923 passed Act 3118 – giving the Sultan Jamalul Kiram and to his brother and to three of his nieces a total of 4,096 hectares of land in fee simple.

As to the somewhat doubtful legitimacy, under Sulu law, of the original "Carpenter Agreement," Governor Carpenter himself expressed the matter quite frankly in an official communication to the Governor-General, dated March 23, 1915, in part as follows:

"… I do not recall ever having had a more trying and lengthy undertaking than have been these conferences and their objective. This has been due chiefly to the fact that so far as the Sultan will concede or I am informed there is no precedent of a sultan voluntarily giving up to (another) Government the prerogatives of trial of civil and criminal cases growing out of domestic relations, the determination of heirs and partition of estates, and especially the renunciation of the right to collect taxes for the support of the Sultan, his clergy, etc. He stated repeatedly that he had never signed anything of this sort and the most vexatious reason he gave for insisting on postponement of signature to the memorandum was in order that he might submit the matter to the datus and other representatives of the Sulu people."

This indicates that Sultan Jamalul Kiram understood his responsibility to the Ruma Bechara, and doubted that the group then with him was sufficiently representative or comprehensive.

With regard to the Sultan's sovereign rights in Borneo, and his position as head of the Mohammedan Church, Governor Carpenter made the following statement on May 4, 1920 (in a letter addressed to the Director of Non-Christian Tribes):

"It is necessary however that there be clearly of official record the fact that the termination of the temporal sovereignty of the Sultanate of Sulu within American territory is understood to be wholly without prejudice or effect as to the temporal sovereignty and ecclesiastical authority of the Sultanate beyond the jurisdiction of the United States Government, especially with reference to the portion of the Island of Borneo which as a dependency of the Sultanate of Sulu is understood to be held under lease by the chartered company which is known as the "British North Borneo Government' …"

Throughout the remainder of Sultan Jamalul Kiram's reign there were no very important departures from the general relations between the Sultanate of Sulu and the Philippine Government established under the Carpenter Agreement, as interpreted after 1923, except a constant jockeying between the Sultan and Datus, on one side, and the Governor of Sulu on the other, for definition of the boundary line between "ecclesiastical" and "temporal" rights and privileges. The Sultan has tried to maintain that all domestic relations cases come under the "ecclesiastical", and should be tried in the *agama* or religious courts.

Even under the early Commonwealth Government (beginning in 1935) there was no important change of policy, until after the death of Sultan Jamalul Kiram on June 7, 1936.

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Jamalul Kiram's passing brought about an immediate dispute as to the succession, and again brought the Ruma Bechara into active function. It is their definite prerogative, under Sulu law, to decide the succession in all cases of dispute.

The obvious legitimate candidate was the Padukka Datu Rajamuda Muallil Wasit, long recognized as the heir-apparent — brother of Jamalul Kiram. But for some reason that has never been made clear a majority of the council appear to have opposed his succession; and support was divided between two other rival candidates – the late Dayang-Dayang Hadji Piandau and the Datu Tambuyong. As opinions seem pretty definite that a woman could not legally head the sultanate, the question was resolved by her marriage to the Datu Ombra Amilbangsa – who, through the Dayang-Dayang's influence with the council, was finally elected sultan to succeed the deceased Jamalul Kiram,

despite the strong opposition of a considerable section, of the legitimate members of the Ruma Bechara. At a later period, these last, with the support of a considerable section of the people, met separately and elected the Datu Tambuyong as head of the sultanate under the title Sultan Mahammed Jainal Abirrin II.

In an effort to resolve this state of affairs, an appeal was made to the late President Quezon as head of the Philippine Commonwealth — but the latter refused to take action in the matter, on the alleged ground that the Sulu Sultanate had ended with the death of Jamalul Kiram through his previous acceptance of the Carpenter Agreement and the benefits conferred under Acts 2722 and 3118. Unofficially, however, the claims of the Dayang-Dayang and her consort Datu Ombra were recognized by majority of the Philippine Government officials in Sulu down until the outbreak of the war in 1941. There are still two rival claimants to the title Sultan of Sulu, neither of whom enjoys official recognition; but with the events of the war, and the death of the Dayang-Dayang, the Ombra party has been weakened — and at the present time it is probable that Sultan Mohammed Jainal Abirrin II has the support of a considerable majority both of the legitimate members of the Ruma Bechara and of the Sulu people themselves.

The question as to whether the present Government of the Republic of the Philippines should take any definite action in the way of officially recognizing the existing Sultan of Sulu is a matter of public policy on which I have no desire to make specific recommendation. In the interest of the peace and welfare of the numerous Mohammedan citizens of the Sulu Archipelago, however, I believe that it is a matter that should sooner or later receive serious consideration from the President and his Cabinet with a view to arriving at some just solution of this vexatious question.

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Returning now to the question of the legality of the lease of the North Borneo territories, signed by the Sultan Jamalul Alam on January 22, 1878, two subsidiary questions arise: First, were the North Borneo lands property of the Sultan personally, or were they state property of the Sulu Sultanate? Second, if the lands were property of the Sultanate, could they be legally leased or alienated by this Sultan alone without the signed concurrence of the Ruma Bechara or other representatives of the people in a popular assembly?

As to the first question, there can be no doubt but that the North Borneo territories were state property of the Sulu Sultanate and not personal property of the Sultan and his heirs. They were acquired at the beginning of the 18th century (c. 1710) as a reward for Sulu aid in a war between rival sultans for the throne of Brunei (See full account in the "History of the Sultans of Brunei." by Sir Hugh Low; in Joun. Straits Branch, R. A. S., No. 5, Singapore, 1880; pp. 9-23) Portions of the lands were afterwards granted (with certain reservations as to mineral rights, etc.) to various Sulu chiefs and datus who had aided in the war, by the then Sultan of Sulu (c. 1715). Furthermore, various existing documents mention administration of the Borneo territories by *successors* in the Sulu Sultanate.

As to the second question, it should be clear from the quotations and citations given in the earlier pages of this memorandum that both before and after the time that Sultan Jamalul Alam signed the 1878 lease it was generally accepted in Sulu that the written concurrence or consent of the state council or Ruma Bechara was necessary to legalize and authenticate the sultan's more serious acts — and certainly the leasing of several tens of thousands of square miles of North Borneo land was a matter of more than ordinary concern to the whole Sulu people. Furthermore, I do not remember ever seeing any other important Sulu document with the Sultan's signature alone; practically always at least the Datu Rajamuda and the Prime Minister, and frequently other royal datus as well, signed with him. In the case of treaties, trade agreements, and life formalities, there are never less than five or six signatures.

One exception to the above is the type of passport or temporary permit which the Sultan used to grant to Englishmen, Germans, and other non-Spanish foreigners who wished to travel or trade in the Sulu Archipelago. These documents used to consist of a single sheet each, with the seal of the Sultanate at the top and the Sultan's personal seal at the bottom, just as in the case of the lease andof the separate commission or title of nobility given to the Baron von Overbeck. This would seem to indicate that the Sultan Jamalul Alam made the arrangements with the Baron von Overbeck on his own personal responsibility and authority, and was not desirous of submitting the matter

for discussion and action by the Ruma Bechara, or even by the Prime Minister and royal datus. The Ruma Bechara and the people of Sulu certainly had good cause to protest this highhanded alienation of a goodly section of their state property without their consent and in a manner contrary to the accepted customary law of the Sultanate. The extent to which they may still have a right to protest this 68-year-old action is a matter which I will leave to others better versed in international law.

That Overbeck and Dent fully admitted the sovereign rights of the Sultans of Sulu and' Brunei over all the territories administered by the British North Borneo Company is sufficiently clear from Dent's own statement made before the Royal Colonial Institute on May 12, 1885:

"As to the charter, some friends of the enterprise seem to believe that the enormous powers we hold were given by Her Majesty the Queen. It is not so at all. All our powers were derived entirely from the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu, and what the British Government did was simply to incorporate us by Royal Charter, thus recognising our powers, which recognition is to us, of course, of vital importance." – (In JSB-RAS, No. 14, 335; Singapore, 1885.)

With this we may leave the question. This memorandum is submitted to accompany the translation by Harold G. Conklin of the Malay text of the lease of January 22, 1878.

Manila
December 8, 1946

Footnotes:

[*] Borneo Records, Department of Foreign Affairs, Manila
[**] Former Head, Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines.

Source: **The Philippine Claim to a Portion of North Borneo**

Enumeration of National Problems, December 16, 1946

AN ENUMERATION OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS

Address to Provincial Officials

December 16, 1946

MR. SECRETARY, MR. VICE-PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, GOVERNORS, TREASURERS, DISTRICT ENGINEERS, SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS, PROVOST MARSHAL COMMANDERS OF THE DIFFERENT PROVINCES, MY FRIENDS:

This is a unique occasion when officials coming from every province of our country gather here in Manila to discuss their common problems and map out the program for their solution. If Government were a business institution, the National Government would be the main agency for the carrying out of the government business; the different provinces, or rather, the governments of the different provinces would be branch offices of this central organization. The barrio lieutenant in the remotest corner of our country is just as important a part in this organization as the President of the Republic. The agencies of the Government in all their ramifications are to function in complete coordination following a well-defined master plan, the execution of which is left in your hands. I trust that your presence here will give you an opportunity to have a correct knowledge of the different plans of the Government, its policies, and the part that you have to play in the execution of these plans and policies.

It is not necessary today to mention the destruction the war has wrought upon our country. Neither is it necessary to describe in detail the things that are needed in order to put this country back on its feet. Our problems are numerous and most difficult. The means at our disposal to solve these problems are very limited. It is only because of the generous and willing assistance of the United States that we can hope to solve these problems in the near future.

The first problem that I should like to lay before you this morning, and which is probably the most important and fundamental, is peace and order. Peace and order, which is directly under the general supervision of the Department of the Interior, is a problem that concerns each and every one of you. Without peace and order, there can be no orderly function of government and there can be no progress. Without peace and order, constitutional rights and individual liberties are not secure. Without security to persons and property there is constant confusion and discontent.

I am happy to be able to report in connection with this problem, which was very complicated in the first days after liberation, that through the efforts of the provincial governors and the military police and the general cooperation of the people everywhere, the situation has greatly improved. Lawlessness is becoming more and more the exception rather than the rule in the life of our different communities. That our Government must deal with this problem as efficiently as possible, yes; as drastically as necessary, yes—but all officials of this Government must deal with this problem with due respect to individual rights and the laws of this country. The military police and the mayors and the governors must suppress lawlessness in accordance with the due processes of law.

Very many complaints have come to my attention against public officials who are riding roughshod over the liberties of the people in an effort to make short cuts towards restoration of peace and order. While their aim is laudable, we cannot, we must not proceed in other ways except in the ways prescribed by our laws and by our Constitution. Frequent arrests without warrant must be stopped and should not be resorted to except as authorized by law. Those that are arrested must be treated properly and in accordance with the law. They must be given every opportunity to defend themselves. They must not be subjected to cruel treatment, and no coercion should be used against them. It is only when the people have absolute faith and confidence that their Government will proceed in accordance with the law, that they will be willing to submit themselves to the law and to the established authorities. I must say in passing that we must never forget that in our democracy, under our Constitution, the criminal has as much right to the liberties guaranteed by the fundamental law as the President of the Republic himself. In establishing peace and order, therefore, in your efforts towards this end, we must give the impression and the assurance that every man, woman or child who may go outside the pale of the law will be brought back with

kindness and even with generosity, but at the same time with firmness in accordance with the law. But peace and order exist not merely because the bandits have been killed or have been arrested. My conception, our conception, of a regime of law is one which goes beyond that. It means that the people will have confidence in the public officials whose duty it is to execute the law; more particularly, they must have confidence in our courts of justice. They must be able to look upon the courts as the bulwark of their liberties, as the ever watchful sentinel that stands guard over their rights, their rights guaranteed by our Constitution and by our laws. These courts must function in such a way that they will create in the minds and in the hearts of our people absolute faith in their fairness and the impression that they really are the fountain source of justice and that they are the expression of the combined conscience of their fellow countrymen.

This means that there will not be, and there should not be, politics either in the maintenance of peace and order or in our courts. I have endeavored to the best of my ability to select for the Bench—not only in the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeals and the courts of first instance, but also in the justice of the peace courts—men who have the training and the character and the demonstrated sense of fairness and justice which will serve to build up this confidence among the people. But unless that faith and confidence exist it will be very, very difficult, if at all possible, to maintain peace and order as we understand it. Provost marshals, I urge you to keep close and strict supervision over all the members of your force. In my recent tour through some provinces, I received complaints of abuses committed by members of the MP command. These alleged abuses are not serious nor are they widespread, but I believe that they exist. I know that the chief of the military police is doing everything he can to maintain an honest, efficient and loyal force, but his efforts will be of no avail without the cooperation of the provincial governors, the mayors and other public officials of the different communities. And there must be, there should be, very close cooperation between the law-enforcement agencies of the Government and the political officials in the different provinces and municipalities. While it is true that the MP command is not responsible to the provincial governor, that it is entirely a national force and is not within the jurisdiction of the local officials, I urge this convention to study ways and means whereby the activities of the police force can be properly and duly coordinated with the work being undertaken by the other officials of the Government in each community.

Our next problem concerns the finances of the Government. Our fiscal position is very precarious. The war has left us with an empty treasury. We have very many obligations, mostly to our own people, which have not yet been met. Our estimated revenues this year amount to P75,000,000; our estimated expenditures amount to P250,000,000. We are, therefore, facing a deficit totaling P175,000,000 this year. Through the reorganization of the Government and the practice of a sound economy in expenditures, I trust that we shall be able to reduce this deficit by at least P25,000,000. I have requested that the Philippines be granted a loan by the Government of the United States in the amount of $100,000,000 for this year. This problem was submitted to the Congress of the United States just a few hours before the adjournment of the last session, and the Congress of the United States did not have the opportunity to look into the facts of this problem. But desirous of assisting the Philippines in meeting its budgetary expenses, the Congress passed a law authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of the United States to lend us $75,000,000. The action of the Congress of the United States does not mean that this is all the amount that will be given to us this year or in the succeeding years.

At the same time that this authority was passed, the Congress authorized the creation of a financial commission to be composed of representatives appointed by the Government of the Philippines and representatives appointed by the Government of the United States, and it will be the duty of this commission to examine carefully our fiscal problems in order that upon the Congress of the United States convening next January they might be able to submit a detailed report as to our fiscal requirements during the next five years.

Before this action was taken, I had submitted a consolidated request for $400,000,000 to cover all our budgetary requirements during the next five years. It is my expectation that we will require at least five years before we can balance our budget and, therefore, I requested the American Government to delay payment of amortization of these debts until after the expiration of the fifth year.

Every Filipino, every public official and every member of Congress must realize that this Government cannot continue to operate with a borrowed financial support. We must have a vision of a day in the near future when we shall be able not only to pay for our expenses from taxes but also to amortize the debts that we may incur.

It is my purpose and it is our determination, I trust, and it is the understanding of this whole country that we are going to pay back every cent that we borrow from the United States for these purposes; that we are determined to maintain the credit of this Government by paying our obligations when they fall due, in the same manner that we were able to do it before the war and during the war. And I should like to report to you that during the war we incurred a deficit of approximately P18,000,000 for interest and amortization of our public debts, or rather our bonds held in the United States.

In accordance with the provisions of the Independence Act, it became the duty of the Government of the Philippines before independence to bring all these payments up to date, and, if possible, to give an added assurance that these debts, these bonds will be redeemed in time. I have authorized the payment to the American Treasury of the whole amount of P18,000,000 to cover the deficit in our interest and amortization for all the bonded indebtedness of the Philippines issued in the United States.

The expenses of the Government have reached such a large amount as compared with about P100,000,000 before the war because of present-day economic conditions. First, the prevailing high cost of living. Second, the requirements of the law-enforcement agencies. Third, the expansion of our services. And fourth, the need of establishing new instrumentalities to help in the rapid rehabilitation and reconstruction of this country.

The law-enforcement agencies alone, which cost our Government less than P8,000,000 before the war, have been budgeted for this year to cost us P73,000,000. That will include not only the Philippine Army but also the Military Police.

We are fortunate that the United States Government has come to our aid in meeting these problems; otherwise, P73,000,000 will be far from sufficient to cover the requirements of these services.

We have today an armed force consisting of 37,000 men; approximately 25,000 are in the Military Police, temporarily; approximately 1,500 are in the Air Corps of the Army; approximately 2,000 are in the Offshore Patrol, which will be the nucleus of our Navy.

I want the country to know that even before the conclusion of the Military Assistance Agreement, which the United States has so generously granted to us, we were already receiving aid and assistance from the United States Army. All the arms and equipment now being used by the Army, by the Military Police, by the Air Corps, and by the Offshore Patrol have been given to us free by the United States Government. I am asking for more arms in order to facilitate training in our ROTC organizations. And just a few days ago I received assurances from the Army authorities that 5,200 new rifles will be given to the ROTC corps of the University of the Philippines and other universities.

The United States is giving us, in addition, supplies including food and clothing and shoes and rations for the Philippine Army and the Philippine Military Police. We have been given airplanes and we will be given more, and I have been assured that when the Military Assistance Agreement is finally signed, the Philippines will receive about 83 fighting ships to be manned by the nucleus of our Navy, the Offshore Patrol. And other facilities will be given to us for the training not only of our present Army but of those who will constitute the reserve force of our Army. How many millions this will require for expenditures from the United States, I have not been able to estimate; but I assure you that this will amount to a very considerable sum. And the United States Army is giving us not only supplies and materials of which the Army has a surplus, but the Congress of the United States has appropriated eighteen million dollars to be spent for the acquisition of arms, supplies and materials absolutely needed by our own forces and of which the United States Army does not have a surplus. With this assistance, with the funds voted by the Congress, I trust that we will be able to pursue more efficiently and more rapidly our campaign against lawlessness in this country to be able to apprehend and punish speedily those guilty of violating our laws and carrying on terroristic inroads to some of our peaceful communities. I trust also that, with this assistance, we will be able to organize here a small but well-equipped, well-trained fighting force that, in coordination with the forces of the United States in this country, can participate in an effective defense of our territory if and when the need should arise.

The present condition of the national finances, therefore, is such that the provinces and municipalities cannot confidently look up to the National Government for the solution of all their financial and fiscal difficulties. During the first year after liberation, the National Government appropriated thirty million pesos to pay practically every cent spent for administration purposes by the provinces and municipalities of this country. That amount was roughly the sum total which the provinces and municipalities spent before the war. In anticipation of absolute necessities, all provinces and municipalities should seek to depend upon their own resources for their own fiscal needs. I recommended that to the Congress in the last session—a gradual reduction of the assistance given to the provinces and municipalities—and the Congress, in support of my recommendation, reduced the aid to provinces and municipalities and cities by twelve million pesos; so that, this year, we will only have available, I think, eighteen million seven hundred fifty thousand pesos for national aid to provinces and municipalities.

We have started the granting of this aid in such a way that during the first quarter, the provinces and municipalities will receive 100 per cent of the aid that they received last year; the second quarter, 50 per cent of what they received last year; the third quarter, 25 per cent, and the last quarter, no aid will be given. Next year, unless some insurmountable difficulties are met, it is my purpose to recommend to the Congress that the aid to provinces and municipalities be drastically reduced, if not completely eliminated. I am sure that resolution will not please you. I know that it will greatly discourage many of you, but we have to face our problems as strong, courageous and intelligent men should face those problems. If the National Government should continue giving you the aid that you have been receiving, you would only be aggravating the financial problems of the National Government and you would be weakening your own governmental stability and the character on which that government should be based as reflected among the people in your different communities.

Local governments should be supported from local taxes. That is a fundamental principle in our system of government and administration, and the sooner we turn to that principle as practiced before the war, the better it will be for all concerned. It should be your duty and your privilege to inform the people of your respective communities of the need of contributing to the support of their Government.

Our economy has been sufficiently restored in the majority of our provinces to make possible the full collection of national and local revenues.

I realize that many of our government records have been destroyed during the war; that records representing assessments of private property have, in many cases, been completely burned and no longer exist. We are going to help you to restore these records, to make a reassessment of property if necessary. The Congress has appropriated five million pesos to be loaned to provincial governments for the purpose of carrying out the reassessment of private real property in the different parts of this country. Provincial treasurers should, by this time, have a complete program for carrying out the reassessment. These records must be restored quickly, otherwise it will be difficult to collect the real property taxes. Provinces and municipalities depend in a very great measure on the real property tax, and I trust that provincial governors, provincial boards, and the provincial treasurers will take steps as soon as possible. I trust that some of you, before you return to your provinces after this convention, will already have had an agreement with the Secretary of Finance fixing the amount that you will need for the accomplishment of this reassessment program. But this money is not going to be considered by you as a donation, as a grant, from the National Government. It must be paid. We will give you ten years, if necessary, to pay this amount, but every cent must be paid, because that money does not belong to the National Government. We have borrowed that money; and we need to pay it back because we have to pay the United States Government part of our loans, which that money represents. And let me warn you, our Government will be more and more strict concerning those continuously recurring petitions for condonation of taxes. It is a most unhealthy situation when people are made to believe or to expect that, maybe, through the influence of their governors or their senators or their representatives or members of the Cabinet, and because of the friendship of the President, their taxes will be condoned. I wish we could maintain a government where nobody will have to pay any tax; I would be very greatly in favor of that. But we cannot afford to condone taxes now when so many millions of people are depending on the efficient operation of this Government, when we have to safeguard our own rights; for, if we are once in default in our obligations, our credit will suffer and our fiscal problems will be most difficult to solve.

The same is true with bonds issued by the cities and provinces. I have received some applications for the condonation of these obligations. The National Government has advanced the payment of interest in some of your

bonds, I believe, not all of them; but the Government is not going to condone these obligations either as to interest or as to principal. We are working hard over here. Many people are complaining against the Government because we have raised taxes, because we are trying to intensify our efforts to collect these taxes. I know that I am going to lose many votes in the next election because of that. *(Laughter.)* When I say the next election I do not mean I am going to be a candidate; I am referring to you, governors, who are going to be candidates. But that does not worry me. Politics is a practical science. My long experience in politics, my reading of history—of the political history of many countries and many men—have convinced me that in politics there is one approved and absolutely reliable course that any politician can follow arid should follow with success, and that is, to do the best you can for your people, set up the best government that you can establish, convince the people of the purity of your purposes, convince them that you are completely devoted to their welfare; and if you have convinced them of that, you can make mistakes; the people will forget your mistakes and only remember the good things you have done. In other words, the best politics in this country, or in any other country, at this time or at any other time, is to serve your people well, do justice to every man and give your share of endeavor to make of your nation not only a stable and strong nation but a prosperous nation filled with people who are happily living in their own homes and tilling their own lands.

I should like to spend the whole morning talking to you about our finances, but there are other problems I want to take up. I trust the Secretary of Finance will enlarge on the points I have indicated when he appears before you. Our next problem is food production. The food campaign has three objectives: First, solve our food shortage; second, give opportunities for employment to a lot of people who cannot find work today; and third, bring down prices and help solve thereby some of our peace and order problems. Governors and mayors and division superintendents should take a more active and earnest interest in this campaign. More rice and corn should be produced—peanuts, soy beans, vegetables, and anything which our people eat; we must plant more sweet potatoes if necessary. If we lived through the Japanese occupation eating *camotes,* we can do that again if necessary. We have imported a tremendous amount of rice from abroad this year. I estimate that more than P60,000,000 have been spent by our people to pay for this imported rice. There should be no reason for importing rice into the Philippines except that we have suffered, or we are suffering, from a shortage of work animals. But I have seen some people in Davao and Negros cultivating lands with great difficulty using other draft animals and sometimes even only a spade and a shovel. I anticipate that the harvest this year will be a little larger than the harvest last year, but it will still be insufficient to cover our requirements. We are able to get rice from abroad only because we are members of the International Emergency Food Council. We are receiving allocations from that council, but' with gradual removal of price restrictions in many countries the price of rice will go up very rapidly. In fact, it is pretty high now.

We are buying rice from Ecuador today at a price probably 15 or 20 per cent higher than the price of rice from the United States. We have large allocations of rice from Ecuador. The prices we have fixed in the Philippines this year for locally-produced rice are still very high. I am not one of those economists who believe that high prices constitute the best inducement to production. I uphold these high prices; in fact, I have approved P12 per cavan of palay this year, but this is merely because I have convinced myself, after a careful study of the situation obtaining in many provinces, that the cost of production this year was very high.

My idea about rice is, first, to make this country self-supporting as to that commodity, as we were practically self-supporting before the war. I am not in favor of returning to the pre-war prices concerning rice, considering the system of rice production prevailing in the Philippines and the income derived by the tenants in the different provinces. I believe the P2.50 or P3 per sack of palay of 44 kilos is a very low price. Before the war our rice prices in Manila averaged from P0.26 to P0.28 to P0.30 a ganta. Today the Government is selling imported rice practically at cost, at around Pl.35 a ganta. When this year's harvest is gathered and is placed in the market, I expect we will be able to reduce the price of rice to between Pl.10 and Pl.20 a ganta, although that is still very high.

It is my purpose to work towards the stabilization of rice prices here, not for one year but indefinitely, at around P0.50 a ganta, which is already almost twice the pre-war price of rice. I wish to make that announcement so that rice producers may know what prospects they have in that industry.

We are going to solve our rice shortage problem in two ways. First, by opening large tracts of land that we can give to settlers in Mindanao and Northern Luzon and in Camarines for the planting of rice. We are also at the same time obtaining from abroad work animals, and, in so far as it may be possible, small tractors that can be used in the rice paddies, at least in the cultivation of the so-called upland rice.

This process, however, is going to be much delayed because the Government has to survey these lands first and then allow settlers to come in. The other means of solving this problem is this: We are going to open up new lands—the Government itself will do that. We have several thousand tractors now that we can use, and the Agricultural Mission from the United States recently visited the Philippines and toured the country extensively to study our agricultural problems in coordination with our officials of the Department of Agriculture, and they have recommended that we undertake to mechanize rice production in the Philippines, at least with regard to upland rice.

My program for next year, which I think is rather optimistic, is to open up 100,000 hectares of new land with tractors and plant this with rice or corn. I do not anticipate that the Government will lose any money on this project. And provincial governors and district engineers who are here, if you have in your province large tracts of good rice lands that can be plowed with tractors and the soil fit to the use of these great combines that are being employed in the United States, I want you to give us that information and we will send men to your province to inspect those lands—we will send agronomists and soil experts so that we might determine whether we want to cultivate those lands or not.

One other important matter closely allied to rice production is the violation of our laws concerning the slaughtering of carabaos. Everybody in the provinces knows that carabaos are being slaughtered. I heard this from provincial governors, from the agents of the Department of Agriculture, from mayors, from the producers and consumers, but very few people are doing something about it. I believe that provincial governors should enjoin the inhabitants of every barrio or every municipality to prevent the slaughter of these animals. I am willing to buy animals—I mean animals that are fit for work—if the owners are determined to sell those animals. I am willing to pay them a good price, but for God's sake, don't permit anybody to slaughter animals except those that are unfit for work. But in order that there may not be an opening towards which strong and fit work animals are slaughtered, there must be previous authority or approval as required from the Secretary of Agriculture. And I wish to warn you all provincial governors and mayors that I hold you strictly accountable for the laws and regulations regarding that matter, as the slaughter of work animals is an economic suicide for the Philippines today. And I think the military police and every law-enforcement official should cooperate in stopping that.

Public works is our next problem. It is a tremendous problem, and I am very happy that Dr. Waring, Commissioner Delgado, and other executives of the War Damage Commission are present here when I speak on the subject.

You are all informed that the Congress of the United States has set aside two hundred forty million pesos to aid the Government in the restoration, reconstruction and repair of public buildings or other government properties damaged during the war. Statistics now in my possession show that about eighteen thousand public buildings in the Philippines were destroyed or damaged during the war. Out of this eighteen thousand, thirteen thousand are schools, one thousand are administration buildings, the remainder being structures owned by municipalities and provinces and those owned by government instrumentalities, including factories and other buildings. Eighteen thousand public buildings and structures . . . and the estimated cost to restore and reconstruct all these buildings, according to estimates carefully made by the Department of Public Works and Communications, amounts to approximately one billion and a half. It is our intention in due course to submit all these figures, all these estimates to the War Damage Commission for their consideration. The War Damage Commission has just given us the first check representing payment on account for the two hundred forty million pesos allocated to us by the Congress. This payment was made pursuant to my request even before the submission to the War Damage Commission of the data and other information required by the rules promulgated by the Commission before they can authorize payment under that item. This money is going to be used for the purchase of materials in anticipation of the repair or reconstruction work that will be undertaken as soon as you, provincial governors, and you, district engineers, and you, provincial treasurers, and you, division superintendents, can bring or send to us a detailed, specific and complete report of each building that has been damaged and the repair or restoration of which you are asking for. For this present year, the War Damage Commission has available about twenty-two million pesos for repair and restoration of government buildings; and after consultation with my Cabinet and the members of the Council of State, including the Speaker of the House of Representatives here, the President of the Senate and other leaders of Congress, it has been decided to recommend to the War Damage Commission that this money, amounting approximately to twenty-two million pesos, be expended this year for repair of schoolhouses, hospitals, puericulture centers and other buildings connected with essential services. Next year, when more money is made available under this category, we may make major reconstructions of some more important buildings, top priority to be given to schoolhouses and hospitals and

other buildings absolutely needed by us. There is available this year around eighteen million pesos for reconstruction of roads and bridges. It is our policy not to undertake the building of new roads or new bridges at this time. We should first spend this money in restoring what we had before the war. We must salvage those roads and those bridges from decay and destruction. All this money, therefore, will be used for maintenance and reconstruction, and next year, depending on what roads are still, left unrepaired, what bridges are still unreconstructed, we might have some more money that we might devote to building cement roads or asphalting roads; in other words, to permanently improving some of our roads.

In addition to these expenditures for public works amounting to forty million pesos, there will be about eighteen million pesos that will be spent for port works this year. I have recommended that port works in Manila should be given preference but that expenditure of the money should be spread out as much as possible so that the different ports may have the facilities that they enjoyed before the war. No new constructions are immediately possible: we shall just restore what we had before the war.

In addition to these sums that have been allocated to us by the Government of the United States, we have some money—approximately eight million pesos—for the improvement of aeronautical navigation facilities in the Philippines and for the construction of some of our airfields. We are trying to spend that money on those airfields that are most centrally located and where traffic is heaviest, but we are going to try to have airplane communication with every province of this country, and district engineers—again I call your attention—you have to send to the Director of Aeronautics a complete report of the condition of every field in your province or in your district. Give your opinion as to what field is most suitable to the requirements of commercial airlines with a view to its future development, and give us an estimate of the cost that will be required to improve those airfields.

And next, is the PRRA[1]. I really am very happy that despite the fact that the PRRA has expanded its activities, there have been very few complaints—at least, very very few justified complaints—against the operation of the PRRA. And that is to the credit not only of the office here in Manila but of the provincial governors and mayors and other members of the committees of the PRRA in the provinces. Very much depends on the integrity of the officials handling these goods for the people to be satisfied. I do not want to mention here what happened before my inauguration; that is well known all over the country. But today PRRA goods are being distributed to the remotest municipality, apparently honestly. Rice has been rationed in Manila and other provinces. We have sent more than 600,000 sacks of rice to the provinces, excluding the Province of Cebu where we have disposed of several hundred thousand sacks.

Anybody who has ever concerned himself with those problems will realize the difficulties of satisfying everybody, especially when we have to consider thousands of people in distributing. We are now distributing in Manila rice and sugar and milk to about 1,200,000 people. There are still some rumors or complaints against people making grafts on weights and so forth; but, by and large, the people are satisfied. I hope you can continue doing it. I have heard in the provinces—this is a matter which concerns many governors—that the PRRA has sent you Mexican textiles that were bought by the former administration at a high price, and the PRRA wants to sell those textiles at a price higher than what it had cost the PRRA. Well, I have been informed that the people do not want to pay high prices for those textiles, first, because they do not like this kind of textiles, second, they can buy similar textiles from private merchants at lower prices—between 20 and 30 centavos. Is it not true?*(The Convention: Yes.)* And they tell me that the PRRA has told the provincial treasurers that they have got to pay the prices at which the PRRA has bought these commodities for them. Well, you better answer the PRRA, you treasurers, that they can collect from you over your dead bodies.*(Laughter and applause.)* The PRRA should revise its prices, and if anybody should suffer the loss the PRRA is in a better position to meet the loss.

Education. For the first time in my political career, during my recent trip to the south, I met a large crowd, a big delegation in Bohol, carrying big placards, led by leaders of the Parents-Teachers associations of the different municipalities of Bohol, not asking for anything; they came to thank the Government for having done so much for them. We have done all that we could for these people; we have raised the salaries of teachers—not sufficiently, I admit, compared with living costs—and we have increased the number of school teachers. Whereas before the war, we had an enrollment of approximately 2,000,000 students in the public schools, today we have over 3,000,000 students. And I am willing to open more schools if necessary to accommodate all the children of school age. This program of schools is costing us a very great amount of money; but it is something we have to do; that is an

investment in which we cannot lose, and it is our duty and obligation to educate our people. Our Constitution guarantees to them free education, at least primary education. And now, as to the intermediate schools. I should like the municipal governments to take a more active participation in the support of the intermediate schools. We are going to assist in the beginning; we will give you all the aid that you need, but there should be some pride in each community. Each community should want to handle the affairs of its own schools. The people should be made to understand that they must help substantially in the support of these schools. We are not going to take a drastic action on that; but I should like you to lead in building up public sentiment in the different communities that will induce the people to take pride in the conduct and maintenance of their own schools, specially intermediate schools and high schools.

We are giving bonuses to public officials. I bring this matter up because in practically every province I have visited, I have seen placards asking for payment of bonuses to provincial and municipal officials. In all my public meetings I said: "You are not employees of the National Government; you are employees of the provincial and municipal governments. You address your petitions to your provincial and municipal governments. If they can spare the money, I will approve any resolution that they adopt to pay you living bonuses. But the National Government has no money to pay you bonuses." Today we are paying a total of P38,000,000 for living bonus to employees receiving not more than P200 a month. Thirty-eight million pesos is more than 30 per cent of the total expenditure of the Philippine Government before the war. I hope that some day, if we are able to bring down the cost of living here, we may be able to increase our minimum salaries from P35 to, say, P50, but eliminate the living bonus. The National Government is paying living bonus only as a stopgap, temporarily, while we realize the difficulties that the government employees are meeting.

Another problem that concerns the provinces and municipalities is that which relates to their bank deposits before the war. Those deposits amounted to P37,000,000 in the National Bank and, by a law of the Congress of the Philippines, have been frozen. Provincial treasurers, I am instructing you now to submit a careful, thorough and correct report of these deposits, stating how much the deposits are, who own the funds so deposited and what were the different trust funds covered by those deposits. I do not want the provincial governors here to jump at the conclusion that all these deposits belong to the provinces or that they belong to the municipalities. I venture to say that more than 60 per cent of these deposits belong to the National Government. I am not trying to deprive you of something which you own; I will give you every cent to which you are entitled, but I cannot renounce those funds belonging to the National Government when the National Government is in dire need of funds. As soon as we get these reports, despite the fact that the National Bank has been given one more year to pay these deposits, I will do my best to help you collect those deposits, the deposits that legally and in conscience belong to you. But I wish to recommend to the Department of Finance and to the Secretary of the Interior that I should like those deposits to be spent—the money coming from those deposits—not for paying salaries or giving bonuses. That should be spent for permanent recurring expenditures, for the repair of public works, waterworks, municipal buildings, but preference should be given to self- liquidating funds.

Health is in a very satisfactory condition in the Philippines. We are being assisted by the Government of the United States in this respect. The Government of the United States will spend $5,000,000, probably $8,000,000, to assist us in our program of public health and quarantine. There are malaria units being operated in different parts of the Philippines, some supported by our Government and others supported by the Government of the United States. We have started a campaign to fight venereal diseases, typhoid, and tuberculosis and to reexamine our program with regard to leprosy and see what we can do not only to fight that dreadful disease here but to give the best treatment we can afford to those who are suffering from the disease.

With respect to transportation and communication, we have to restore as soon as possible our telegraphic and telephone communications in different parts of the country. There is a commission now studying our system of communications, to determine whether we are going to restore our telegraphic communications from island to island, considering the quite substantial amount of equipment that we have acquired from the Foreign Liquidation Commission that can be used for this purpose. I am trying to retain as much of that equipment as possible, not selling it to the public, for restoring our communication facilities.

You provincial governors, district engineers and provincial treasurers in the different provinces which were operating these systems of communications before the war, should give us a report of these services and the equipment that you need and the money you may require in order to restore these services.

With respect to transportation the United States Government and the Surplus Property Office are transferring to us about 49 ships of the FS, LS, MYS and other types. These ships will be sold to operators at reasonable prices. Some of them will be chartered if they cannot be sold. With these facilities we are going to try to establish our regular and well-equipped program of transportation and communication in the different provinces and municipalities. I have instructed the Shipping Commission that before they sell or charter a ship to an operator they must agree with the operator where that ship is going to be operated, what will be the schedule, or the trips. And unless they agree on the program of the Government, which works towards serving the different ports of the country, these ships will not be sold to them.

Now, gentlemen, I wish to summarize what I have said before. You have a great opportunity and a great privilege to serve your country and your people. It is a service that will produce enduring benefits. It will be appreciated by every man, woman and child who live in this country. The performance of this service is our pledge before the people. That is our duty to our country and the Government. I invite you to join me and the other high officials of the Government in our determination to give to this country the best, the most honest, and the most efficient Government of which we are capable. I am willing to forget politics for the present. I am willing to extend my hand to those who opposed me in the last campaign. If they are men that can help run this Government efficiently and can render valuable services to this country, I will be very happy to appoint them to high positions. *(Applause.)*

I am saying that because I have been appointing lately men who did not belong and who do not belong to our party but who, in my belief, can render valuable services to the nation. I want you to follow the same policy in the provinces. There should be no political persecution. A man must be treated on the basis of his character and personal worth and ability. I give you that advice and those instructions because I am sure that if you proceed honestly in compliance with that policy you will have no trouble winning the next election. *(Applause.)*

So my last words will be that, I trust, you are going to avail yourselves of this convention to make known to me or to the other departments of the Government your requests and your suggestions as to how to improve conditions in your provinces or how to improve the government services. You are going to report on the progress of this convention, I trust, to all the different sectors and departments concerned. I want you to give the departments your full and unstinted cooperation. I want you also to appreciate the work of the members of Congress, of the Senators and Representatives, respectively. I testify to their interest, absorbing interest, in helping you in your administration.

I should like you to listen to their advice and you should communicate to them your different projects so that during their presence here in Manila they might see the different departments and get the approval of the project you wish to undertake.

But above all, my friends, let the Constitution of the Philippines, let the government of the people, prevail and be respected not by subterfuge or by deceit or by false promises but by performance, by evidence of your fairness and sense of justice, by evidence of your interest in our people's welfare, by evidence of your willingness to sacrifice for the welfare of the people. Finally, don't forget one thing: this Government, this administration, is going to be judged by the small people in the different communities largely by your own conduct, by the character of our officials, by the way of life that you lead, by the example that you show not only to the other public officials but to the people at large. The opinion of the people of this Government, the opinion that the people will have even of me, will largely depend on your conduct and on your dealings with those people in the discharge of your duties and obligations. Therefore, I wish you always to bear in mind that you are the spokesmen and representatives of our National Government of this administration.

I am happy that I can justly claim that I know each and everyone of you. There is not a single man sitting in this hall whose name I cannot mention. I have known you for many years in your present positions because I have reason to trust you and because the country should trust you. And I hope that all of us, after our terms are over, will be able to

look back to the work we have done and to the people we have served, with loyalty and appreciation beaming in their eyes. I thank you.

Opening Remarks of Secretary Emilio Abello on the Radio Program in Honor of Rizal Opening Remarks of Secretary Emilio Abello President of the Philippines On the Radio Program in Honor of Rizal

[Delivered on December 29, 1946]

This is the eve of Rizal's mid-centennial anniversary as the peerless martyr to the cause of Philippine liberty. We are free today, are proud and happy, because he believed with all his soul that we as a people deserve to be so. He lived and died to give it lasting validity. We are its beneficiaries as will be our children and all subsequent generations.

Thus we all are witness to the fulfillment of his dream, which was our people's dream. We have freedom and all the responsibilities that go with it.

The fact to note on this mid-centennial anniversary of the martyrdom of our greatest hero is the hard core of character demonstrated by his sacrifice, and the faith, the courage and the progressive spirit which animated his life as it was lived for his country and people. All of these we need today as we start on our course of complete freedom to determine our own destiny.

We need character greater than ever. We must have it in our private and public life, in our business and industry, in our social and cultural endeavors. Whatever we build on anything less would be as founded on shifting sands. Rizal provided the pattern in his own life and work. We can not ask for anything better. We can not have anything better. It should be to our lasting inspiration that he was a Filipino and therefore an authentic demonstration of the potentialities of character in every Filipino.

As in every age, climate and people, there are the fainthearted of little vision and as little resistance when faced with stupendous problems. Rizal would rally even such. Devoting a lifetime of conscientious investigation into the roots and backgrounds of his race to measure its capacity, he arrived at this militant conclusion:

"The Filipino race, like all Malays, does not succumb before the foreigner like the Australians, the Polynesians and the Indians of the New World. In spite of the numerous wars the Filipinos have had to carry on, their number has trebled, as had that of the Malays of Java and the Moluccas. The Filipino embraces civilization and lives in every clime, in contact with every people."

Here, as someone has pointed out, was the affirmation of an invincible faith in the basic capacity of his countrymen to make the necessary adjustments under every circumstance of fortune and to rise above attendant difficulties. Here was his statement of the Filipino's title to world citizenship.

"The divine flame of thought," Rizal said in *The Philippines a Century Hence,* "is inextinguishable in the Filipino people and somehow or other, it will shine forth and compel recognition."

That is the faith that Rizal left immortal in us as a people. That is the faith that left Rizal immortal in our hearts. Rizal crystallized in his person the best of a people's genius. To every Filipino must belong the privilege to appropriate something of the hero's spirit, which we need to carry us through the multitude of problems which constitute the very opportunities of these times.

We cannot remember Rizal today without catching that spirit anew. We cannot pay him homage without gathering new faith and courage to rebuild our devastated land and leave a richer, greater heritage to our children.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Opening remarks by Secretary Emilio Abello on the radio program in honor of Rizal, December 29, 1946. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(12)*, 3260-3261.

Radio Address of Vice President Elpidio Quirino on the eve of Rizal Day

Radio Address
of
Honorable Elpidio Quirino
Vice President of the Philippines
On the eve of Rizal Day

[Delivered over Stations KZRH, KZPI and KZFM on December 29, 1946]

Fifty years ago on this very eve the forces of despotism committed one of the greatest blunders in history. Locked up in a damp dark cell of Fort Santiago, sat a lonely man, condemned to die before a firing squad the next day, an outcast of his church and his people, by decree of alien rulers. His crime? He had written books and pamphlets which portrayed the sufferings and miseries of his people. He had dared depict the unbearable despotism and arrogance of Church and State which held the people down and arrested their progress. Charged as a *filibustero,* he was also blamed for instigating rebellion that was fast gathering over the Philippine horizon.

In the age of despotism these were, indeed, serious crimes. But Rizal who was thus locked up, was wiser than his jurors, more subtle in his insight, and, therefore, more calm to await the verdict of history. He sat quietly under the flickering flame of a weak lamp, and strove feverishly to write down his last thoughts into one of the world's most immortal poems, "My Last Farewell," whose beauty, sincerity of feeling, and simplicity of expression, written as it was in the very last hour of his life before the spectre of death, not only revealed a calm, composed mind but a towering character commanding respect any where any time.

If Rizal had done nothing but write this poetic masterpiece, he still would be great. For judged by all standards, the circumstances surrounding its composition, the elevated sentiment of love,—of country, of home, of family, of peace, of valor, of dignity, of honor, of patriotism—all the finest feelings that have inspired men to worthy achievements put together in a work of magnificent beauty, Rizal's last poem must be rated among the world's best.

But Rizal did more than write an immortal poem. That was only the crowning achievement of his career as a literary man. The portrayal of his people in his two forceful novels, "Noli Me Tangere" and "El Filibusterismo," was masterly done. His people's oppressors banned these books for the truth they portrayed and not for the falsehood they allegedly contained. Nowhere has the might of the pen been most truly demonstrated over the power of the sword than in Rizal's choice use of the former against the combined might of the Church and the State in his time. And this work is now epitomized in the immortal lines of another Filipino poet who sang of Rizal's life:

Si una bala destrozó tu cráneo
Tambien tu idea destrozó un imperio!

Two years after the tragic death of Rizal on the field of Bagumbayan, the mighty Spanish empire in the Philippines toppled down. The force of evil and despotism that he depicted exploded as he had predicted, and the blind rulers who would not see the light as he wanted them to see it got the verdict they richly deserved.

His gift of a prophetic vision as a writer was unexcelled. But great as his contribution was to the building of a Filipino nationality by his writings, the force of his example was even greater. He had both the gift of ideas and the power of expression. But he never indulged in vain talk. He was quiet and reserved, but inwardly he was restless. He was feverishly active studiously searching out for solutions of the many ills and evils he saw around him. At the age of thirty-six he was a man of travel, a scientist, a linguist, a writer, a sociologist, an anthropologist, a physician, an occulist, a painter, a sculptor—withal a patriot whose brilliant and exceptional talents were devoted and dedicated largely to one thing; namely, to the good name and progress of his fatherland.

No man that I know of, living or dead, had accomplished so much to train all his powers for fruitful use than Rizal. Yet with all his personal gifts and accomplishments, he remained a humble man,—a good son, a good brother, a good friend, a patient teacher—kind to all men, dutiful, devout and God-fearing. For all his travels, studies and

activities, he lived an intense life. His was not a life of easy means for he was not wealthy and had to depend on his own earnings partly for what he needed. The strange thing about him is that with all his lack of means, his expensive studies and intense intellectual and literary activities, he left an unblemished personal record. Neither wealth nor riches attracted him, nor did he take advantage of his fame and power. He lived a simple life wherever he was whether in Madrid, in Paris, or in Berlin the same as when he was as an exile in Zamboanga or in the brief moments when he could stay with his ancestral family. With all the wealth of his work and accomplishments, Rizal left no estate whatsoever. His ancestral land and home had long ago disappeared, and today there is nothing material connected with his memory and fame.

Yet there is no Filipino, living or dead, who has left so much legacy to his people than this brave martyr of Bagumbayan. While we admire his writings for their great erudition and human understanding, while we seek his inspiration for its nobility and purity, while we feel awed by the versatility of his genius, while we worship his patriotism for its firmness and great conviction, while we adore him as a dutiful son, a brother and a friend, while we hold him as the father and idol of this land, none of this feeling to me could best interpret Rizal's life and service to his country than the lesson of his spotless, courageous life, shining above all odds and temptations to corrupt and taint it. To you who are listening to me tonight and to all Filipinos, I desire to commend this phase of Rizal's life as most worthy of our meditation in preparation of tomorrow's Rizal Day celebration.

My countrymen, even as the greatest hero produced by our race toiled unceasingly to better himself and improve the lot of his people, let us work, and work, and keep on working to bring our country back to its feet, for only by this way can we achieve progress, prosperity and happiness—the ultimate goal of this the greatest Filipino lifework and martyrdom. Only by emulating his example can we hold inviolate the cherished liberties we have won this past half century, and for which he and a host of heroes and martyrs gave up their lives so that we, who follow them and those who come after us, may justly reap the fruits of their sacrifices and our own toils.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1946). Radio address of Vice President Elpidio Quirino on the eve of Rizal Day, December 29, 1946, over Stations KZRH, KZPI and KZFM. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 42(12)*, 3258-3260.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PORTAL – EDITED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER COMMONWEALTH ACT NO. 638

Remarks of President Roxas at the official opening of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, January 2, 1947

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
At the official opening of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation

[*January 2, 1947*]

I can think of no more significant ceremony with which to open the New Year than this formal launching of the operations of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation.

This organization, created by the Philippine Congress, is the vehicle of the hopes of the administration and of the entire Filipino people for major progress on the road to rehabilitation and recovery. Great expectations are pinned on you, Mr. Lovina, and on your fellow board members. There is no agency of government and no department of government which bears a more focal responsibility for the years to come than the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation. By means of this government instrumentality, which is really much more than an instrumentality, the nation expects that vigorous impetus will be given not only to national rehabilitation but to a progressive expansion of the national economy, to a broadening of the national economic horizons.

Congress has seen fit to give this agency comprehensive powers. No other department or agency of the Government in the history of the Philippines has had comparable authority. The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation has an authorized capitalization of P300,000,000, an astronomical sum three times the entire pre-war revenue of the Government and one-eighth of the entire pre-war assessed value of all property in the Philippines; and even this need not be a ceiling upon the efforts and activities of this organization. Congress has given you power to issue bonds; and I do not doubt Congress will be willing to increase your capitalization should practical needs be shown. The obligations of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation will be obligations of the Philippine Government. There is thus placed in your hands the responsibility for the credit and financial standing of our Government. It is a towering responsibility to delegate to any group of officials. It is almost too great, but there is no other way. You must know that you will be held strictly to account for the manner in which you discharge that responsibility.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation will have vast funds, of which to dispose. You will be subjected to political pressures and to financial temptations. Those pressures, however strong, you must resist with all vigor. I promise you without qualification that my office will support you to the limit against pressure from any quarter for the granting of loans or other favors on the basis of political attractions. The temptations to which you will be exposed may be cunning, indirect, subtle and insidious. They may be unconscious temptations. I appeal to you in the name of patriotism, in the name of the future of your nation, to steel yourselves with impenetrable resolve and to arm yourselves with never-ceasing vigilance against any inducement, honor or promise which may be made to you, which would lead you to act in any different manner, even in the slightest respect, from that in which you would act, had such an inducement not been offered or given you. I have named you to this board in the belief, my knowledge, that you are all men of unquestioned integrity and irreproachable honor. I warn you that the people will scrutinize all your acts, official and personal, to detect the least sign of departure from the high moral level at which your business must be conducted. This organization and all of its personnel must be beyond reproach, and this means above the appearance of evil as well as of evil itself. I must also advise you that error will be almost as dangerous as evil.

As you see, it is not a light task which you will undertake. Your shoulders must be broad and your spirit strong to bear the weight which has been placed upon you. Yet I do not wish that the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation to operate in a narrow and conservative mold. Vision and courage must characterize your undertakings. You are not

here merely to lend money at interest. This is neither a bank nor a pawnshop. You are entrusted with a major part of the rehabilitation and reconstruction program of the Philippine Republic. You must look far into the future to ascertain and fulfill the basic financial needs of an expanding economic structure. The primary consideration of every venture must be: will it aid the productive economy of the nation? Will it help bring wealth to the people? Will it give them employment? Will it bring them lasting good?

You are the servants of the people. Your activities must help Filipinos to find a productive place in the national economy, especially in small business and industry whose development is so vital to true economic democracy. You are not authorized to subsidize any undertaking which would create an artificial enterprise not capable of competition and independence within a sound and reasonable period of time. You must use the same scales in weighing the proposed activities and undertaking of government instrumentalities which will appeal to you for financial aid.

I do not think any Filipino would envy the roles in which you have been placed. Yet if you play them heroically, you will earn the nation's gratitude. You will make possible the strengthening of the national economy; you will be building a road for the glorious future of our people.

NOTE.—See No.35. The Corporation started with a capital of P101,276,523.88 of public money; and this was augmented by the issuance of bonds that amounted to P54,123,552 on November 30, 1949. As of this date, its capital and borrowed money totaled P170 million already. In addition, it has been given the management of several trust funds amounting to some P98 million.

Its investments were distributed as follows: agriculture, 16 per cent; industries, 31 per cent; real estate, 47 per cent; the rest to provincial and local governments, backpay certificates, and financial companies.

President Roxas remarks on the acceptance of Php 50,000,000 payment of America for wartime assistance, January 7, 1947

Remarks
on
The Occasion of the Acceptance of P50,000,000 in payment of America's Obligations
to
The Philippines for Wartime Assistance

[January 7, 1947]

MR. AMBASSADOR:

It is with deep satisfaction that I receive this Treasury draft for P50,000,000. I express the gratitude of the Philippine Government and people. We are accustomed these days to thinking in terms of millions and hundreds of thousands. It is because the world has gotten to be familiar with destruction and devastation by the millions; it is because the world poured out money and substance by the millions and billions during the recent conflict. The $25,000,000, or P50,000,000, is a huge amount of cash representing the taxes and the labor of many of your countrymen, Mr. Ambassador. You have referred to the fact that this is in discharge of an obligation and not a gift. That is true. Yet I cannot refrain from mentioning the fact that this is in discharge of a kind of obligation which the United States alone seems to be acknowledging.

This money will permit us to move with dispatch for the redemption of outstanding guerrilla currency and for the evaluation of that currency so that a proper redemption can be made. It is my intention to recommend that at least $15,000,000 of this money be earmarked for that purpose; $5,000,000, of course, is for the retirement of emergency notes issued to support the war effort during the early part of the conflict. I will ask Congress to consider at the earliest possible time this matter of guerrilla currency and to take the necessary steps to evaluate and redeem it. The formula for that redemption will be difficult and will vary in accordance with the circumstances. I have been thinking a great deal about that matter, as have the leaders of Congress. We will have something to say in that connection at the proper time.

Today, Mr. Ambassador, I wish merely to express my gratitude and the hope that the entire surplus property arrangement will continue to work out in the best interest of economic development in the Philippines. I think the American people will feel recompensed in the sure knowledge that all the transfers that have been made will be carefully husbanded and used to the best of our abilities to provide-happiness and work for our people.

I well recall the exhaustive negotiations, which led up to the Surplus Property Agreement. I cannot but pay my high tribute to my associates in the Government and, of course, to you, Mr. Ambassador, and to all those you have named for the unselfish interest and unlimited devotion which was showed to our people. We are far from ungrateful, as you know, at this and other demonstrations of the continuing interest of the United States in our welfare. I intend to see to it that this and other benefits received from the United States are used as tools for national rehabilitation. As you have said, Mr. Ambassador, the greatest monument to Philippine—American friendship will be a successful and prosperous Philippine Republic. This $25,000,000 will be another stone in that structure.

Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of the presentation by the Spanish Minister to the Philippines, January 30, 1947 Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the presentation by the Spanish Minister
To the Philippines, Teodomiro Aguilar, of his Letter of Credence

[*January 30, 1947*]

MR. MINISTER:

I am pleased to receive you as the First Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain to the Philippines. We consider it a high honor that your Government has appointed for this post one of its most distinguished and able diplomats, and we hope that in time we shall be able to reciprocate fully such a fine gesture of friendship.

More than three centuries of close association between our two countries have left indelible marks in the life and culture of our people. Today, your language, your religion, your laws and customs constitute some of the most valuable and lasting bases of our own culture and civilization. The Philippines takes pride in being the only Christian democracy in the Orient.

Mr. Minister, in extending our cordial welcome with the sincere desire that your stay with us shall prove pleasant and beneficial, we hope that the Philippines and Spain will continue to maintain firmly their traditional bonds of friendship and that both will collaborate in the maintenance of democratic principles and the peace so devoutly wished for by all humanity.

Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of the Presentation by the French Minister to the Philippines, Gaston Willoquet, of his letter of credence, February 7, 1947

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Occasion of the Presentation by the French Minister
To the Philippines, Gaston Willoquet, of his letter of credence

[*February 7, 1947*]

MR. MINISTER:

I take pleasure in welcoming you to the Philippines in your capacity as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of France.

The Filipino people, together with men of all nations who love liberty, owe a great and enduring debt of gratitude to France; but our people have a special obligation to the great pioneers of liberty of the French nation. The early Filipino patriots who inspired our national efforts for freedom and liberation during the last century, drank deep of the great wisdom of the French revolution. Some of our early patriots learned to feel the mighty pulse of freedom in your own City of Light, Paris. In more recent years, your people and mine have together defended, in two world wars, the same principles and ideals. Both our countries have, in the recent war, been the victims of wanton aggression. Now we must work together to build the new world of peace and security which is the goal of mankind.

It is my fervent hope and that of my country to see the French nation lead again toward the attainment of liberty equality, and fraternity for all humanity. Both French and Filipino blood, in unlimited amounts, has been shed in that sacred cause.

Please convey, Mr. Minister, to your honored President, to your Government and people the wish of my countrymen for the prosperity and glory of France. I hope the friendship between our two countries, based on our common principles, will grow stronger with the years.

Mr. Minister, your Government could not have chosen a representative more deserving of our confidence and affection. You are one who has shared with us our sufferings. By your record of gallant resistance during the enemy occupation, you proved yourself a good and true friend. You have my best wishes for success in all your efforts, and the sincere goodwill of the Government and people of the Philippines for the Government and people of France.

Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of the signing of the Geneva Convention Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the signing of the Geneva Convention

[Released on February 14, 1947]

I take great pride in this occasion, an occasion which follows naturally after the historic event of independence on July 4th of last year. Today, we sign the Geneva Convention. The Philippine Republic thus subscribes to the international rules for the treatment in war of the sick, the wounded, the disabled, and prisoners of war. In other words, we formally accept today the principles developed through the years for the humanization of war. In signing these agreements we make our Philippine Red Cross Society eligible for recognition by the International Red Cross Society, as an independent national Red Cross organization. I am proud of this forthcoming status of the Philippine Red Cross, whose new dignity is merited in every way.

As an individual, I have always taken a great interest in the Red Cross both here and abroad. I have been fascinated by its humanitarian principles. The fact that these principles were violated in the recent war does not minimize the great achievement and the great progress of modern civilization in codifying and in organizing the unchanging ideals of mercy and kindliness.

Almost one hundred years ago, those principles were defined in the document which the Philippine Republic accepts today. Practically every nation in the world has accepted them and pays at least lip service to them. It occurs to me today that we might well consider applying these great humanitarian principles to our internal affairs as well as to the dramatic crisis of war. It seems to me that the principles of the Geneva Convention are identical with those which we in the Philippines call "social justice". If the individual made homeless by war is a concern of all organized society, why should not the same individual who is made homeless by social disaster be a responsibility of the social conscience? If the soldier wounded in battle is considered a proper charge of mankind, why is not the victim of epidemic or contagion equally so considered? Why must the latter be considered the object of charity rather than of justice and mercy? The blights of famine, of unemployment, and of economic disaster are in many respects as terrible as war itself.

I merely mention these random thoughts to indicate how much more advanced our thinking is in the classic field of military conflict than in matters of social and economic practice. The ideals of the Red Cross should not be departmentalized or isolated. They should be applied in other fields as well.

Today, we are gathered to signalize the coming of age of the Philippine Red Cross or rather the*recognition* of the coming of age of the Philippine Red Cross. This organization has long ago matured. It fully showed its maturity in the test of the recent crisis. The Filipino people have excellent reason to be grateful to both the American Red Cross and the Philippine Red Cross. Today, day by day, the Philippine Red Cross functions nobly and well in ministering to the emergency needs of distressed groups of our people. The Philippine Red Cross has shown its understanding and appreciation of the people's pain and suffering. During this war, the Philippine Red Cross did much to alleviate that pain and suffering. It is not easy to think of what the experience of our people would have been if there had been no Red Cross. The Americans who were interned in Santo Tomas knew the good work of the Red Cross through the evil days of the occupation, despite the attempt of the Japanese to convert the Red Cross from an organization of mercy into an accessory of the Japanese military effort. For our part, we shall never cease to be grateful to the American Red Cross for its heroic services during the trying days of liberation. Our people were fed and clothed and were given medicines and care through the medium of the Red Cross.

And now our own Red Cross organization is ready to stand alone, as an integral and semi-official part of the Philippine nation and an essential organ of the Filipino people. The tradition of gentle and dignified charity—charity in its biblical rather than in its patronizing sense—is carried on by this organization. That tradition runs in a continuous line, from its origin in Switzerland in 1859 to its present manifestations.

It was a Swiss citizen, Henry Dunant, who in writing a pamphlet concerning the plight of the wounded in a war between Austria and Italy awoke the conscience of the world and gave rise to the Red Cross. But the movement was truly really spontaneous and timeless. It had arisen in other forms in the United States during the revolutionary war and elsewhere. The good Samaritan of biblical history, the tender labors of Saint Francis of Assisi during medieval times, and the services of Florence Nightingale on the battlefields of the Crimea all pointed in the same direction. The Red Cross gave to all these efforts and concepts their form, content, and implementation.

The American Red Cross was active in the Philippines from the earliest days of American occupation. In 1917, a Philippine Red Cross chapter was established here. Mr. Thomas J. Wolff, one of our most respected American friends, was the first chairman of that chapter. In the years that followed, the Philippine Red Cross became more and more indigenous to our land. By 1934, it was one of the favorite projects of the late great President Quezon to convert the Philippine Red Cross into an independent Filipino organization. He devoted major efforts to this undertaking. Unfortunately, our non-sovereign status prohibited us from becoming an adherent to the Geneva Convention. Unless we*were* an adherent, we could not have an independent Red Cross society. And so plans were laid to have the Philippine Red Cross become an independent organization on July 4, 1946. The war disrupted those plans.

Today, we realize President Quezon's dream. Today, the Philippine Red Cross becomes eligible for complete independent status. It is fitting and proper that the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Philippine Red Cross today is none other than Mrs. Aurora Quezon, whose hero husband had worked and hoped so fondly to see this organization attain its full seniority.

The pride which the entire Filipino people take in the Philippine Red Cross was well and thoroughly demonstrated in the course of the recent fund raising campaign of that organization. The goal, an ambitious one, was P840,000. The amount collected was P1,061,000, an oversubscription of 26 per cent, and the returns are still incomplete. The Filipino people are grateful to their Red Cross. They are ready to support and to expand its beneficent activities.

The Philippine Red Cross, in accordance with its by-laws and charter, is a liberal and democratic organization. That Charter I will shortly submit to the Philippine Congress for ratification and enactment. The Charter provides for a Board of Governors consisting of thirty persons. Twenty-four of the members will be elected by chapter delegates and six will be appointed by the President of the Republic. The Chairman of the Board is to be elected by the Board of Governors. The Philippine Red Cross, symbolic of our entire nation, will be operated in accordance with the will of its members. I hope all of our people will be members of the Red Cross.

As President of the Philippines, I can do no more than to express to the American Red Cross the gratitude of the Philippines for the generous aid that has been extended in the reorganization and reconstitution of the Philippine Red Cross. The rehabilitation of this vital organization is not the least of the debts that we owe to America. Thousands of pesos worth of equipment and supplies have been turned over. The personnel has been recruited and trained by the advisers of the American Red Cross. Now this organization is turned over to us. I like to think of this as the pattern which has been followed and will continue to be followed in all the relationships between the United States and the Philippines. I look forward to the day when the Philippine Red Cross, like the American Red Cross, will be a world-wide symbol of mercy and help to all the needy and the unfortunates, not only in our land but in other lands. Wherever the tocsin of disaster rings, I hope the Philippine Red Cross will be able and ready to serve in the sacred cause of humanity.

I have signed the important documents presented to us on this occasion. They will be deposited with the International Red Cross Committee in Geneva. In the future as in the past, the Philippine Red Cross will, I know, discharge its high duties and functions with grace with diligence and with tender wholeheartedness. This organization shall be, in the Philippines, the proud bearer of the noble badge of true mercy.

NOTE.—The adherence of the Philippines to the Geneva convention which deals with the humane treatment of the prisoners of war, specially the sick, wounded and disabled, was not only a prerequisite to the Philippine Red Cross becoming an independent organization, but also a notice of our acceptance of the principle that if there is to be another war at all, it must be conducted on the highest human level.

The Red Cross organization was made independent of the American Red Cross of which it was only a chapter, with the approval of Republic Act No. 95 on March 22, 1947.

See No. 68 for the President's speech on the occasion of the independence ceremonies of the Philippine National Red Cross.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Radio Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the Martyrdom of Fathers Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora

Radio Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the Martyrdom of Fathers
Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora

[Released on February 17, 1947]

Today, seventy-five years ago, three illustrious Filipino clergymen, Fathers Burgos, Gomez and Zamora, died by the garrote on the field of Bagumbayan. The Spanish authorities of the time connected them with the unsuccessful Cavite Revolt staged in that year. Their church, believing in their innocence, refused to honor the governor's infamous order to strip them of their habits as dedicated ministers of God.

We honor them today, as will our posterity continue to honor them, for a definite reason. They were true Filipinos. They loved their country. They believed in freedom, hated injustice, and fought obscurantism.

Their sacrifice stood out in bold challenging relief against a dark background of social tyranny and exploitation. Their death found historic acceptance in their subsequent consecration in the public mind as flaming symbols of national protest culminating in the execution of Dr. Jose Rizal and the Revolution of 1896.

These martyred heroes have left us an indestructible heritage. Our duty today does not lie in singing pious praise to their memory, great and immortal as that is. It lies in girding our loins, in rolling up our sleeves and going to work. Our immediate responsibility is to restore our wasted land, raise a social structure worthy of our heritage as freedom-loving men and women, ensuring a generous and abundant life, not for a favored few, but for all our children.

NOTE.—Fathers Burgos, Gomez and Zamora were among those accused of complicity in a mutiny that took place in the night of January 20, 1872, at Fort San Felipe of the Cavite naval base in which the soldiers of the garrison killed their Spanish officers. Two days after the mutiny was quelled, several Filipinos branded as liberals were arrested; most of them were executed or banished.

The three priests were tried before a military tribunal behind closed doors. Their counsels *de oficio,*unfortunately, did not seem to have made any effort to win their acquittal; and aside from not showing any interest therein, one of them, the one precisely assigned for Father Burgos, even tried to help the prosecution by misrepresentation when he said that his client confessed his guilt. On hearing that, Father Burgos jumped to his feet and exclaimed to the court: "I have not confessed any guilt for I am not guilty! That is not my defense—that gentleman (pointing to his lawyer) has changed it. I deny all the charges against me."

The event occurred at the time of Governor Izquierdo, a ruthless ruler, who boasted openly and proudly that he came to the Philippines "with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other". With the help of those Spaniards who were opposed to liberal treatment for the Filipinos, he exercised a repressive rule which no doubt induced the mutiny.

The friars and other elements, who naturally rejoiced at Izquierdo's repressive policies, did not forget how several Filipinos, only a short time before this, rendered special homage to the memory of Simon de Anda y Salazar, who may be remembered as a pro-Filipino liberal governor-general, and whose memorial on abuses and disorders in the Philippines submitted to the King on April 12, 1768, once aroused their ire and was greatly resented ever since. That manifestation in honor of Governor Simon de Anda y Salazar and the ideas he stood for, conceived and led by Father Burgos who also published a pamphlet in defense of the Filipinos in 1864, disturbed the equanimity of the powers that be; and since then this priest was among the marked men.

The enemies of these three Filipino priests found occasion to have them implicated in that mutiny, and succeeded in having them executed in the morning of February 17, 1872, by the *garrote.* The*garrote* was a machine devised for strangling to death those sentenced to capital punishment.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Remarks of President Roxas on the Signing of an Agreement with the Archbishop of Manila covering the purchase of certain Church Landed Estates

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Signing of an Agreement with the Archbishop of Manila
covering the purchase of certain Church Landed Estates

[Released on February 23, 1947]

I have just signed a formal agreement with the Archbishop of Manila providing for the acquisition by the Government of eight estates owned by the Catholic church on the island of Luzon—eight estates in which thousands of Filipinos work and live. This move is a major step in the direction of those social and agrarian reforms which are so vital for the success of our national efforts. The Government is acquiring these estates for one purpose only—in order to distribute them, without profit, to the farmers and home dwellers who inhabit the lands and buildings comprising these properties.

This agreement is the happy culmination of not only months but of years of negotiations between the Catholic church and the Philippine Government. It was the hope and the desire of our people over a period of many years to acquire these estates for distribution to the actual tenants and dwellers, a vast majority of whom are members of the underprivileged groups of our population. As far back as I can remember, I have advocated this act so that these people, these tenants and workers, might become farmers and home owners and have a positive stake, a property right in the land they actually work and occupy. It has always been my view that a true democracy is best supported and most dearly cherished by citizens who are part owners of the physical properties and assets of the nation. Today's agreement marks a notable step in this direction.

Court actions were instituted before the war for the acquisition by the Government of title to some of these properties. Some of these court actions were based on the view that the Catholic church had failed to comply with the terms of the grants under which these lands in ancient times were entrusted to the Church and its orders. The war interrupted the progress of those suits. Most of the court records have now been destroyed and lost. Some of the witnesses who figured in those court cases are now dead.

Last November I appointed a Committee headed by Secretary of Justice Roman Ozaeta and including as a member former Chief Justice Avanceña, to review the legal status of the court actions and to recommend to me ways and means of acquiring these properties. That Committee advised that the cases would be difficult to reconstitute, and that victory for the Government was very uncertain and would, in any event, be long delayed. The Committee recommended that the cases be compromised by the most advantageous settlement possible. We thereupon began a series of conversations with the Archbishop and his representatives. Archbishop O'Doherty demonstrated throughout these conversations and subsequent negotiations a most commendable spirit of helpfulness and a high-minded desire to cooperate with us in the achievement of our objectives. In all our dealings the Archbishop showed that rare understanding of social justice which animates the Catholic church today. I cannot speak too kindly of Archbishop O'Doherty's attitude in this matter. He has been reasonable, fair, and at all times anxious to promote the general welfare of the Filipino people and specifically of those individuals whom this transaction is designed to assist.

The Archbishop for his part was also anxious to rehabilitate a number of financial institutions in which the Archdiocese is interested, including both the Monte de Piedad, which is now closed, and the Philippine Trust Company. The Government was quite as anxious as the Archbishop that this be accomplished. It is therefore provided in this agreement that the money which the Philippine Government will pay to the Church for these lands will be used for the rehabilitation of these financial institutions in which the savings of so many of our people are involved. As a result of this accord, the Philippine Trust Company will be able to repay the amount loaned to it by the Government for its rehabilitation. The Monte de Piedad will be able to repay its pre-war depositors, including

thousands of small businessmen, farmers and workers who have between five and six million pesos on deposit in this financial institution.

The agreement provides that the Philippine Government will pay to the Archbishop a total sum of P5,630,000 for all the eight estates involved in this transaction. This amount is considered by the Government a lump sum settlement for all the properties involved; the individual values established for each property are arbitrary and do not represent a critical appraisal of the individual worth of each parcel.

The estates which are being acquired by the Government are as follows:

1. Hacienda Dinalupihan, located in the municipality of Dinalupihan, Bataan, three parcels of land with an approximate area of 41,509,805 square meters.

2. Hacienda Nuestra Señora de Guia, located in the district of Tondo, City of Manila, one hundred twenty-two parcels of land with a total approximate area of 357,218.72 square meters.

3. Hacienda Ana Sarmiento, located in the districts of Singalong and Malate, City of Manila, with a total area of 206,085.10 square meters.

4. Hacienda Tambobong, located in the barrios of Concepcion and Flores, municipality of Malabon, Rizal, with an approximate area of 698,970 square meters.

5. Hacienda Baclaran, located in the municipality of Parañaque, Rizal, originally with an approximate area of 326,445 square meters, of which 129,859 square meters have been expropriated for roads, school, market and church sites and/or sold to private individuals, leaving a saleable area of 196,856 square meters.

6. Hacienda La Faja del Mar, located in the barrio of Baclaran, municipality of Parañaque, Rizal, with an approximate area of 26,070 square meters, of which 4,072 square meters are occupied by the Redemptorist Fathers and 1,788 square meters are covered by roads, leaving a net area available for sale of 20,210 square meters.

7. Parish properties located in Polo, Bulacan, three parcels of land with an approximate area of 221,881.95 square meters.

8. Hacienda Loñgos, located in the municipality of Malabon, Rizal, with an approximate area of 210,586.89 square meters.

The agreement provides that the total purchase price of P5,630,000 shall be used by the Archbishop for the following purposes:

Four million and one hundred thousand pesos to be turned over to the Monte de Piedad to pay its depositors and other creditors;

Five hundred thousand pesos to be used as capital of the new Monte de Piedad to be organized under the Corporation Law;

One million pesos to reimburse the Government for its investment in the rehabilitation of the Philippine Trust Company represented by 10,000 preferred shares of stock of the said company, which shares of stock shall be endorsed by the Government to the Archbishop upon receipt by the Government of said reimbursement; and

Thirty thousand pesos for the use of the parish of Polo, Bulacan.

The agreement does not provide for the actual transfer of title but is rather an over-all agreement of sale and a provision to transfer the various titles. Individual deeds of transfer will be executed within the immediate future. The Government, however, has arranged to proceed immediately to take possession of the lands and to make provision for the distribution of the properties to the tenants and dwellers, on a non-profit basis.

The properties are being acquired at roughly their pre war assessed taxation value. We are thus obtaining the properties at approximately half their real estate value in the current market. In the case of one estate, the Hacienda Dinalupihan, the prewar assessed value is admittedly high. That is because in prewar days this land was used for the production of sugar. No sugar is being raised there now. I am convinced, however, that we are acquiring these properties at a great bargain. We have taken into consideration the fact that title to several of these estates is in the process of court test. We have agreed to request the dismissal of all the court actions in these cases. The Archbishop, on the other hand, has agreed to refrain from executing judgment against any of these properties or their improvements to recover back rents due him.

The acquisition of these properties by the Government marks the final disposition by the Archbishop of practically all estates owned by the Archdiocese of Manila. The Government will continue to pursue the policy of acquiring similar estates owned by the Catholic church in the Philippines. I refer principally to properties owned by the religious orders. As the public knows, the Government has immediately in mind the acquisition of the Buenavista Estate. Some delay is being encountered in this transaction due to the intervention of an individual by the name of General Burt. As soon as the status of the title to this estate is clarified by court action, which is now in process, the Government will take steps to acquire the Buenavista Estate in one way or another, and will follow the same policy of distribution of the land involved. The entire broad program of acquisition of these large estates will be governed solely by our financial resources. In the case of the transactions involved in today's agreement, the money is being supplied by the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation. The funds advanced by the RFC will, of course, be repaid from the payments by the present tenants and renters. It is strictly a business loan, but no profit is being sought by the Government.

We have assigned to each property unit, for the purpose of today's transaction, an arbitrary value. In some cases it does not correspond to the true value. As I have said, we considered this an over-all settlement for all the properties involved. The entire transaction is a mutually beneficial arrangement in consideration of all pertinent factors.

All in all, this agreement represents a happy conclusion of our efforts of many years. I consider it a great achievement for the Government, as we gain under it our objectives and, at the same time, it will enable the Catholic church to accomplish a number of rehabilitation measures which are very much in the public interest. I am gratified beyond expression and consider this occasion today one of utmost significance and importance for our people.

Note.—The total area of the various estates covered by the transaction is 43.5 million square meters of which 41.5 are largely agricultural land in the northern part of the province of Bataan. The remaining 2 million square meters are urban lots on which residential houses have been built since the Spanish times. Before World War II the residents on these lots, as well as the tenants of the sugar estate in Bataan had wanted to own them, but the Government did not feel the necessity of quick action. It was only after World War II when there was a general discontent, against conditions in general, that the Government decided to buy these lands for resale to those using them.

The Buenavista Estate to which the President referred was finally bought on October 29, 1949, with funds borrowed by the Rural Progress Administration from the Philippine National Bank. Thus finally ended this case that acquired so much publicity before and after the war.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Report of President Roxas to the Congress on the Work of the Radio Permit Committee

Report
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
To the Congress on the Work of the Radio Permit Committee

[Release on February 24, 1947]

GENTLEMEN:

Pursuant to Section 3 of Commonwealth Act No. 729, entitled "An Act to authorize the President of the Philippines to grant temporary permits to construct, install, establish and operate in the Philippines radio transmitting stations, radio receiving stations for commercial purposes, television or radio broadcasting stations", I have the honor to submit the following report:

On July 17, 1946, the President of the Philippines promulgated Executive Order No. 6, copy of which is hereto attached, prescribing "rules and regulations governing the construction, installation and operation of radio transmitting stations, radio receiving stations for commercial purposes, or television or radio broadcasting stations under temporary permits issued by the President," and creating a Radio Permit Committee composed of—

The Secretary of Justice, Chairman
The Secretary of Public Works and Communications
The Secretary of Instruction
The Secretary of Labor
The Secretary of National Defense

The Radio Permit Committee held its first meeting on July 26, 1946, wherein it outlined the procedure to be followed in the consideration of applications submitted to it. Under this procedure, applicants are required to appear with their counsel at scheduled public hearings, at which oppositors may likewise appear to afford them opportunity to express opposition to applicants pending disposition by the Radio Permit Committee. Temporary permits are given for a period of not in excess of one year, subject in every case to the rules and regulations prescribed in Executive Order No. 6.

From July 17, 1946, to January 31, 1947, a total of 54 temporary permits were issued by the Radio Permit Committee, as follows:

Name of permittee	Radio broadcasting station	Public fixed point-to-point station	Private fixed point station
1. Far Eastern Broadcasting Co.	1		
2. Philippine Broadcasting Corporation	1		
3. Dr. Virgilio R. Gonzales	1		
4. Far Eastern Air Transport Inc.		10	
5. Anakan Lumber Company			
6. Central Azucarera Don Pedro			
7. Elizalde and Company, Inc.			
8. Fernandez Hermanos, Inc.			
9. Luzon Stevedoring Co., Inc.			
1. La Carlota Sugar Central, Inc.			

1.	Manila Electric Company			
2.	Philippine Air Lines, Inc.			
3.	Philippine-American Corporation			
4.	Standard Vacuum Oil Company			
5.	Sta. Cecilia Sawmills, Inc.			
6.	Dr. Pedro B. Cruz			
7.	J. Amado Araneta and Company			
8.	Alfredo Montelibano			
9.	National Power Corporation			
1.	Southern Lines, Inc.			
1.	The Associated Press			
Total		3	10	1

On October 16, 1946, Executive Order No. 22, copy of which is hereto attached, was issued, amending paragraph (*d*), Section 5, of Executive Order No. 6, so as to read as follows:

"(d) The permittee shall pay the necessary radio station construction permit and station license fees as required by Act No. 3846, as amended, otherwise known as the Radio Control Law, and shall be liable to pay the same taxes on its real property as other persons or corporations are now or hereafter may be required by law to pay. In addition to the fees above mentioned, the following fees shall be paid by the applicant or permittee:

1.	For filing an application for temporary permit to construct, install, establish and operate a radio station	
2.	For the issuance of a temporary permit to construct, install, establish and operate a radio station	

and requiring that "All holders of temporary permits heretofore issued by the Radio Permit Committee shall be subject to the payment of the fees prescribed in paragraph (d), Section 5, of Executive Order No. 6, dated July 17, 1946, as amended by Section 1 hereof."

From July, 1946, to January 24, 1947, a total of P9,000 was collected by way of fees from applicants given temporary permits, pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order No. 6, as amended by Executive Order No. 22.

Respectfully,

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Remarks of President Roxas before the United Technological Organizations of the Philippines (UTOP)

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
Before the United Technological Organizations of the Philippines (UTOP)

[Released on March 16, 1947]

DEVELOPMENT OF A SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATION WHICH CAN FUNCTION ACTIVELY IN OUR ECONOMIC PROGRAM

I speak to you regarding our national economic undertakings, and especially of the role of technology and technologists in that national program.

Today we have taken the economic blueprint formulated in the Philippine Trade Act and the War Damage Act and have incorporated it into a vastly more ambitious project. The economic power which we can obtain from our special trade relations with America must be geared up to turn not only one wheel, but a vast system of wheels. Rehabilitation is to be only one step in the program we now conceive. By integrating our rehabilitation machinery with a program for dynamic economic expansion, we can plan the maximum economic and social use of the available sources of economic power. At the same time we must envision our ultimate objective, which is to achieve social justice and to extend the frontiers of individual freedom and opportunity.

That is our basic directive. I should like to tell you at this point what I consider to be your place in this scheme. You must be the first to appreciate the scope of our program.

During the course of my recent public discussions of the special rights amendment, I frequently and vigorously urged the necessity of importing American technological skill and know-how into the Philippines. I meant no disrespect to your own capacity, nor did I overlook the present existence here of a trained body of Filipino scientists and technical men. Rather the opposite is true. I was thinking precisely in terms of your interests, as well as of the interests of the nation. We have far too few scientists and technical men. We have paid far too little attention to them in the past. I think of you, as the nation thinks of you, as the nucleus of what must become, at the earliest possible date, one of the most influential professions in the Philippines. I should like to glorify and glamorize technology in the Philippines. I should like to see recruited into its ranks the ablest and most brilliant of our youth. I should like to see the rewards for your endeavors made commensurate with your importance to the nation. I should like to see Philippine industry and agriculture turn to research, to never-ceasing and ever-expanding research, as a major and essential part of all operations and undertakings. I should like to see our country become the headquarters and hospice of science and scientists for this entire part of the world. I should like to see the Philippines become the market place for the exchange of scientific knowledge in the Orient, and the cradle of inventions and developments in every field of endeavor.

To carry out this program, I have a number of measures in mind. The Government can and will function to encourage scientific development here. I consider that a primary imperative. Every step which can be taken to stimulate and promote scientific inquiry and research within our borders must be taken. Every measure necessary to bring scientific knowledge and techniques from other lands into our own must be undertaken.

We propose, first of all, to set up a Patent Office in the Government, to protect the discoveries and enterprise of individuals and to assure them of the fruits of their ingenuity and initiative.

We propose to coordinate all the research facilities of government agencies and corporations, and to make them available for concerted studies of various problems connected with the economic uses of our natural resources.

We propose to permit the Bureau of Science to continue to function in the field of pure scientific research, and to give that agency every support so that the study of pure science may flourish organically and vigorously side by side with the pursuit of applied and functional science.

We propose to establish an Institute of Applied Science, modelled after the Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh, Pa., and to bring here the necessary facilities and personnel for laboratory consideration of all the problems and difficulties of industry and agriculture.

We propose to encourage our colleges and universities to undertake broad-range research in every field of science and engineering. The laboratories of our universities must supplement those of the Government and of private industry to keep current the flow of fresh scientific knowledge in our land. The universities must serve the nation in research as well as in training our youth for occupational pursuits.

We must set up a scientific network that is coordinated within itself, yet free of restraint to launch the boldest inquiry, but also immediately responsive to the national need of scientific knowledge and information. An Institute of Applied Science could serve as the headquarters for such an organization of scientific facilities.

Our laboratories must be equipped to conduct intensive studies of all available raw materials, to find new uses for them, and make improvements in their current uses. Our laboratories and scientific facilities must be capable of solving the individual problems of industry, and of supplying industry with new techniques of commercial utility.

For the development of this program, I depend in major measure on you who know the country and its capacities. I solicit your advice and suggestions on all the proposals and plans I have set forth today. From them we will work out the specific and detailed legislative aids and measures which will be required.

In giving this mission to the scientists and technologists of the Philippines, I am not indicating that science, itself, should be the hand-maiden of business or industry. I hope a basic devotion to pure and non-utilitarian science remains and flourishes. But I *am* stressing the fact that we must develop a scientific organization which can function actively in our national economic program.

The world today has good reason to value highly the methods and achievements of science. Were it not for the great miracle of American technology, which converted that industrial nation almost overnight into an arsenal, we would not be here today. Science itself must remain free and unchecked in its pursuit of truth. We must not attempt to hoard what we acquire. Our findings, like those of the medical sciences, must be made available to all mankind. At the same time we must make sure that the discoveries of the scientists of other nations can be quickly comprehended and applied here. We dare not be left behind. We must keep up with the other progressive nations of the world in scientific matters, or we will lag hopelessly in the surge of nations toward leadership and influence in world affairs. If we remain a backward and purely agricultural nation, we accept the inevitable fate of poverty and hardship for the majority of our people.

The history of the industrial development of America is marked by epic inventions of machines and methods which in large measure helped to convert what was once an agricultural land into the greatest industrial nation on earth. Eli Whitney invented a machine for ginning cotton, Cyrus McCormick, a machine for harvesting wheat, Thomas Edison, a method for making incandescent electric lamps, Henry Ford, for producing a cheap automobile, Thomas Fulton, for propelling a vessel through the water with a steam-driven propeller. All these inventions and developments had one objective in common . . . the utilization of machines to replace the labor of hands. We must follow in that path.

We Filipinos are fortunate to inhabit a land blessed with great potential riches buried in the earth. The extent of those riches is today only dreamed of. They are virtually unexplored. They are truly undeveloped. We have almost ideal conditions of climate for uninterrupted agricultural production. The soil is fertile and good. The species of vegetation which are native to our land are unlimited in number. Growth and multiplication is almost unchecked and automatic. Yet we must not be content merely to mine the ores from the earth, and harvest the crops that we grow. That is a path of indolence. Through intensive scientific research we can multiply our production of everything, and

through proper measures of social justice, distribute the fruits of increased production among all our people. We can develop new uses for our products, and discover new products needed by the hungry and product-poor peoples of the world.

Scientific research developed a way of making a fabric finer than silk out of wood; a plastic more decorative than ivory out of milk; synthetics harder than steel out of cellulose rubber out of coal and oil, and vital life-giving drugs out of weeds. We have all the materials we must attack their potentials with the arsenal of science, and the tactics of scientific inquiry. We must invite all who may assist us in this great task to be at ease in our land. Envy and jealousy must not be permitted to deprive our people and our nation of the opportunities for growth and development which we otherwise would have.

In sketching out our future, the development of industry is, of course, a prime objective. We must become the masters of the machines that are available in the world. We must invent new machines adapted to our particular needs and requirements. We must encourage industry to manufacture for our own needs as well as for export. Clothing, construction materials, and electrical appliances can be made here instead of imported from abroad. You must focus your talents on the technical problems involved in establishing such industries here. Our people, with the highest scale of living of any nation in the Far East, must be provided with modern conveniences which are today necessities. They can be made here. We need not adopt a defeatist attitude and propose to shut ourselves off from these conveniences because they are being supplied to us from overseas. We must try, instead, to devise ways and means of producing them ourselves, if there is any possibility of producing them economically within our own borders.

We must acquire the techniques of mass production and the assembly line, so that these goods can be produced at low unit cost and sold cheaply to our people, and exported abroad to surrounding markets.

The American scientists and technologists who, I hope, will come here with American capital to invest in the development of this land must be made welcome Every hospitality must be afforded them, especially by you. You should bring them into your organizations and learn from them as much as you can I should like to induce to come to the Philippines not only the men who know the secrets of the latest industrial methods, but also the methods themselves and the faith in scientific study and research which prevails in other part of the world.

I therefore ask you to undertake a key mission in the vast program upon which we are now engaged. I commission you to obtain for this country all the data and information which you possibly can concerning technical problems in the Philippines, in Philippine agriculture, in Philippine industry, and in all Philippine economic pursuits. I urge you to coordinate and publish your surveys and findings.

When American engineers and scientists come here, make these data available to them. Share your knowledge with them and trade it for that which they possess.

I hope shortly to make an arrangement with the United States whereby some of you may go to that country and study and improve your skills and capacity and see with your own eyes the operations of modern large-scale industry. I would like to give you refresher courses in appropriate institutions and schools. I think we can undertake such a program on a gradually expanding scale. I will do my best to arrange it.

You are to play a vital part in the Philippines of today and of tomorrow. Be proud of your responsibility. Be proud of your profession. Contribute unselfishly of your skill and energy to the national crusade which is now under way.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Remarks of President Roxas on the Army Day of the United States

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Army Day of the United States

[Released on April 7, 1947]

I am happy to participate in this celebration of Army Day which is dedicated to the recollection of the exploits of the American Army and to the expression of good wishes to its leaders and personnel.

It goes without saying that the American Army looms large in the consciousness of the Filipino people. We have lived with the officers and men of the American Army for half a century. We have known them as antagonists. Lately, we have fought shoulder to shoulder with them, in the same ranks, in the same uniform, under the same command.

The Philippine Army is patterned after the American Army. And today the defense of this Republic is inextricably linked with the Army of the United States as well as with the Navy and the Air Force of that country. We cannot then but look upon the members of the American Army as our comrades and friends. That part of the Army of the United States which is stationed in the Philippines is here for our mutual protection. We take as much pride in it as we do in our own. We glory in its achievements; we are grateful for its strength. Its members and our own armed forces are brothers in arms, and I hope that that relationship will always continue. Many great leaders of the United States Army are our truest friends. Most of the great figures of the American Army today have served here and came to know and to love our country—General Douglas MacArthur and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, to name but two of the most eminent. We are as proud and happy in the recognition of their valor and ability as if they were our own sons; indeed we claim them as our own.

The American Army is welcome in the Philippines. The efforts which have been made during the past months to eliminate causes of misunderstanding and friction have reaped a rich and fruitful harvest of friendship and mutual appreciation. General George F. Moore, our old comrade and close friend, a noble exponent of the best traditions of the U. S. Army, has, I know, the welfare of the Philippines close at heart. That redoubtable fighter and leader of men has heroically served our nation at Corregidor and in a sense is serving our nation now. The same can be said of the chief of the American military mission, Major General Jones, who, like General Moore, has gallantly led Filipinos and Americans in indistinguishable ranks forward into battle. To them and to each and everyone of their men now here in the Philippines and to those who were here in the great cause of liberation and have left our shores, and finally to those American soldiers who are at rest in Philippine soil, I wish to express the gratitude of the Republic.

NOTE.—This was a message broadcast to the members of the Philippines-Ryukyus command. In the same radio program Maj. Gen. George F. Moore, PHILRYCOM commander, and Rear Adm. H. H. Good, chief of the U. S. Navy in the Philippines, urged the strengthening of Fil-American ties, General Moore stressing that "we must preserve that comradeship—which reached its finest heights on Bataan and Corregidor."

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Remarks of President Roxas on the signing of the Treaty of Amity between China and the Philippines

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the signing of the Treaty of Amity between China and the Philippines

[Delivered on April 18, 1947]

Mr. MINISTER:

The treaty which we have just signed is an earnest of the steadfast desire of the Filipino people to live in peace and friendship with the great people of China. It offers the assurance that any differences of opinion between the two countries will be threshed out in the same spirit of mutual tolerance, understanding, and trust which has brought the negotiations for the present treaty to a conclusion equally acceptable to both countries.

I wish to take advantage of this opportunity, Mr. Minister, to commend the cooperative spirit which you displayed, under difficulties which we all appreciate, in order to arrive at a successful understanding with the negotiators of this Government.

Your Government was one of the first to recognize our Republic. It was one of the first to initiate negotiations for a treaty of amity. It is now the first, aside from the United States of America, to actually conclude it.

You can assure your Government and People that their sentiments of amity and common interest are fully reciprocated. We wish to live in peace with all the countries of the world but more particularly with those that are our neighbors and with whom we have for centuries maintained the friendliest relationship. Among these, China is the most important. I trust that this friendship based on mutuality of interest and a common adherence to the principles of freedom and democracy will endure through the ages. Let this treaty, Mr. Minister, be the assurance not only of our good will, but also of our readiness to work together with you for our common good.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Remarks of President Roxas on the Occasion of the Transfer from the Government of the United States to the Philippine Government of the Auxiliary Minesweeper 281

Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the Occasion of the Transfer from the Government of the United States
to the Philippine Government of the Auxiliary Minesweeper 281

[Delivered on July 9, 1947]

ADMIRAL GOOD, MINISTER DAVIS, GENTLEMEN:

The Republic and the people of the Philippines desire to express their appreciation to the Government of the United States and to the American Navy for the transfer of this ship to the Republic of the Philippines, in accordance with the military assistance agreement. This is but one more indication of the feeling of friendship of the United States for the Philippines and of the desire of the American people to assist the Philippine Republic in its efforts to establish here a strong and stable government. We are very happy to receive this particular ship, which had a glorious record during the past war—a record that is a credit not only to the American Navy but also to the gallant officers and men that were responsible for its operation.

The Philippine Naval Patrol will feel its obligation to continue the noble record and to operate this ship principally for the purpose of maintaining peace and liberty not only for our country but for the world at large. This ship is going to be used by the Philippine Naval Patrol principally for civilian purposes, but it will always be ready to answer the call of duty in case of any emergency.

Admiral Good, I wish to express my deepest acknowledgment for the interest that you have shown in expediting the transfer of the ships indicated in the military assistance agreement for the use of the Philippines. I know that this ship is worth several hundred thousand dollars, and that the 83 other ships which will soon be turned over to the Philippine Republic had cost the United States many millions of dollars. The Philippine Republic is grateful for this important grant to the Philippine Government and I assure you, Admiral Good, that the men and officers of the Philippine Naval Patrol will handle these vessels in accordance with the best traditions not only of the Philippine Naval Patrol but also of the American Navy. Minister Davis, please express to the President of the United States the gratitude of the Philippine Government for the transfer of this ship.

NOTE.—The ceremony was held on Auxiliary Minesweeper 281 in accordance with naval tradition.

Admiral Good who made the formal transfer stated that it is the U. S. mission to train the officers and men of the naval patrol ashore and afloat, so that they may uphold the record of the three valiant Q-boats which in the early days of the war did much to slow down the savage onslaught on Bataan and to harass the enemy.

Source: **Quezon Family Collections**

Roxas, M. (1954). Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Posthumous Award to Franklin Delano Roosevelt—The Medal of Honor for Chief Commander of the Philippine Legion of Honor

Posthumous Award
to
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
The Medal of Honor for Chief Commander
of
The Philippine Legion of Honor

CITATION

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, thirty-second President of the United States of America: For extraordinary, eminently meritorious and valuable services rendered in a position of great responsibility to the people and Government of the Philippines. In 1933, during his first term as President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt approved an Act of Congress establishing the Commonwealth Government and fixing the date of independence of the Philippines on July 4, 1946. For eight years thereafter, in the course of their preparation for independence, the Filipino people were greatly encouraged in their labors by the many evidences of his constant solicitude and sympathy. Ever thoughtful of the welfare of the Filipino people, he sought by every means in his power to bring the historic American experiment in the Philippines to a just and satisfactory conclusion. In December 1941, after the Japanese invasion, he pledged the entire resources of the United States of America to the redemption of the Philippines. The Filipino people, believing in him and in the justice of their common cause with the American people, bitterly resisted the enemy during more than three years of unremitting struggle. Beginning in October 1944, and in the course of the next six months, the overwhelming might of American arms, supported by a loyal population, completely crushed the forces of the invader. Franklin Delano Roosevelt had kept his promise.

On this first anniversary of the Republic, the people and Government of the Philippines, in grateful recognition of his services, posthumously award to Franklin Delano Roosevelt—a great man, outstanding American, and hero of the Philippines—the Medal for Chief Commander of the Philippine Legion of Honor.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Office of the President of the Philippines. (1947). Posthumous award to Franklin Delano Roosevelt—The Medal of Honor for Chief Commander of the Philippine Legion of Honor. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 43(8)*, 3316-3317.

Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of the presentation by the United States Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Philippines, Emmet O'Neal, of his Letter of Credence

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the presentation by the United States Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Philippines, Emmet O'Neal, of his Letter of Credence

[Released on September 22, 1947]

Mr. AMBASSADOR:

I wish to express the sincere gratification of the people and government of this Republic over your selection as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Philippines. We are aware of your able and unswerving support of the cause of Philippine independence when you were still a member of the American Congress. We also know that immediately after your appointment as Ambassador you exerted efforts to obtain approval by the Congress of the United States of measures recommended by the President of the United States for our benefit, especially measures intended to do justice to Filipino veterans. I feel, therefore, that the Philippines is fortunate that Your Excellency has been accredited to this Republic, not only because of those services which you have rendered us in the past, but also because we know that you have a profound knowledge of Philippine affairs and are sympathetic to our interests. I am confident that you will merit the gratitude of the Filipino people as much as your predecessor, Ambassador Paul V. McNutt.

Please convey to President Truman my deep acknowledgment for his warm greetings and kind wishes. I desire to extend to him, in return, my warm greetings and best wishes for his continued good health and that of his family. You may also inform him that the prosperity and happiness of the American people is a cherished desire of the government and people of this Republic.

The Filipino people are grateful to the United States for granting us independence and for assisting us in our economic and social rehabilitations. The friendship and kindly interest of the United States in the welfare and happiness of the Filipino people is an asset of incalculable value to us in all our strivings towards the security and prosperity of this Republic. I believe, Mr. Ambassador, that no effort need be wasted to insure the eternal friendship between our two countries. The bonds that bind them were forged through half a century of mutual confidence and common efforts towards common goals, and have now been rendered indestructible by agreements looking to the insurance of our mutual security. Filipinos and Americans have the same ideals and the same purposes in relation to the peace, the liberty and the happiness of all the peoples of the world. You will find us always ready to cooperate in all the efforts of your Government towards this end.

It is my earnest hope, Mr. Ambassador, that your stay in the Philippines will be pleasant for you and that your efforts will be productive of enduring benefits for our two countries. In these endeavors, you can count on the full support and cooperation of my government.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Remarks of President Roxas on the occasion of the Acceptance by the Philippine Government of the Dredge "Barth" from the Government of the United States

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
On the occasion of the Acceptance by the Philippine Government of the Dredge "Barth" from the Government of the United States

[Released on October 12, 1947]

Mr. AMBASSADOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The Republic of the Philippines is happy to accept the transfer of the modern and efficient dredge "Barth" from the Government of the United States through its Army Corps of Engineers. While this stalwart ship has been purchased by the Philippine Government from the Army of the United States, it should be noted that the funds used for this purchase were supplied by the American Government under the Philippine Rehabilitation Act.

This is, therefore, no ordinary transaction whereby the Philippines has acquired a useful and much needed piece of equipment for the rehabilitation of our ports and harbors. This ceremony has a higher and more transcendental significance. It attests to the enduring friendship of our two peoples and brings home to every Filipino a practical demonstration of the valuable assistance which this Republic is receiving from the United States.

The people of this country, I assure you, Mr. Ambassador, will not lose sight of this fact and will thereby be inspired with a stronger attachment to the great people of America.

This is the first dredge that has been acquired by the Philippine Government since liberation. I am informed that another dredge will soon arrive from the United States, to be acquired in the same manner and from the same funds as this dredge. In addition to these two dredges, the Philippine Government has purchased from properties that are surplus to the needs of the American Army in Guam five suction dredges, one of which has already arrived in the Port of Iloilo and is undergoing repairs. It is expected that the other four hopper dredges will reach the Philippines and will be in active operation by the end of the year.

With these seven dredges the Government believes it will have sufficient equipment to improve our ports and harbors neglected since the war. With the valuable assistance already planned by the American Army Corps of Engineers for the reconstruction of our port facilities, I confidently hope that the Philippines will soon not only complete the restoration of all our facilities destroyed by the war but also in many respects accomplish the modernization of these facilities in order to increase efficiency in the operation of our ports. The completion of this program will prove a great boon to our commerce and trade, besides facilitating inter-island communication throughout this Republic.

I wish to express to you, Mr. Ambassador, and to the Army Corps of Engineers, my personal appreciation and that of the Filipino people for this proof of goodwill and willingness to assist us in our program of rehabilitation. This is the more to be appreciated because we know that such equipment as this dredge is now not available in the ordinary channels of trade and that there is a great need for such equipment in every part of the world including the United States. That the American Army has agreed to part with the equipment at this time can only mean an eagerness to assist the Philippines in one of its most critical needs.

This useful machine will be carefully and dutifully handled by our officers in charge. It is a symbol of our joint efforts in the war; it will be used to promote free commercial intercourse among nations, which was one of the causes for which we fought the last war.

I now order its commission under the Philippine flag.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Remarks of President Roxas at a luncheon in honor of the Cabinet

Remarks
of
His Excellency Manuel A. Roxas
President of the Philippines
At a Luncheon in Honor of the Cabinet

[Released on January 5, 1948]

"WE MUST RESTORE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE HONESTY OF THIS GOVERNMENT"

In accordance with tradition and my own personal desires, we are honoring today the members of the Cabinet. I offered this luncheon in their honor as an expression of my appreciation for their capable and successful administration of the affairs of their different departments. I also wish to express my own personal appreciation for their loyalty and devotion to the duties that they undertook to perform during the past 12 months. I am very happy that this luncheon today is attended by the bureau chiefs, heads of the different commissions and agencies of the Government, men and women who really constitute the backbone of our Government. And I am happy that this tribute to the members of the Cabinet should take place at the beginning of the present year.

I wish also to extend my sincere thanks to each and everyone of you for the efforts that you have made to revitalize rapidly the functions of your different offices and bureaus and to heed the problems of the administration. I am sincerely happy to be able to count with honest men and women such as you in the conduct of government affairs.

Never in the history of the Philippines has the Government faced such tremendous, intricate and difficult problems. I trust that with your loyal cooperation we will gradually be able to meet all of these difficulties. We are all on trial—not only we personally, but our people as a whole. We found on our assumption of power the country laid prostrate by war. We had very little with which to rehabilitate not only our economy but even the government machinery; and the success that we have achieved along these lines at such rapid pace is something which all of us can be proud of.

There is something, which some might consider out of place, that I should like to take up on this occasion. It would seem that the people as a whole do not appreciate the work that is silently and quietly being done for the country at large. It seems that the country does not appreciate the sacrifices that you and your men, down to the lowest and humblest official of the Government, are doing for the public welfare.

I cannot find an explanation except in the old saying that democracies are generally ungrateful. But in the Philippines I don't believe that as a fact. I believe that our people are not ungrateful. It is only that they do not realize the difficulties we have to contend with and the sacrifices which the accomplishment of some of our objectives involve, that they seem incapable of understanding how far we have advanced and how much we have accomplished. It is only by comparing conditions as they now exist in the Philippines with conditions prevailing in other countries similarly situated as ours, countries that have suffered as much as our country has suffered, that they can appreciate what has been accomplished here. In the short period of a little more than two years since liberation, this country has progressed very much. There are certain indices to our nation's progress which after all are the reliable tests to national advancement. And I am sure that our intelligent appraisal of these indices will reveal how much you, all of us, have accomplished within this short time. Let me cite some examples.

In the first place, we have restored or reestablished the whole government machinery down to the barrio lieutenant in the farthest outlying district of our land. The Government has reestablished its authority everywhere except perhaps—we must speak the truth—in a few scattered areas in Central Luzon where lawless elements still exercise some influence. But we have to judge the peace and order situation in their broad aspects, as a whole, and then we can ask with confidence: What country occupied by the enemy where over half a million firearms were scattered in the hands of unauthorized persons can show conditions as peaceful as now obtain in the Philippines?

In many parts of the world more disturbances of public order are occurring every day than are taking place in the Philippines. However, they are not being published.

But here in the Philippines we have no restrictions and every little disturbance of the peace is being given wide publicity. Many of these things occur in other countries. But the people of those countries do not find news about these things as we do in the broad and glaring headlines in the newspapers in the Philippines today. But as you know the newspapers today render accounts of the disturbances and give the impression that there is no peace in the Philippines and more particularly that the Government cannot be trusted.

I am talking to you about this subject with certain grief in my heart. In the papers, in the editorials written on my birthday, I was struck by the almost universal expression that the country has every reason to confide in my honesty but that I am surrounded by men who are enriching themselves through graft or corruption in the Government; that there is graft or corruption throughout the whole machinery of the Government. I do not know whether I am living in an illusion, I do not know whether there are things in the Government that happen about which I am not informed.

But I assure you that I have taken pains to rid the Government of unworthy officials. I have taken pains to investigate every charge that has been made against any public official and have removed the guilty parties from the government service, and in many cases I have ordered the prosecution of government officials who are unworthy of their trust.

I know that the bureau chiefs and heads of the agencies of the Government will cooperate in our efforts to cleanse the Government of graft and corruption or deceit in any form, shape or manner. But if something more should be done, I appeal to you not to let up your efforts in this respect.

We must restore the confidence of the people in the honesty of this Government. And the greatest service that you can render to your country and to me personally is not to tolerate dishonesty and the least indication of dishonesty should be followed by proper charges.

As far as the members of the Cabinet are concerned and the many who are associated with me in our Government, I have every reason to have absolute confidence in their integrity and honesty, despite rumors spread maliciously by some who do not sympathize with the work we are doing. But I call upon the citizens of this country to come out and present charges against the highest officials of this land if they possess any evidence with which to substantiate these charges. There is no one here however close to me that is not within the control of the people and who is not subject to the invariable rule and requirement that he cannot continue in the government service or be within personal relationship with me, unless he can honor the post he holds or his relationship with me.

I read in many newspaper articles, especially in some newspaper columns, the common charge that there are some officials of the Government who are enriching themselves through their relationship with me or through dishonest means abetted by their nearness to some government officials. I call upon these men, if they value the respect of the community, to come out in public and make their charges; and I assure them that these charges will be seriously considered and investigated no matter against whom the charges are made.

I feel concerned in this respect not only because of our people but because of the bad prestige and the bad name that are being created abroad about this Government. There are men who are my personal friends in the Philippines and in other countries, men who have shown their friendship for us during our most critical period. Because of these accounts and these ugly rumors, they have all been affected by doubts not only as to the efficiency of this Government but as to the honesty of the entire administration.

There is nothing that can hurt this country and the future of the Filipinos themselves more than to start rumors or to launch accusations, using the freedom of the press as their shield against the integrity of the public officials of this Government concerned, without having examined the facts and without a proper consideration of the factors involved.

I realize and I must admit that there are some officials of the Government who probably have betrayed their trust and are betraying their trust. I appeal to each and every one of you to help me and, by helping me, to help expose these men high or low that we may take proper measures against them. Our credit is being affected by the circulation of these unsubstantiated rumors.

Not only is our credit as a government adversely affected, but people abroad are afraid to come here to invest money, money that we need to develop our country, because rumors are being circulated that nothing can be obtained from this Government without a consideration. You, of course, know that that is not true. You, of course, know that not a single member of the Cabinet—and certainly not myself—has ever approached you, bureau chiefs, members of the commissions and agencies of the Government, for the purpose of inducing you to commit an illegality for the advantage and benefit of certain privileged persons or even to use your discretion in favor of certain friends or members of the Liberal Party. I can say that with a great deal of assurance and I assert that my influence has never been used to favor any man.

My influence has always been used only to do justice to every man. I have never gone to the Chief of Staff to ask him to appoint a man just because he is my friend if he is not qualified for the Army. I have kept my hands off entirely. The Surplus Property Commission can testify that I have never asked its members to approve any sale merely because it is made in favor of a friend of mine or a friend of a high-ranking official.

My only connection with the Surplus Property Commission has been to disapprove some sales that it has considered proper when in my opinion it was better to make a further attempt to see if the Government could obtain a better price for properties that it was selling. But there are personal friends of mine who have appealed to me to obtain approval of certain transactions in the Surplus Property Commission and I have disapproved them when in my opinion such transactions would not be in the interest of the Government to approve them.

The Collector of Internal Revenue knows that in the list I have given him of men whose business accounts should be closely examined, are included the names of practically all my friends who have business here, and because they are my friends I have some slight idea of their business.

I know that small employees in different positions are not adequately paid. I know that these men find difficulty in making both ends meet, so to speak. But government service these days is a sacrifice. I realize that. I know that many of you could leave the government service today and make two or three times as much or more in private life than what you are making in the Government today. I appreciate your sacrifice.

I appreciate your willingness to place the government service and the interest of the country above all personal interests and I trust that that spirit of willingness to sacrifice prevails all down the line to the lowest official of this Government. Many people believe that to be an official of the Government is a privilege and that it is a favor. Not so these days.

I trust that you are going to so conduct your offices as to force on everyone the recognition and acceptance of the fact that you are doing everything possible to maintain an honest and efficient administration. Neither you nor I can be responsible for the individual acts of the employees. That is a personal matter. But we must assume some responsibility, and one thing we can do, if any of you has the least evidence or the least doubt of the integrity of one of your employees, is to take immediate action to investigate thoroughly the facts of the case. In that respect we cannot avoid responsibility. But only to that extent can the public exact responsibility from us.

And so, my friends, I am very happy to meet you this noon around these tables. Each one of us has a responsibility to clear the good name of the Government. If you know that affairs and functions are not properly carried out, it should be your duty to tell the secretaries of departments so that they in turn may proceed in the best possible manner. Let this be a common effort, a joint undertaking on our part. And let me ask each and every one of you here, to bear this fact in mind and make it one of the most important items on our program for this year—to restore the confidence of the people in the integrity of the Government. The people may excuse us for committing mistakes in the conduct of public affairs. The people will never forgive us, and we certainly do not deserve forgiveness from the people, when we administer or handle the affairs of the Country in a dishonest manner. And I ask you to

cooperate with the secretaries of departments not only to clean the Government completely of every vestige of dishonesty but to do your part in informing the people and our friends of the press as to the true situation in your different bureaus and offices. Let us not only decide to be honest and maintain honesty in the Government, let us exert every effort to make our success in this respect known and used by the people.

I am also very anxious, and I wish you to cooperate with me, to restore the civil service and merit system completely in all government offices. That is a mandate of the Constitution and its implementation should not be long delayed. I realize that it is extremely difficult in some instances to lay off men who are not qualified in the civil service. My suggestion is: give these men who are not properly qualified an opportunity to qualify themselves with the understanding that if they should fail to make the prescribed grade, they must be dropped from the payroll and that those who are qualified will be retained.

There is only one exception to this rule and that is with regard to our veterans who under the law have certain privileges. Under the law, they have to be given priority in employment. This must be done under equal circumstances, of course. We might amend the law to make this privilege in their favor more effective. These men deserve prior consideration, especially the widows and the orphans of our dead soldiers. But beyond the priority or privilege given by the law, the merit system must be recognized and enforced to the limit; and when I say to the limit, Mr. Commissioner of Civil Service, I mean just that. No influence however powerful should swerve you from your duty to give effectiveness to the merit system.

And now, my friends, I am sorry to have brought up this rather distasteful subject but as I glanced over this gathering I thought this was the best opportunity to bring this matter before you. If you know of any writer in the Philippines who has any charge to make against any individual of this Government from the President down to the last dog-catcher, I will welcome his coming forward and presenting that charge publicly and even confidentially. That is his right, that is his privilege. I would be very happy to honor him as a good citizen of this country.

And now, my friends, wishing you all a very successful New Year. I wish you to drink to the health of the members of the Cabinet.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Radio Address of President Roxas for Support of the United Nations Appeal for Children (UNAC) Radio Address
of
His Excellency Manuel Roxas
President of the Philippines
For Support of the United Nations Appeal for Children (UNAC)

[Delivered on March 1, 1948]

HEALTHY CHILDREN TODAY MEANS HAPPY CITIZENRY TOMORROW

I am happy and proud to participate in the world-wide effort to relieve the suffering of the world's needy children. On February 26, last, I signed a proclamation declaring February 29, 1948, as "United Nations Appeal for Children Day" in the Philippines, in response to the announcement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations setting aside that date as UNAC Day all over the world. In my proclamation I also declared the period from March 5 to March 20, this year, as the period for active solicitation of voluntary contributions in the Philippines, on behalf of suffering children everywhere.

In taking part in today's global observance of UNAC Day we rededicate ourselves to the high ideals of One World. We make a fresh resolve to do our utmost to contribute to the winning of peace, security and abundance for humanity's suffering millions—for the victims of the ravages of war, especially the children who are hungry, destitute, or undernourished these many years.

We conceive it to be our primordial duty to spare no effort to retrieve the next generation which has passed, and is passing, through such a tragic childhood from hunger, disease, bitterness and loss of faith. It is only by the health of today's children, both in body and mind, that we can be assured of a sound and happy citizenry for all the nations a decade or two from now. The great Theodore Roosevelt once said that "a people without children would face a hopeless future." We may say today, in the face of almost 100,000,000 suffering and destitute children in Europe and Asia, and the Far East, that about one million undernourished, poverty-stricken children face a hopeless future, indeed.

The United Nations Appeal for Children is the first concrete opportunity for everyone of us in the Philippines to perform an act of world citizenship. Every person who is in a position to do so, should contribute his utmost to this epochal task. A peso, or even a fraction of a peso, a cupful of sugar, or a loaf of bread given to the UNAC may tip the balance between death and survival for some hungry or ailing child in India, or China, or France, or Poland, or right here in our own country. The funds and commodities that might be raised in the course of the UNAC campaign here will be pooled, together with the contributions of other countries, in the UNAC Fund at Lake Success, and then from that pool allocations will be made in the form of relief to the different countries, based upon urgency and extent of need. The United Nations has assured the world that, in the distribution of the UNAC Fund, there shall be no discrimination on account of race, creed, nationality status, or political belief.

The Philippines will receive its rightful allocation based on the needs of our ailing, undernourished, destitute children. A census to determine the number of such children is now being undertaken so that we can submit the necessary data to the UNAC headquarters as soon as it is called for. It is possible that we might be granted a greater allocation of funds than the total amount we contributed to the total UNAC pool, depending upon the extent and urgency of our requirement.

The size of the allocation that we shall get, however, should be the least consideration in determining our response to the UNAC Campaign. Although the Philippines has been one of the worst war-devastated among the countries, it has been fortunate enough to have achieved a measure of recovery at a faster pace than some other countries. Moreover, we have been favored in receiving substantial assistance and relief from international organizations, such as the UNRRA and the International Emergency Fund for Children, which have given our own children, among

other things, milk, cocoa, cod liver oil, vitamins, and other necessities which were so immediate just after our liberation from the enemy.

For this invaluable help extended to us by the United Nations and other international organizations, we are profoundly grateful. We learned from them, by direct actual experience, a lesson which it would be well for us to remember always—the lesson that, in the world we are now living in, the survival and happiness of a nation is the true concern of the peoples of the other nations of the world and is a matter which deserves their goodwill and cooperation. We have been beneficiaries of the growing sense of global responsibility; out of gratitude, if for no other reason, we should now demonstrate our capacity to assume our share in that responsibility.

We can demonstrate that capacity best by supporting and contributing to the United Nations Appeal for Children enthusiastically and in generous measure. The theme of the Appeal is "Give One Day", which is derived from the very reasonable thought that all of us, here and in other countries, who are in health and with means, can well afford to give one day's income, or one day's commodity produce, for the health, happiness and survival of the next generation.

I appeal to the entire nation, and to every individual, to give to the United Nations Appeal for Children Fund gladly and unstintedly, making each contribution a token of our gratitude for every help we have received from abroad, and a token, too, of our faith in the future peace, happiness and security of all nations.

To the members of the Philippine National Committee of UNAC, who have voluntarily organized themselves to carry out this campaign, to Mr. Gil Puyat, to Mrs. Trinidad F. Legarda, to Colonel Rufino, to Mrs. Martinez, and the others in their committee, I extend every encouragement and the wish for unqualified success in their self-sacrificing effort. I trust our people will respond to this appeal with the same spirit and generosity with which they have always responded to every worthy cause.

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Note.—The campaign for voluntary contribution was given an official impetus not only by this radio appeal but also by Proclamation No. 60 which designated the period of the campaign from March 5 to the 20th. The sum of one million pesos was set as the goal of the Philippine Committee.

The Philippines adhered to the UNAC on February 18, 1948, at Lake Success.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Roxas, M. (1954). *Papers, addresses and other writings of Manuel Roxas* (Vol. 2). Manila : Bureau of Printing.

Inaugural Remarks of President Quirino after the Demise of President Roxas, April 17, 1948

Inaugural Remarks
of
His Excellency Elpidio Quirino
President of the Philippines
After the Demise of Manuel A. Roxas

[*Delivered at Council of State Room, Executive Office Building, Malacañan Palace on April 17, 1948*]

In memory of our great and illustrious friend who is now lying in state, let us pledge ourselves to establish better and closer understanding among us, and I beseech you to manifest more tolerance, goodwill, and love, which we need in this supreme moment of our history.

Source: *Salvador P. Lopez, Elpidio Quirino: The Judgment of History (Manila: President Elpidio Quirino Foundation, 1990), p 61.*

Funeral Oration of President Quirino at the necrological services for the late President Manuel Roxas, April 25, 1948

Funeral Oration
of
His Excellency Elpidio Quirino
President of the Philippines
At the necrological services for the late President Manuel Roxas

[Delivered at the Session Hall of the House of Representatives, Lepanto, Manila, April 25, 1948]

Yesterday, the panorama of our history as a people revealed only two peaks, massive and tall, whose crowns pierce the skies. One of them, the figure of Jose Rizal, rears up solemn and majestic, symbolizing the father and founder of Filipino nationalism. The other the likeness of Manuel L. Quezon, rises to giddy heights, bold and austere, as befits the memory of the Father of his Country. Today, a third one, by light emblazoned and as solid as granite, takes its proper place besides these two peaks as we enshrine the memory of Manuel Roxas and pay our last homage to his mortal remains. Fate has destined this great leader to be known henceforth as the Father of the Republic of the Philippines. The first caught my youthful imagination and struck the tenderest chord of my love of country when, at the age of seven, I learned of his execution at Bagumbayan. With the second I was thoroughly acquainted as it was through his promptings and my attachment to him that I first entered public life. The third was a bosom friend with whom I grew up. Reared in the same atmosphere, I was not only fond of him, but as an admirer I watched his rapid and swift rise to great heights with unceasing wonder.

In our school days, although belonging to different classes, we often found ourselves together, many a time side by side and occasionally face to face. Thrown together in our school activities whether in debates, declamation or oratorical contests, or in fraternities and other extra-curricular organizations, always we found ourselves moving forward. How touching it is to recall those days on this occasion!

In our earlier manhood, we entered the public service again at the same time. He began in the executive branch as a provincial governor and I in the legislative branch as a representative. While he was Speaker, I was a Senator. Together we joined the campaign for independence here and abroad. We met in the Constitutional Convention, we held the same portfolio one after the other in the Cabinet.

We found ourselves together again in the Senate, he as president and I, as President Pro-Tempore, and lately, we were in the executive branch of this Republic, he, as President, and I, as Vice-President. We faced the same crises and problems. Although perhaps I suffered more, we went through the same vicissitudes in the darkest hour of our history. We read the same books; saw the same lights pursued the same objectives; and came upon the same oasis in our desert of years. I derive great pride in recalling my close association with our, departed leader principally because, as time passed, my admiration grew deeper, and I learned many of his qualities as a leader in school, in provincial government, in the Legislature, and in the high Councils of our government. All this gave me the opportunity to appreciate fully the merit of his far-visioned statesmanship that led him onward along the path I am to follow by constitutional mandate. Manuel Roxas was a truly great man. He has left us to join the caravan of immortals. He has become a part of eternity. In our hearts, as in our nation, he has left a painful void which no one will ever fill. As we perform the last rites over his mortal remains and bid him our last farewell, we pause to make a just appraisal of his accomplishments as the leader of the nation.

To his cares as chief magistrate he gave of himself without stint and without limit. In health and in illness, he labored and toiled that our people may be prosperous and happy, that our future may be tranquil and secure, that our nation may be enlightened and great. For reward, he did not care. Selfish considerations he spurned. Even a well-earned rest he would not take. His constant obsession and passion was to serve his people. He bartered his whole life for the public service and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to give his all for his country.

When barely two years ago he took his oath of office as President of the Republic, the cries of women in distress, the groans of men dragged from their homes by bandits and kidnappers, almost drowned his ringing and reassuring

voice. Today the voice of fear has receded to the distant jungles and remote mountain fastnesses. Where once ruin and rubble assailed the eye and the atmosphere of insecurity and despair prevailed, homes have been built and reconstructed, confidence has been restored, and a glow of hope now brightens the faces of a reawakened and optimistic people. In the countrysides, farms are being tilled to yield the wherewithal of our people, and in the centers of population the commercial activities have reached a tempo indicative of an increasing prosperity. When almost all the rest of the world, also trying to recover from shock and war destruction, was still bleak and gloomy, he made this country a bright and happy spot.

The bare facts speak for themselves. Two years ago the public coffers were empty; today we face the bright prospect not only of a balanced budget but of having a probable surplus. Two years ago it took four and a half times more money than pre-war to live; today the value of money has increased to more than twice its purchasing power. Production of the basic crops has doubled and in some cases quadrupled. In spite of the decrease in the cost of living, wages have increased by about twenty per cent. The new tide of prosperity is filling our schools with children, almost doubling the enrollment during the last two years. Our foreign trade has expanded to over two billion pesos, far exceeding the pre-war record.

His solid achievements at home projected the fame of Manuel Roxas abroad, winning for his nation and people the esteem and respect of other nations. His contemporaries the world over jingled him out as one of the outstanding statesmen of his time. Old and powerful countries, unscathed by the war saw our nation in ruins rise under him, witnessed its rapid strides, watched the government grow in strength and prestige, and, in praise and admiration, finally extended their hands to seek the amity and friendship of this young Republic. So it is that the sad and shocking tidings of his passing were quickly followed by a spontaneous and universal outburst of sympathy throughout the civilized world. Wired condolences from presidents and kings, premiers and princes, legislators and commoners, flowed to Malacañan. The United Nations quickly adjourned its session out of respect to the memory of our departed leader.

By his record in office and the circumstances of his death, Manuel Roxas was a champion of democracy. He gave his life not only to his country but also the commonwealth of world democracies. The flame of his life was extinguished at a glorious but tragic moment in Clark Field Air Base when in a public address which proved to be his last, he gave vent to all the fervor of his patriotism and his abiding love of democracy, voicing at the same time his deep dislike for communism and its rapacious and predatory activities the world over. With that perfervid speech, he made a sacrificial offering of his life, for shortly after he passed away.

His death symbolizes the unshakable friendship and inseparable destiny of the Philippines and the United States. Reared and educated in the atmosphere of American democracy and American sovereignty, the latter now ended in our land, he breathed his last when his country was already independent and free, in a territory which by treaty continues under the American flag. Thus, he died for both the Philippines and America, two countries which in his lifetime he envisioned as forever working and fighting together for the preservation of their common way of life and the enduring peace of the world. Undoubtedly, his voice shall ever ring where free institutions are worshipped. For his was the supreme sacrifice to world democracy.

History will honor Manuel Roxas for his versatile achievements. It will honor him as a soldier. It will honor him as a statesman. It will honor him as a patriot. It will honor him as the Father of the Republic of the Philippines. Above all else, it will honor h.im because he had the vision to see clearly the reconstruction of a country cruelly devastated by war and the courage to meet the crisis with firmness and audacity. A hundred years' from now Filipinos will thank God on their bended knees that Manuel Roxas was in Malacañan to give clarity to the confused thoughts of his people and the leadership to elevate their prostrate country at the most critical time.

His assigned work was nobly begun. We can truly honor him only by continuing it with the same patriotic and disinterested devotion, I, therefore, call upon every Filipino—man, woman or child, of every creed and station in life throughout our beloved land—to join me in a sincere spirit of national unity to construct a massive monument of deeds in the bold pattern of his ideals in loving dedication to his revered memory. The present troubled world situation requires that we make this high resolve, brushing aside petty differences, selfish motives and personal ambitions, for the sake of national tranquility and security and for the progress and happiness of our people. My

fellow countrymen, as we pray for the eternal repose of our departed illustrious friend, may I also fervently pray in his name and on behalf of posterity that we all heed the call of this hour.

Source: **University of the Philippines, College of Law Library**

Quirino, E. (1948). Funeral oration of His Excellency Elpidio Quirino, President of the Philippines, at the necrological services for the late President Manuel Roxas, held at the session hall of the House of Representatives, Lepanto, Manila, on April 25, 1948. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 44(4)*, 1336-1339.